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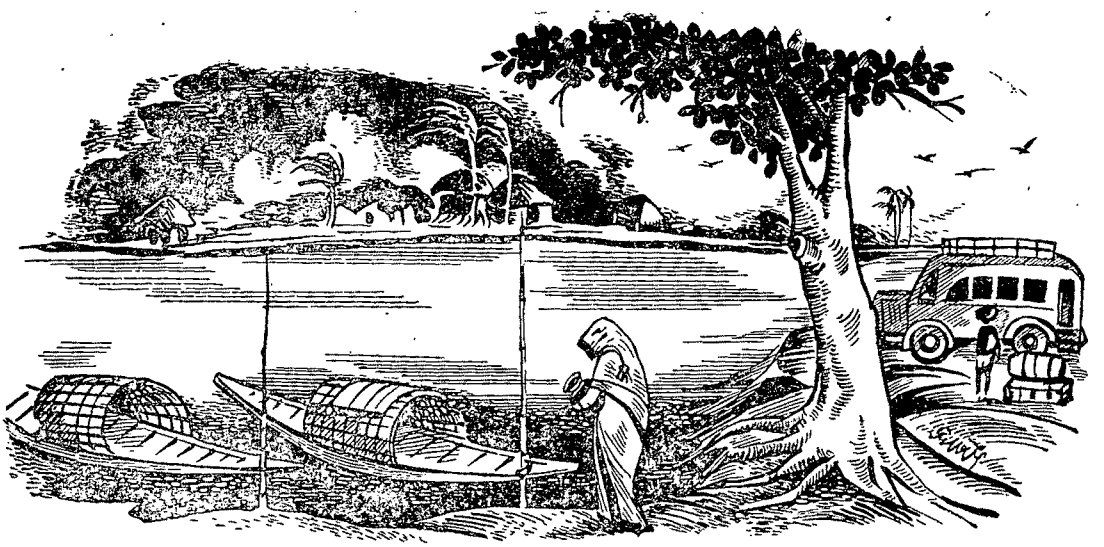

FORECASTING THE YEAR'S HAPPENINGS

Reproduced from the *Prabasi Sasti Barshiki Smarak Grantha*

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NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year with its trials, frustrations and disappointments, will have passed out by the time these appear in print. But it gave the people of India some bright hours of joy, as its last gift. The joy came with the liberation of our kith and kin in Goa, and let us hope it will bring in its train the rich fruits of liberty, which the Goanese have earned with their prolonged struggle against the tyrannies of a foreign regime. This liberation has also indicated to the World that there is such a thing as the people's will is our country too and that a higher value is put here, as in all democratic countries, on Freedom than on any abstract metaphysical consideration that shows no results over a long stretch of time. It has also shown us, in the clearest possible light, how and where we stand, together with all Asiatics and Africans, in the estimation of the peoples of the West. Indeed, it may be said, that the closing days of the Old Year, has given us the gift of revelation, in the matter of true and false human values, as it obtains in the West.

What of the New Year ? Somehow the prospect does not seem so bleak as it did when 1960 passed out. It may be that nerves have hardened with prolonged exposure to stresses and strains, both at home and abroad. Or again it might be that the gradual toning down of the insistent demands of the mighty, in response to the worldwide desire for peace has awakened some hopes about the survival of humanity in this world afflicted with the tensions of Cold War.

At home there does not seem much hope for the easing of stresses of want and insufficiency. There is an Election in the offing, but there is little hope for any change for the better, as the same merry old game of Party Politics is being played by the same old players in every team.

We can only pray and hope for the dawn of good-will and a sense of responsibility amongst all leaders of men, all over the world, for the alternative is truly grim.

The World

The end of the year saw the U.N. in a rather precarious position, over the question of colonialism. On the anti-colonial side, there was the demand, insistently pressed by the Soviets—not purely as a Cold War move, as pronounced by the Western Allies —that 1962 should be marked for the total elimination of colonialism from the world, which move was qualified by Nigeria's proposal that a nine-year deadline should be set from now, for the complete liberation of Africa.

On the other side, there were various shades of opinion, starting from the proud attitudes of the ex-Imperialists like Britain and France, who believe that the liberation of the colonial subject-nations and countries should be regarded as ex-gratia acts. liberty to be given as and when the overlords deign to do so, to the flagrant denial of the

rights of the subject-peoples by the miserable descendants of the adventurous sailors who founded colonies as a sequel to their careers as pirates and robbers preying on innocent and friendly peoples who did not possess fire-arms.

World opinion, particularly in the West, is hesitant in taking a positive stand in this dilemma. The position of the United States, as clearly shown over the Goa liberation aftermath, is particularly delicate. She cannot openly denounce the attitude of the stalwarts amongst her cold war allies, i.e., Britain and France, and yet on the basic question of colonialism she stands firm on the principle of self-determination and liberty for all humanity, as predicated by the Founding Fathers and by Abraham Lincoln, in their concept of human birth-rights..

The whole position is complicated because of a basic misconception. The idea, that is current all over the world, that India—and Pakistan—was given the gift of liberty, on silver plates so to say, as graceful and benign acts on the part of the British, **is a myth.** This myth has been given the reinforcement of world credence, because of the not-so-quixotic attitude of the Congress group now in power. The Congress fosters this belief as it maintains their claim—which is only partially true—that India obtained her freedom solely by the non-violent efforts of the Congress. We have gone into this question in more detail in a previous issue of this journal and it is unnecessary, therefore, to go into it any further. It will suffice to say that the liberation of India was the inevitable sequel to a long series of liberation attempts, each stronger than the previous one, under different leaders and in different forms, over a period of four decades, which culminated in the mass upsurge in 1942, while all the Congress leaders—who are now capitalising on the resultant gains—were in jail. This linked with the formation of the I. N. A., which definitely showed that the millions of trained Indians of the armed forces were likely to be the most formidable source of reaction to British repression in the liberation movement that was certain to come after war, was the decisive factor.

Nevertheless, the Socialist Government of Britain, under the guidance of Pethwick Lawrence, Stafford Cripps, and Alexander, acted in a most statesmanlike fashion in bowing before the "Winds of Change," as any deviation from the path chosen would have had disastrous consequences, not only for Britain and India but to the entire democratic world, as is definitely proved by what has happened in the former French Indo-China and what was prevented from happening in Malaya by the British taking a wise step after long years of futile attempts at "crushing" the spirit of revolt by force.

The British have the faculty of learning by experience. And their long experience in colonial affairs has given them, to some extent, the power to read the "writing on the wall," where Asia and Africa are concerned. But all the same there is that veiled resentment in some quarters at the enforced loss of "Imperial" possessions, however ill-gotten or unjustifiably held they might have been, that has been so much in evidence over the Goa liberation. For the Portuguese hold on Goa was maintained in reality—as is plainly apparent at the outburst of temper and petulance in the British Press—by the tacit support of the British, and its liberation meant the setting at nought of British influences in this part of the world by India.

The British had brought in the question of a plebiscite in Kashmir, although Pakistan was declared an aggressor by those who came to pronounce judgement, on behalf of the U.N., on the case. And the British group in the U.N. were—and still are —trying to force a plebiscite on India without the aggression being vacated by Pakistan. The reason being that Pakistan came into existence not as a fruit of a fight or struggle for liberty but as **Bakshish** to those who helped the British Imperialists in their forty-year long programme of "Divide et Impera" which culminated into savage repression. It should be noted that the same plebiscite formula was mooted by the British in the case of Goa.

The record of the French in India, in contrast to what has transpired in Indo-China and North Africa is fairly good, in-

deed better than that of the British in many respects and far, far superior to that of the Portuguese allies of the British. It is perhaps significant that there has been little of an outburst in the French press, comparable to that in the British and the American press.

The U.S.A., is in a delicate position, as has been remarked at the beginning of these notes, due to her links with the colonialist powers of the N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., etc. Added to that is a naive ignorance about the Asiatic and African peoples, which has left her higher executives in Foreign Affairs, still prone and eager for Anglo-French tutelage in complex situations that are continuously arising in these areas. This is the only explanation of the most incongruous statement that "Goa does not belong to India," coming as it did from a man of the status and stature of Adlai Stevenson. Does Mr. Stevenson know that the Portuguese themselves termed the vast majority of the peoples inhabiting Goa as "Indians" uptil 1951 ?

This ignorance about India and Indians is the indirect result of the wonderful selection of personnel by our department of External Affairs—which is as yet subject to the impulses and vagaries of a person whose choice of advisors in matters relating to foreign relations is anything but admirable, and as a consequence, Indian interests and opinions are as a rule, either misrepresented or overlooked abroad, the only thing that is done, by the men chosen by Pandit Nehru to represent India abroad, is to advertise Pandit Nehru and air his views, everywhere and on all occasions.

The howl of rage and frustration raised by the British press has been echoed all over the Western World—that is, the world dominated by the Western Bloc—because they had no idea that Nehru's opinion was not by any means the opinion of India and the Indians. In the matter of Goa, India's patience was at an end, and there was no further question of allowing "Perfidious Albion," or those who dance to the tune played by the old hypocrite, to enforce the continuance of the agony of those who are Indians by race and blood. It should be noted that no sympathy or concern for those unfortunates who are being subjected to slaughter, rape and arson by the Portuguese in Angola, is discernible in the columns of those papers that are supposed to represent the "Free World." Free World forsooth ! If it were left to these representatives of what was once the "Fourth Estate," the rape of Egypt would have been completed by Britain and France, and not an inch of Africa or Asia would have been liberated, if that "glorious adventure" had succeeded.

The liberation of Goa has received wide support in Asia and Africa and that should be sufficient for us. The reaction in the Western World to the liberation have brought to the surface certain aspects of Western mentality which has been dealt with by Pandit Nehru in a Press Conference at New Delhi on December 28. It would be interesting to keep them in mind, whenever any particular item of foreign opinion is studied in respect of Goa. We append extracts from the **Statesman's** report below to put them on record.

In analysing the Western reaction to the Goa liberation move, Pandit Nehru said :

"The most distressing aspect of the Western reaction, he declared, was what is connoted: a division of opinion in the world between the black and the white nations. Every section of the Indian people had been thrilled by the intervention and the step had been welcomed in Asia and Africa, he added.

"Answering the criticism that India had failed by the yardstick of non-violence. Mr. Nehru said, it was good to know that India and he himself were at one time placed high on a pedestal. He described non-violence as an 'almost metaphysical approach' of Mahatma Gandhi, asserting that the Congress Party and the Government had never committed themselves to abjuring force in all circumstances.

"But the Prime Minister declared that India adhered firmly and fully to her policy of encouraging the forces of peace, of seeking peaceful settlement of problems and of non-alignment.

"While expressing appreciation of U.S. efforts to help a peaceful settlement of the Goa issue, Mr. Nehru, in an apparent reference to Mr. Stevenson's speech in the Security Council debate, said it was strange that while the U.N. was being obstructed in the field in Katanga, no

one should have feared the end of the world organization."

We shall expand the reference in Pandit Nehru's remarks, regarding the obstruction in Congo of U. N. moves, later. Meanwhile the reply given to the suggestion in some Western papers that Goa should be restored to Portugal, is put on record below as being of very great import where the U. N. is concerned.

"The Prime Minister denied that there had been consultations between India and the Soviet Union prior to the Indian action. The only two Governments approached, he said, were those of Britain and the U.S.A. while some Asian States were kept informed of development at a later stage.

"Referring to suggestions in the Western Press that Goa should be restored to Portugal, Mr. Nehru declared with some passion and vehemence: 'If any such attempt is made there will be hell in the world.'

"The Prime Minister said that the report in a section of the Press that the UAR had stopped a Portuguese ship from coming with arms to Goa had no foundation in fact. There was no request by Portugal to the UAR to allow its ship to pass through the Suez Canal and consequently there was no refusal."

Pandit Nehru dealt at length on the events that led to the "police action" in Goa. It was apparent from that, that the only trend of intervention by the U. S. or the U. N. was to postpone the liberation indefinitely. There was no hope, not even a suggestion that a period would be put to Portugal's intransigence in this matter.

The affairs in the Congo are still in an extremely critical stage, thanks to the double-faced action of the British authorities, of which we had a taste in the B.B.C. reporter's propaganda report of the fighting, sometime back, in Elizabethville by the Indian troops of the U. N. We shall start by giving pieces of news extracts, of U.S. origin to show how British and Belgian financial interests are trying to defeat the U.N. moves, purely in their own interest. The first news-item, appended below is of official origin:

"Washington, Dec. 27.—A State Department official today denounced a 'clever, big-money campaign' to win American public support for the Katanga regime, says Reuter.

"Mr. Carl Rowan, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, described as 'cynical and dishonest' the argument that Mr. Tshombe should get support because he was anti-Communist. In a speech prepared for delivery to a college fraternity conference in Philadelphia, he said a propagandist for Katanga in the U.S.A., had spent at least $140,000 this year in publicity for Mr. Tshombe.

"Mr. Rowan said: 'Some of the Americans, crying loudest about what the U.N. is doing to Mr. Tshombe, wouldn't be caught dead having lunch with the Katangan leader'."

The second set of extracts is from the **New York Times** of December 17. We reproduce it **in extenso** because it gives not only the why and wherefore of the Katanga complications but also shows that the press in U. S. is well aware of the causitive factors.

"The political jungle that is the Congo, still seemed last week, to be full of heavy thickets but there were signs of possible break-through

"The internal problem was whether secessionist Katanga province could be brought under the authority of the national Congo government. The international problem was whether the United States and its Western allies could agree on a policy for the United Nations in the Congo.

"Yesterday, blue-helmeted U.N. soldiers scored a major victory in Katanga, driving the secessionist regime out of its capital. The military triumph appeared likely to diminish the Allied criticisms of the U.S. and U.N. which had come to the fore during the week.

"Three large issues were at stake: the future of the Congo, the future of the U.N., and the future of the cold war. Resolution of the Katanga problem would help stabilize the Congo, strengthen the authority of the U.N., and perhaps neutralize a strategic African republic against cold war pressures. Failure in Katanga might mean a Congolese civil war, the end of the U.N. effort, and perhaps great-power intervention in an African 'Korea.'

"The Congo problem has four main aspects: (1) internal political rivalries; (2) United Nations policies and resolution; (3) differences

among the Western Allies; and (4) the threat of Russian intervention.

"*Internal rivalries* have torn the Congo ever since its first fortnight of independence seventeen months ago. The most important has been the secession of Katanga, the largest and richest province.

"Moise Tshombe's regime in Elisabethville, backed by white political advisers and army officers, has sought virtual independence for Katanga. All factions of the national Congo government in Leopoldville—now headed by moderate Premier Cyrille Adoula—are agreed that the nation is not viable without Katanga's mineral wealth. (A single firm, the British-Belgian Union Miniere de Haut-Katanga, has paid the Tshombe regime $52 million in taxes and dividends this year.) Mr. Adoula's government, however, is under pressure from extreme nationalists, led by leftist Antoine Gizenga from a quasi-separate domain in Eastern Province.

"The basic *U.N. policy* has been to maintain 'law and order' and restore the Congo's 'territorial integrity.' Disagreements have arisen over whether, to achieve these aims, force should be used against the Tshombe regime. A majority of the 104 nations in the General Assembly, for differing reasons, now favours doing so. That majority is led by the Afro-Asian bloc, now fifty nations strong.

"The U.N. began applying military pressure in Katanga three months ago, after a half-year of fruitless negotiations with Mr. Tshombe. Specifically, it attempted (in pursuit of a February Security Council resolution) to remove the foreign 'mercenaries' from Katanga. Mr. Tshombe resisted, and in September—with some aid from British diplomacy—the Katangese Army emerged victorious from an eight-day battle with U.N. troops.

"Three weeks ago, the Security Council voted (9-0, with Britain and France abstaining) a new, somewhat ambiguous mandate for the U.N. forces. The resolution demanded that 'all secessionist activities . . . . in Katanga shall cease forthwith.' It authorized 'vigorous action, including the requisite measure of force, if necessary' to oust the 'mercenaries' and bar outside aid to the secession.

"As for the *Allied differences*, the U.S. supports the Adoula Government and the U.N. operation in Katanga. It considers that a united Congo aided by the U.N. offers the best hope of thwarting Communist penetration of Central Africa. The U.S. believes that Mr. Tshombe has shown bad faith in previous dealings with Leopoldville and the U.N. The U.S. view is supported by many, but by no means all of its allies.

"Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and other states which oppose action against Katanga are partly influenced by political and economic commitments in the area. The Congo's neighbour states include Britain's Rhodesian Federation, the former French Congo, Belgian Ruanda-Urundi and Portuguese Angola—all of which fear a strong, united Congo. In addition, there is fear of a precedent for U.N. military intervention in colonial and former colonial areas.

"*Russia's role* has been to support Mr. Gizenga and denounce Mr. Tshombe as an 'imperialist stooge.' Moscow has in the past offered to provide military aid to reconquer Katanga. In recent months, both the Leopoldville Government and the U.N. have made it clear that they wish no Soviet interference. But Russia's attacks on British-French policy indicate that the Communists would move swiftly to exploit a U. N. failure."

The situation in Congo is slightly more hopeful just at present, not because of the U. N. troops clearing up the haunts of the arch-enemies of united Congo in Elizabethville, but because of the signs of officialdom in the U. S. A. awaking to the fact that the "Old Gang" has been at its favourite game of playing the "Gullible Yankee" for a fool.

In any case, the world of Afro-Asiatics seems to be well aware by now that the forces of reaction are now actively working now to stop the movements for the liberation and unification of peoples who have long been the victims of European predatory races. And if this awareness turns to bitterness then the Western Bloc will have to face disaster in those areas, despite N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and all other assorted alphabetical permutations. It is all very well to talk about the "Free World" and "captive peoples" but what really counts is even justice for all humanity, when it

comes to a test. And in this test even the U.S.A., has failed the Afro-Asiatic peoples, through crass ignorance about basic facts about Asiatic and African countries and peoples and the consequent inability to distinguish between truth and falsehood, right and wrong in any clash of interests in which any Asiatic or African nation is involved where the other party or parties are highly skilled fabricators of "artificial truths," "white lies," and other varieties of false propaganda, and are her own allies in the cold war as well.

The situation in Berlin remains the same at the close of the year, though somewhat less tense, due to the somewhat relaxed attitude of Mr. Khrushchev.

In Laos, the same endless chain of meetings between the three Laotian Princes continues. No stable solution of the problem seems to aimed at, as the Princes themselves are seemingly being played as pawns by their backers, who in their turn have yet to make up their minds as to how far each will allow the other side to proceed. There is no give and take apparent in the negotiations and as a result a stalemate till the next outbreak of hostilities is all that can be expected at the turn of the year.

The Food Situation

The Food prospect for this country seems to be viewed differently by different authorities. Shri S. K. Patil, the Minister for Food and Agriculture, at the Centre, made a public confession of pessimism and despondency at the way some basic problems that beset our country's agricultural system are being tackled. He said this while delivering the Convocation address at Pusa Agricultural Institute. The Minister said that glaring gaps and deficiencies met the eye, whichever way he looked at it and they betrayed undoubted neglect and indifference to agriculture during the last half-century.

The Minister told the agricultural scientists and students assembled that an answer will have to be found to explain why India was still backward in spite of a record of 50 years of agricultural research. One reason was, he felt, that what was achieved in the laboratories was not carried out to the fields. There was also the "ivory tower" existence of many of our scientists who were too attracted by the glamour of fundamental research to put their energies in harness for considerations of practical utility. Without decrying the quality of the work of such scientists, Shri Patil said the deficiencies were too glaring to be ignored and the problems which science had to conquer in the field of agriculture in this country were enormous. He mentioned India's inadequate knowledge of the soil which had made the drive for the use of fertilizers an empirical business.

He said the distribution of high quality seeds "is more statistical than real" and that traditional cropping methods being prevalent, large economic wastes were inevitable. In conclusion he said that in the final analysis, success or failure depended on what the farmer was able to do. It was essential, therefore, that the scientist placed in the farmers hand all that he needed in way of capital's know-how and scientific aids and facilities.

As opposed to the grim picture drawn by Shri Patil we have the highly optimistic pronouncements of a spokesman of the Food and Agricultural Ministry at Centre. He held out bright prospects of another good **Kharif** crop, the main cereal being rice in 1962. He further said that agricultural production as a whole was likely to maintain, or even outstrip in some cases, the level of 1961, which had a "record" foodgrain production of nearly 80 million tons. This progress, said the spokesman, has been made despite devastating floods and other handicaps.

This optimistic statement does not in any way qualify Shri Patil's statements. The trouble about statistical statements is that they give an idea of immense production without indicating as to how they measure in the terms of per acre production or food-grains allocation, quantitatively measured in proportion to the population.

Emotional Integration Committee

The twelve-man committee headed by Dr. Sampurnanand, the former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, has submitted a preliminary report, containing some recommendations which are at the end of this note. We

do not know how far these recommendations would be taken up by the authorities of the various States for there has developed a custom, both at the Centre and in the States of setting up commissions, when uncomfortable situations or problems arise that exercise the public mind, and then pigeon-holing the findings or the reports, hoping that the public would forget the matter and thereby save the authorities from dealing with troublesome issues. This "laissez faire" policy has allowed the forces of disruption and factional tendencies to develop into a major disintegration movement, which is acting along fission lines caused by parochialism, linguism, communalism, and other forces tending to disrupt the Indian Union.

Emotional Integration is the obvious remedy and, therefore, a committee was formed and the former Chief Executive of a major State was put at its Head. But setting up a commission is one thing and putting its recommendations to actual working condition by forming a compulsory administrative code out of it, is quite another thing. Indeed, very few commissions of this type even get the due consideration at the executive level, unless pressure is brought to bear on the matter either by the press or by parliamentary groups.

There is the General Election, imminent, and after that the formation of governments at the Centre and at the State levels. So, there is hardly any point in going into details of the recommendations with a critical pen. But they are worthy of record as it is evident that the commission has devoted ample time and due consideration to the very complex problem set before them for devising methods of solution. The salient points of the recommendations are appended below and they are worthy of earnest consideration:

1. (a) The Third Five-Year Plan envisages the provision of universal primary education. Such an extension of educational facilities would go some distance towards removing traditional disabilities of large sections of our people. The situation as it is emerging requires a review of the existing policies of assisting the socially handicapped.

(b) There are also other sections of people who suffer from social disabilities. It is not only necessary to provide wider educational facilities for students from these sections but to devote special attention to them. Measures must be taken to attract them to schools and improve the level of their education so that they can compete on less unequal terms with the advanced members of our society.

For such students it is essential to have a better teacher-pupil ratio, and for such teachers, better training and remuneration should be provided. The extra expenditure incurred in this connection, in the opinion of the committee, is perfectly justified.

(c) In regard to admissions to educational institutions and the award of scholarships and fellowships, national integration will be furthered if these are decided on the basis of means and merit. In considering means not only the income, but the educational and social background of the parents' need to be taken into account.

Such criteria which are essentially social and economic will be far more relevant to our secular, democratic State than any based on caste and religion. The committee is firmly of the opinion that together with determined efforts to assist in an effective manner the socially handicapped, we should move towards the adoption of criteria that are free from the age-old divisive characteristics of our society.

(d) Hostels should not be set aside for any one community or group. They should be open to all and mixing should be encouraged. It is repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution and national unity to encourage separatism in academic institutions.

Recognition should not be given to institutions where divisive tendencies are encouraged. However, in those cases where institutions are maintained by trusts or donors every effort should be made to persuade trustees and donors to open them to all communities. They should also be advised to get the trust deeds or gift deeds suitably changed through the appropriate court.

(e) Application forms for admissions to schools and colleges, other educational institutions and hostels, for recruitment to the various services and for scholarships should not contain

any column seeking information regarding an applicant's caste or religion.

(f) Domiciliary restrictions in regard to migration of students at school and college level should be removed and every State should freely admit to its educational institutions students from other States, particularly at the university level.

2. (a) The committee is in agreement with the importance assigned to education by the National Integration Conference recently and it further broadly endorses the recommendation made by the conference in this behalf.

(b) The committee agrees with the Chief Ministers' conference that the linguistic minorities are entitled to get instruction in their mother-tongue at the primary stage of education. Effective steps should be taken to implement this principle not only in the letter but also in the spirit.

(c) At the secondary stage the medium of instruction will generally be the regional language or where certain circumstances prevail, another language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, or English.

(d) The committee endorses the three-language formula recommended by the Chief Ministers' conference. The committee regrets to note that the three-language formula has been misapplied in various ways by certain States. The variations result in either the three-language formula in practice operating as a two-language formula or in ignoring the need to study the two link languages, Hindi and English.

The formula should be clearly understood to mean that all students beyond the primary stage must learn both Hindi and English. Primary education will be in the mother-tongue, secondary education will be in the regional language or in the mother-tongue in the case of linguistic minorities provided (i) the mother-tongue is one of the languages of the Eighth Schedule, and (ii) students in sufficient number are available who desire education in such a language.

A further variation that will have to be allowed is the use of English or Hindi as the medium of instruction in selected secondary schools provided that the other language Hindi or English as the case may be, and the regional language are also added.

At the university level, if the medium of instruction is the regional language, Hindi and English will be added as separate languages for study. It urges that not only should the formula be implemented forthwith but the opportunity be availed of in the Hindi-speaking regions to teach one of the South Indian languages as a reciprocal gesture to the need for learning Hindi in South India.

(e) The committee recognises the need for strengthening the link for inter-State communication as also for developing another link for contact with the international world and with advances in sciences and technology. To this end the committee recommends that the study of Hindi and English should commence in the school at an early stage.

(f) As regards the medium for university education, the committee feels that the regional languages are bound to replace English as the medium of instruction over a period of time. The committee is strongly of the view that such a change-over must be accompanied by the strengthening of the link of inter-State communication and for this purpose Hindi must continue to be taught as a second language as in the secondary stage of education where necessary and, further that English will continue to be studied not only as an important language but as the medium of communication with the world and a source of enrichment for all our languages.

(g) The committee is of the opinion that where schools and colleges using minority languages cannot be affiliated to Universities or Boards within the State they may be affiliated to Universities or Boards outside the State. Existing affiliations may continue.

(h) The committee recommends that research should be undertaken on graded and basic vocabularies in the various Indian languages, to facilitate the implementation of the three-language formula and in view also of the fact that it is likely that the regional languages will ultimately be used for university education. The common Indian language which will ultimately take the place of English as a means of inter-State communication should also have its vocabulary enriched and strengthened, and its alphabet simplified.

For this purpose the vocabulary should be drawn from all the living languages of India and "from the forms, style and expressions used in

Hindustani and in other languages of India", as laid down in Article 351 of the Constitution. The need, therefore, for an All-India Research Centre in Indian languages, is in the opinion of the committee, imperative.

3. The committee does not propose in this preliminary report to take up the question of text books and the many problems that they present, as they will be dealt with more fully in the main report. It, however, makes the following recommendations for immediate implementation:

(a) Scholarships and fellowships: Scholarships and fellowships for specialised training abroad in text-book writing, production and illustration should be instituted on a priority basis in view of the urgent need for trained personnel in these two fields. Assistance from UNESCO may be obtained, where necessary, in getting the Trainees|Fellows suitably placed.

(b) World Seminar on text books : To ensure that the country's problems in regard to text-book publication are not studied in isolation the committee recommends the convening of a World Seminar on school text-books and supplementary readers, with India as the venue, in October 1962, as part of the U.N. Day programme. Such a seminar would help teachers and educationists, text-book writers and publishers in India to profit from the experience of other countries.

4. The committee feels that there are certain measures of a more or less ceremonial nature which have a great influence on the moulding of character in young children. They help to create a group consciousness sensitive to stimuli. With this end in view the following are suggested :

(a) The school uniform: The committee considers it necessary to have a common uniform in schools. It is possible that a large number of students may find it difficult to meet the cost, particularly where climatic conditions necessitate the use of two sets. However, the necessary money for these uniforms would have to be provided by the Government even though the whole cost need not fall on the exchequer. A substantial subsidy should be enough.

(b) Daily assembly: It would be advisable to begin classes everyday with a gathering of all the students in the open air or the school hall depending on the season. After roll call there should be a 10-minute talk by the Head of the institution or a senior teacher. The talk need not be extempore but a striking excerpt from the lives and speeches of well-known personalities—ancient or modern—could easily form an occasional feature of this morning assembly.

Much depends, of course, on the standard of the talk and on a uniform excellence being maintained. A series of talks, either collections from great writers or speeches by distinguished Indians, could be made available on gramaphone records or in print.

Some schools perhaps already follow a similar method. It would be useful to extend it to schools all over the country and to see that a suitable collection of talks is put into a volume and made available to all schools. Audio-visual aids should also be used to help the teachers to equip themselves for these talks.

After the talks and before the children disperse, there should be a mass singing of the National Anthem. Children should not only know how to sing the National Anthem but they should also know all the verses of the Anthem and their meaning.

Competent translations of the Anthem should be made in all the regional languages for this purpose. The story of the National Flag and the Anthem should be familiar to every child.

(c) The Head of the institution should make it a point to have a gathering of students, teachers and parents twice a year at the beginning of each term where in addition to the brief resume of important events connected with the institution in the previous term and of activities which are planned for the current term, he should impress upon all students of their responsibility to the school and to the country. At this gathering students should repeat standing a pledge dedicating themselves to the service of their country and their countrymen.

(d) Students exchange and tours: Conducted tours of students from one State to another should be undertaken in increasing numbers and it is equally important to have conducted tours for teachers. These inter-State visits, if properly organised, should do much to acquaint both teachers and children with different parts of our country.

In this connection the committee would like to emphasise that the Youth Hostel Movement needs to be taken up more seriously. A network

of youth hostels should be set up by all the States in selected places.

(e) School improvement: The committee is of the opinion that when so much needs to be done to improve the quality and standard of our school buildings and campus it would be very useful if every school and every institution could carry out a plan, however small it might be, in this regard.

Activities not necessarily in the curriculum could be taken up so that children could contribute in their own small way to the growth of the school. This would not only increase their pride in and loyalty to the school but would also help in improving the school for future students. All encouragement should be given to them to undertake campus activities in their own areas.

5. (a) The committee does not propose at this stage to go into detailed recommendations regarding the curriculum but would recommend that the study of history and geography needs to be made compulsory in every school, having regard to the importance of these subjects as fields of study where emotional integration can be fostered. Equally important is the need to teach children about India's developmental projects not on a regional but on an All-India basis.

(b) The committee is of the view that the keystone of any educational structure is the teacher and the training colleges have a vital role to play in preparing teachers for the task of teaching subjects in such a way that the essential unity of the country is woven into the very fabric of the child's personality.

Immediate steps should, therefore, be taken to have hand-books prepared for the teaching of Social Studies and Languages, with a view to fostering national unity. The teacher should always bear in mind that education should enable a child not only to develop his abilities and individual judgment but also his sense of moral and social responsibility.

It should provide for the harmonious development of his personality by providing for his intellectual, moral, social and aesthetic needs. It should prepare him for good citizenship, for loyalty and service to the country and its traditions and culture.

Handbooks should be prepared for the use of every primary and secondary school teacher with these objectives in view containing suggestions for organising in all schools on a planned basis, for fostering national unity. These handbooks should form an essential part of the equipment of every teacher who should apply and adapt these suggestions to suit the special conditions of the school in which he works.

6. The institution of an All-India Award for the best general essay in each State from high school and college students, on any other State in India, its climate, the characteristics of its people, social customs, plan projects and so on, is desirable.

The essay need not be erudite but should show adequate knowledge well-presented. The winner of each award may be given a free All-India tour. (Perhaps the Ministry of Transport and the Railways can help in this connection by providing free travel and free accommodation.)

In conclusion the committee would like to emphasise that programmes undertaken for the promotion of emotional integration in schools and colleges would have at best a limited effect unless they have the full co-operation of the community for their implementation.

Accidents on Railways

Railway administration having degenerated very rapidly during the last decade, major accidents causing grievous damage to life and property has become frequent Loss of goods in transit and damage in various ways has also increased to the extent of 30 to 50 per cent above what it was in the pre-independence days. Added to that, the question of theft from passengers in running trains has also become a constant risk in railway travel, more particularly in the State of Bihar.

In the case of major accidents the railway authorities have adopted the subterfuge of declaring that the disaster was caused by an act of sabotage. The investigations being limited to railway accident inspection personnel, the inevitable declaration comes forth that the accident was caused by saboteurs. Judicial enquiries on the evidence of sufferers are ruled out by the highest authorities, evidently to avoid troublesome or damaging verdicts on Railway Administration, right from the Ministerial level. How loosely these enquiries are made

and on what concocted evidence, has been made clear by a recent report by the Forensic laboratories of the Indian Police department, at Calcutta. The evidence materiel put forward by the railway authorities, in support of their report that the rail accident near Siliguri was caused by sabotage, was subjected to an intensive examination by the specially-trained staff of the Forensic laboratories. A report appeared in Calcutta newspapers to the effect that the evidence, in the form of damaged or criminally displaced permanent way material, showing the activities of saboteurs, was found to be clumsily fabricated. If that report was true then the railway authorities have fraudulently pronounced the accident to be caused by sabotage. The motive for such an act of deception is not far to seek. "Sabotage" means that the charges of criminal neglect of duty on the part of the railway staff and personnel cannot be put forward and further, in accidents caused by sabotage **the railway has no liability to pay compensation to the sufferers, unless they be railwaymen.** And, therefore, excepting in extremely glaring cases of neglect or rashness, the inevitable pronouncement is made that it is another case of sabotage, by the railway authorities.

In the case of loss or damage of goods in transit, the railway authorities have become increasingly unwilling and obdurate in compensating the sufferer. Long lawsuits, which involve both time and large sums of money is becoming more and more common, where claims are made. Recently a news-item appeared in Calcutta papers, where a Civil Court had given an order to a judgement creditor of the Eastern Railways, to realize his dues by attachment and sale of furniture and equipment of a railway station not twenty miles from Calcutta! The railways had refused to listen to the court's decree for compensation after having subjected the claimant to every possible legal harassment over a period of five years and more, and in the last resort the court had issued an order for attachment and sale.

The prime-sufferers, the members of the public, are helpless in the face of Ministerial obduracy and neglect, which has encouraged the slacker and the criminally negligent among the staff of the railways and discouraged the really dutiful amongst the responsible officers, who find that Ministerial ignorance linked with nepotism and parochial and party considerations are increasingly putting a discount on honesty and dutifulness. The result has been a disastrous and lamentable degeneration in railway efficiency in maintainance, running and general administration. The cause of it all stems from the top.

The Elections are near and some little care must be taken not to wound public feelings over much at this stage. There have been debates in the Lok Sabha about the recent chain of accidents. So some palliative measure to soothe the fretful public mind for the time being must be found. Of course, once the elections are over and the irresponsible and inefficient incumbents are back in saddle for a term of five care-free years, Shri and Shrimati common citizen might well go and cry in the wilderness.

What is, or rather what are the palliatives, the soothing syrup, or the gold-brick, as you may like to call it ?

Regarding accidents on railways, we learn from the **Hindu** that an Enquiry Committee has been set up, as was hinted in Parliament by the Union Minister for Railways. The details of the proposed committee as given by the **Hindu** are appended below :

"The committee, it is learnt from reliable sources, will consist of five members from Parliament and two technical personnel. Dr. H. N. Kunzru, M.P., Mr. Satyacharan Shastri, M.P., Mr. T. B. Vittal Rao, M.P., Mr. N. R. M. Swamy, M.P., Mr. Jaipal Singh, M.P., Mr. K. L. Ganguli and Mr. J. N. Nanda are expected to serve on the committee.

"Dr. Kunzru, whose vast knowledge of railway working in India is well-known, will be the chairman of the committee.

"Mr. K. L. Ganguli, a former Chief Government Inspector of Railways, has long experience in the investigation of accidents. The other technical member of the committee, Mr. J. N. Nanda, is a civil engineer and was the General Manager, Nizam State Railway, before its integration with the Indian Railway system.

"Mr. P. C. Shukla, a Deputy Director in the Railway Board, will, it is understood, act as Secretary to the committee.

"The committee, as stated by the Railway Minister in Parliament, will not only consider the question of train accidents in all its relevant aspects but will also suggest ways for further minimising the incidence of such railway mishaps."

Regarding the question of loss or damage in transit of goods entrusted to the Railways for carriage . We find another report in a different paper, the **Hindusthan Standard.** The report goes to say :

"With the introduction of what is known as 'common carrier's responsibility' from the new year, the Indian railways will have to take added responsibility for the goods carried by the railway system in the country.

"Except in the case of damage owing to natural calamities, war and activities of public enemies, the railways will have to pay full compensation for the goods damaged during the custody of the railways. The railways will have to prove that they have taken all possible steps against the loss and damage of the goods carried by them.

"The Indian Railways Act has already been amended in this connection and an additional sum of Rs. 2 crores have been sanctioned for this purpose in the current year's railway budget. This will mean the introduction of a new and stringent packing system and extra responsibility for the railway staff.

"After independence, pilferage in railway godowns and wagon-breaking have increased by about 30 to 50 per cent than what these were in the pre-independence days. In the last financial year, the railways paid a sum of Rs. 4 crores as compensation for the goods damaged or lost during transit by the railways, the Eastern Railway alone paying a sum nearly Rs. 70 lakhs.

"It is felt that if the Government does not take effective steps to prevent wagon-breaking and pilferage of goods from the possession of the railways, the amount of compensation the railways will have to pay under the new system will tremendously go up.

"The new system is being introduced on the lines of that existing in the railways in the United Kingdom. At present, the Indian railways have limited responsibility for the goods carried by it under the Indian Contracts Act."

These two reports, about the setting up of an Enquiry Committee and the extension of the liabilities of the Railways to the "Common Carriers Responsibility" limits, from the new year, carry good news undoubtedly, but within very narrow limits. We know by bitter experience that the findings of Enquiry Committees—or even Commissions—are set at nought by our Ministers, if they are not to the liking of these great men or their bureaucratic advisors, and we have not the slightest doubt that the same treatment will be meted out to the findings and recommendations of this Enquiry Committee, unless of course the findings whitewash the shortcomings of the Ministry and its Staff and the recommendations enlarge the scope of shady appointments, unjust superceding of dutiful officers and the other sins of omission and commission that are rampant in the present day railway administration, which is getting more and more corrupt, thanks to the men at the top.

Major accidents on Railways would diminish only if there be full and complete judicial enquiry and the findings thereof be established as a basis for the bringing to book those who have, directly or indirectly, brought it about. If criminal neglect is the cause of loss of life and property then in all justice the men responsible for the act should face a civil and criminal charge. Mere whitewashing of a dastardly crime and sheltering the irresponsible officers and men by putting the label of "sabotage" on all accidents, has gone too far. And the voluntary act of resignation, as performed by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, should become an unwritten law if such accidents become too frequent.

We do not know the terms of reference in the case of the Kunzru Enquiry Committee, nor do we know whether it will at all function, but we would like to ask for an enquiry into the causes of progressive deterioration of efficiency and integrity in the conducting of the railway administration.

Then come the questions of crime on Railways, leading to loss or damage to life and property on the railways. We have previously stated that Bihar has the unenviable record of leading in major crimes of robbery and violence, where passenger

trains are concerned. At the time of closing these notes the news of a particularly horrible crime has appeared in the **Hindusthan Standard** of December 31. We append it below:

"Four upper class passengers, two of them women, were murdered by unknown persons in the running Bombay Mail between Kodarma and Hazaribagh Road stations during the early hours on Saturday, according to information received from our correspondent at Saraiya (Hazaribagh).

"The bodies were later picked up from the railway embankment, at different points, suggesting thereby that the victims of the crime were thrown out from the moving train by the assailants before they escaped. A 55-year old gentleman, identified as Mr. Gopesh Chandra Das of Nabadwipdham, was picked up from the track in an unconscious state.

"The four bodies have been kept at Kodarma railway station. The injured gentleman has been admitted to railway hospital at Hazaribagh Road.

"Details of the incident are still unknow; but according to information received by our correspondent, the assailants were believed to have boarded a First Class compartment of the Bombay Mail at Gaya; and then as the train was moving fast between Kodarma and Hazaribagh Road station, they attacked the passengers with daggers carried by them.

"The assailants took away cash and ornament from the killed and wounded passengers, threw them out of the moving train and left quietly at a station where the train stopped.

"Railway gangmen working in the morning on the track saw the gentleman lying unconscious. They stopped the down Sealdah-Pathankote Express by showing red flag and sent the gentleman to Hazaribagh Road station.

"Simultaneously, bodies of a young man and a woman were found some half a mile away from the place. Two other bodies, of a man and a woman, were recovered from the track side near Pareshnath station."

We do not want to jump to conclusions on the basis of a newspaper report. But even if the report be substantially true—, i.e., to the extent that the criminals entered a first class compartment at a wayside station in the dead of night—then the fact stands out a mile high that some person or persons attached to that station, either as railway personnel or as police staff, are implicated.

It is known to every person who has had the experience of trying to get in at a way-side station into an upper class compartment at night, that the passengers who are already in there do not open the door unless the station staff or the police insist on it, and even on their insistence the door is not opened excepting on prolonged negotiations. Four assailants could not have just slipped in, without the passengers raising a hue and cry at that act.

Large-scale pilferage also indicates the complicity of Railway and Police Staff. The mere extension of the Railways Act, or the amendment thereof will not ameliorate the conditions. It might, of course, make it possible for the sufferers, if they have enough money and tenacity, to obtain fuller compensation after the lapse of three to seven years of litigation.

What is needed is to prevent the further deterioration of the conditions of railway travelling and transport in all aspects. The prime necessity is to make the corrupt or inefficient fully liable, in civil and criminal sections for the damage to life and prosperity caused by acts of omission or commission by them. THE EDITOR

Portugal's Imperial Rights

Portugal, like most other European countries, began its existence as a nationally-organised political entity, in the form of a kingdom. The last king of Portugal was King Manuel II whose kingdom was proclaimed a Republic by his white subjects in 1910. Thereafter, the Portuguese had a series of Presidents of their Republic, three among whom resigned, one was deposed and one assassinated. On the 19th of March, 1933, Portugal formed a "unitary and corporative republic"* (whatever it meant) and later on in 1959, made another amendment to her constitution by which it became, according to the declared feelings of the Portuguese people, an even more perfect Republic of which Doctor Antonio de Oliveira Salazar was the Prime Minister. The religion of Portugal is Roman Catholicism but there is freedom of worship, both in private and public, excepting for "creeds

incompatible with morals and the life and physical integrity of the people."* For religious purposes "Portuguese territory is divided into six ecclesiastical provinces, with their seats respectively at Lisbon, Braga, Enora, Luanda (Angola). Lourenseo Marques (Mosambique) and Goa (Portuguese India)"* The Archbishop of Goa is also the Patriarch of Eastern India and from the point of view of religion, Goa is viewed as a part of the entire territory of Eastern India. In the matter of defence the Portuguese are largely a part of the N.A.T.O. and the purposes for which the N.A.T.O. has been set up do not include the maintenance of an Empire. In fact, Portugal does not have any Empire; but only overseas territories which are autonomous, at least on paper. And being autonomous one would assume that the people of these territories were free to determine what loyalties they would or would not have. The Salazar Government is in reality a dictatorship with a very transparent camouflage of constitutionality. The overseas territories of Portugal have always remained what they had been politically since the days of Portugal's kings who had been despots and had to be uprooted and deposed by the people of Portugal from the soil of continental Portugal. But the Portuguese had a double standard of political ethics and, though they wanted freedom and liberty for themselves they thought the "natives" of Asia, Africa and even South America were not entitled to have the same political rights as the whites or the semi-whites. This attitude of superiority to those, who due to circumstances, came to be governed by them had lost them in the past their great colonies in South America; but that did not make them any wiser. The British, after losing their great American colonies became wiser; and the more of freedom and liberty the people of Great Britain snatched from their royal overlords; the more of autonomy they granted to their colonies in Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand. They did not treat the whites and the non-whites as equals in point of political rights, but the British had nowhere in their colonies, dependencies and dominions any system of autocratic government and despotic rule which could compare with the vile tyranny the Portuguese practised over the non-whites of their territories in Africa and India. At heart the Portuguese remained the same barbarians that they had been during the days when their ships went to America and Asia on voyages of discovery and piracy; and treated the native peoples with a savagery that had no parallel in history with, perhaps, the exception of the barbarities committed by Spanish conquistadores. Treacherous, heartless, wanton and rapacious, the Portuguese had subjected entire communities to a fate, compared to which the galley slaves had a really happy time. In India, in the past, they had razed hundreds of temples to the ground, took away property by force, abducted women and, generally speaking, conducted themselves in a most obnoxious and uncivilised manner. It was, therefore, the Portuguese character that had alienated them from their subjects and nowhere had the people under Portuguese domination remained satisfied with their subjection to the worst of the European races. The South Americans broke away first and they were more Portuguese in language and culture than the people under Portuguese rule in Africa and Asia.

In Goa, as in Angola and Mosambique, there have been strong popular movements to shake off Portuguese rule, and even now the people of Portugal's African territories are agitating to gain political freedom. The people of Goa had always wanted to be free and since India became independent in 1947, this desire for freedom had become stronger. But neither the British nor the Americans had brought only pressure to bear upon the Portuguese to give up their deep attachment to ancient and anti-human political "rights". The fact that they had ruled their colonies for 400 years or more really proves nothing. For Indians have ruled India before the Muslim invasions for well over 2500 years and they had also ruled Ceylon, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other countries in Melanesia for long centuries without, however, claiming any political rights over any country on grounds of past overlordship. In recent times only China has claimed political suzerainty and even the right of conquerors over Tibet on

The Statesman's Year Book.

grounds of past imperial overlordship. But the fact that Tibet too, at one time, ruled over China, did not sound logical to the Chinese for accepting Tibetan rule over China, for reasons based on their complete faith in brute force as the strongest and final argument. The Portuguese too believe in the rights of the people for governing themselves and for choosing their own ways of life, avocations and conduct; for, they had overthrown their own King and Presidents in the past and formed their own governments by right of self-determination. They, of course, followed a different standard as far as the rights of their subject races went in their colonial territories. But that was neither logical nor could the Portuguese expect the victims of their false political theories to agree with them and surrender their destinies to the whims and fancies of the white people of Portugal. So that the same logic and ethics which enabled Brazil to break away from Portuguese tyranny and overlordship, would also hold good for any other subjects of Portugal. And the right of Goa to be free cannot be challenged on ethical grounds, nor opposed by any political argument.

The question is whether India had any right to intervene in the affairs of Goa. Now, India had been fighting for freedom for a long time and that fight included, all expressed as well as latent struggle for freedom of all the peoples who lived in this sub-continent. The British left India in 1947 and believing in the ethics and logic of self-determination, India even agreed to a partition of India in response to the desire of a handful of Muslim agitators to form a separate State for the Muslim majority areas of India. The French and the Dutch possessions were by and by surrendered by them to India and it was only natural and just to expect that, the Portuguese would also give up their imperialistic hold over their Indian possessions. But unfortunately they did not do so during the long period that followed the surrender of India to the Indians by the British. Their misgovernment of Goa grew more and more tyrannical, and chaotic and the Portuguese persecuted, tortured and murdered many Indians who lived in Portuguese India. All nations have a right to help friendly peoples in distress. The French helped the Americans during the War of Independence. The British have attacked many kingdoms in India to safeguard something or other as understood by them. The Anglo-Americans have interfered in Russian affairs after the 1917 Revolution and later in Cuba and elsewhere. The Russians intervened in Hungary and the Chinese in Korea. In such circumstances as we find now to exist in world politics, we cannot say that the Government of India had done any wrong by invading the Indian territories kept down in subjection by the Portuguese. The Portuguese called their Indian possessions **Estado da India**, so that their hypocritical assertion that their possessions overseas were integral parts of Portugal, was nothing more than a mere hypocritical assertion with no basis of fact attached to it. The Indians had tolerated foreign domination for a long time and when they became free they had no reason for tolerating Portuguese domination over a part of their country. Pakistan was governed by the Pakistanis, who were not foreigners by race, culture or tradition. They were a people who were Indians, now called by a different name for the appeasement of their religious fanaticism and political complexes. The U.S.A. and Great Britain were hoping that India would put her national pride and love of freedom at a lower level compared to her theoretical attachment to non-violence and her obligations to the U.N. Charter; but they were hoping for the impossible. India could never consider anything higher than her liberty and freedom. The logic and ethics of human liberty and freedom would always occupy a higher place than any political expediency. Portugal's fake imperial rights could never compare equally or better with the fundamental rights of humanity. Portugal ceased to be an empire as soon as the king of Portugal was deposed and Portugal became a republic. For that act of deposition made **all** the subjects of that king free and heirs to the sovereignty that was vested in the king. No particular group of subjects could claim that sovereignty exclusively and to the exclusion of other subjects. If they did so, it was an act of illicit appropriation what did not rightfully belong to the usurpers of sovereign

power. So that, if at a later stage the deprived ex-subjects of the king or emperor kicked out the interlopers and assumed full sovereign powers politically, the persons who had been fraudulently enjoying those power could have nothing to complian about.

We are extremely pleased with the action taken by Pandit Nehru's Government and we do hope we shall see similar action in other fields too, where Indians are suffering at the hands of marauders and impostors. For in this world of fakes unless early steps are taken to assert one's own rights, the rights vanish entirely. **True Satyagraha** is a fight to the finish to establish truth and to destroy untruth, immorality and injustice. Meek surrender to brute force is a great sin. We have done this for a long time. Let us not submit to sinfulness any more.

A. C.

India Is Now Fully Independent

Why Pandit Nehru selected Bolpur for an electioneering speech we do not know. One might have thought the nearness of Viswa-Bharati would make him think of things intellectual and cultural rather than about the political achievements of his party. The liberation of Goa was an incident which made all Indian hearts happier; but it was not an incident of such great importance as to make the Prime Minister of India indulge in hyperbole. He said, in his Bolpur speech that the liberation of Goa had completed India's independence. If the independence of a country is to be measured by the number of square miles of that country which are independent compared to the total area of the country in square miles, then India is not yet completely independent. For many thousands of square miles of India are still under Chinese and Pakistani occupation and the total area of India under foreign domination vastly exceeds the area liberated in Goa. If, however, completion of independence has some other meaning one might ask Pandit Nehru whether freedom from starvation, want, illiteracy and aggression by dacoits and foreigners add to the sum-total of independence of a country in any manner. A.C.

One World Vs. Many India's

During the life-time of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Viswa-Bharati became an emblem of the spiritual unity of all human beings. When one spoke of one world and of one humanity they meant that fundamentally all human being were alike in point of their purer feelings and sentiments. Evil desires and the machinations of evil men split the world up into mutually antagonistic communities and separate states. Had all human beings been allowed to pursue their higher ideals without interference from politicians, party-mongers, gangsters and other creators of disunity, the world would have been peopled by one humanity and political geography would have shown a single united world without any divisions. In his Bolpur speech Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke in a manner which suggested that India had many political partywise divisions. The Congress-made Constitution of India has divided India into many states. If now each state had further divisions by language, race, religion and political parties; there would then be about a hundred India's within India ! It would appear then that it had not taken our political leaders much time to destroy the dream of Tagore completely and to make it totally impossible to forge a single united world out of the many countries of this earth. A. C.

"If Necessary We Shall Fight"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in the course of his political speech at Bolpur that he would fight China, if he found it necessary. There is one thing about great men which common people find difficult to understand. It is their sense of necessities. For what the great men find quite unnecessary often appear to be extremely necessary to the man in the street. And what the great consider urgently necessary are usually of no consequence to common people. So that when Pandit Nehru said he would fight the Chinese if he found it necessary; there was no guarantee that he would ever find it necessary under any circumstances. For his sense of necessities should be highly rarefied as befits a man in his position. He has already said he did not consider it necessary to regain by force those bleak uninhabited heights which the Chinese have occupied in the Himalayas. We do not know what kind of climate, quality of soil and density of population will make our Prime Minister conscious of the necessity of recapturing territory from foreign aggression; and, for all we know even New Delhi may not fulfil the conditions required by him. We feel that in view of his ardent love for statistics Pandit Nehru will very soon make out a chart of priorities in the field of necessities. We shall then know how far the Chinese can occupy Indian territories without fighting with the Indian Army. A. C.

EDUCATION FOR TOMORROW'S MANAGERS

A Case For Integrated Liberal Education

By NARENDRA K. SETHI

The growing significance of the Industrial leaders in the socio-economic organism of our free world is an indication of the fact that the business administrators of the future will observe a rapid enlargement in the scope of their executive action and a correspondent growth in their sociological vision. It is futile to offer them just a passive role in the shaping of the course of our society. Their field can no longer be encompassed within the immediate boundaries of their operational responsibilities. The present texture of the society expects more from them. They are bound to assume the position of leadership in developing the economic values of the country and thus contribute in a wider manner to the development of the concept of free enterprise. Therefore, one of the essential themes emerging from the Managerial Revolution of this decade is the gradual growth of the managerial quarter to the dominant position of leadership in the social organization of our composite social-mix.

How can the managers sustain this position of extreme responsibility ? How can they develop the proper perspective needed in maintaining their liberal status ? How can these industrial leaders co-ordinate their functions, faculties and economic values which will develop an integrated concept of "social leadership" in their mental picture ? These are some of the questions raised in this analysis and an effort has been made to define some of the major educational objectives of managerial success. The requirements of management leadership—both in its **creative** and **functional** aspects call for an approach based on the expectations of future role of assertive social status as well as on the needs of the present industrial environment and business "climate."

Essential Functional Themes

A manager, primarily is a leader in the broadest sense of the term. This aspect has received increased emphasis in the recent years. The successful business manager, therefore, has to combine the responsibilities of an administrator, the positive functions of a leader and the uncanny virtues of a statesman. His chief interest is his most significant asset—the manpower of organizaton. He understands their moods, their hopes, frustrations and motivations; he analyses their social values, aesthetic desires and intellectual modes and, finally, he sets himself the task of co-ordinating these things for the development and welfare of his business and the nation. Therefore, unconsciously, he acts as a sound delineator of human actions—adding a common desire and goal to them and thus leading them to achieve peak performances. This is an activity which requires a psychological insight of human mind and a dedicated intellect of powerful conviction.

Along with this primary function of leadership, the manager acts as a distinct decision-maker. He shifts the material around him ; changes their emphasis ; selects the bare themes ; figures out the various possible alternatives and in the final analysis, decides upon the best suited line of action. This activity requires an imaginative grasp of the entire situation and a strong mental faculty to weigh the alternatives, both existent and immediate as well as those still a long way off. Without a well-cultivated mind and a sharpened sense of business judgment, the manager will not be able to develop this creative decision-making process.

The third most pervading function of management is more socio-economic than purely business-oriented. It lies in shaping the future and foreseeing the course of future events. It may be termed a visionary anticipation of change or a formalistic emphasis on the long-range view. Any way, this activity requires a broad perception of the world and an ability to translate the events into easily understandable terms of social significance. In this particular capacity, therefore, the manager acts with a statesman-like vigor to which no event is too small to be left unnoticed and no effort

too rigid to be left unattended. He labors under the sharp focus of the world happenings and learns how to pin-point the nucleus of these scattered global actions. This enables him to forsee the changing concepts of the people, the fleeting moments of the economic history and the curious episodes of the industrial life.

These three functions of psychological leadership, intellectual decision-making and statesmanship must operate in the framework of an over-all general conviction about the belief in the preservation of the system of Free enterprise and the liberal capitalistic way of life. The business manager is neither a rebel nor a dogmatic supervisor. He is a sympathetic leader and a cautious spokesman who learns to understand and appreciate opposing voices. With an analytical temper and a chiselled mind, he sets out to define the "Free Way" and if possible, visualize the degree of cultural differences between the economic judgment of his managerial actions and the responses of his "public" and the outer environment. This activity assumes a keener edge of understanding in the area of international management and foreign communication. In order to achieve success in this strategical area, the manager must possess mature techniques of communication, logical reasoning and wide vision.

Phases of Active Preparation

After having observed some of the more salient functions of management, we are now in a better position to reiterate the question that we had raised earlier how best can the manager of tomorrow be prepared to live up to these diverse sets of challenging responsibilities and how best can he develop his personal faculties to accomplish the objectives that the ever-changing face of our society has set for him ? Reduced to its bare terms, the question is whether managerial success is a function of extreme preparedness and training or of lucky breaks, chance and intuitive hunches. Perhaps, the oft-repeated but seldom understood cliche again arises here : **Are managers born or are they made ?**

As the social patterns and economic concepts of our historical ages change, a corresponding change in the "value-mix" of managerial responsibilities also occurs. And, therefore, without being too facetious and overly generalized, it can be said that while the managers of yesterday were **born,** those of today and more so of tomorrow will be **made.** The deep-set complacency and self-fulfillment of the age just past was the perfect breeding ground for those administrators who led through blissful intuition and visionary hunches ; the new character of the present age emphasizes change, disturbance, social upheaval and multi-dimensional progress and hence there is hardly any future for the intuitive administrator. The new age is one of conceptual criterion in management and not one of extra-rational judgment alone. These differences in the composition of the two ages have given two entirely different pictures of managerial functions and responsibilities. While one was authoritative, the other was co-operative ; while the former emphasized intuition, the other demanded perception ; one reflected self-sufficiency while the other thrived on incessant self-development.

It is clear, therefore, that the complex business and non-business disciplines of the modern age require a manager, trained and fully-prepared to meet these challenges. How, then, should he be trained in this process ?

The Variety of Approaches

There are various schools of thought on the issue regarding the best way to prepare the manager in facing up to the challenge of the day. One school holds strongly that the task of management cannot be learned since it is the result of lifelong dedication to industrial work and practical business experiences. This school maintains that management is a process of managing and consequently it can be learned by managing alone. To them, there is hardly any substitute for practical work. The second school of thought emphasizes the need of a functional or professional type of education. To this school, management appears as a distinct functional process requiring a degree of specialization and technical accomplishment. The third school of thought stresses the all-pervading broad aspects of

management and hence emphasizes more the integrated characteristics of business administration rather than the specific functions. This calls for a blending of imaginative perception, sympathetic understanding and a broad intellectual front. All these things come under the banner of liberal education and humanities.

As a matter of fact, this variety of approaches is not something basically antagonistic to its components; it only seeks to describe the different aspects of management. Each of the three schools takes an individualistic view of the totality of the managerial function and thus proposes a program of education suitable to its concept of what actually managers perform. Thus, the whole controversy once again boils down to the task of defining the vital characteristics of the future managers. Once these essential themes are pin-pointed, the development of an approach to managerial education becomes relatively an easier task.

The Emerging Values in Management

It seems that the following four pointers convey the essence of the new managerial age and its dilemmas. These general convictions impress upon us the need of re-evaluation of the functions and the responsibilities of the coming age.

1. The socio-economic phase of our modern life seems to be attuned more to "fleeting moments" rather than to any permanent set of values. The new scientific innovations, technological improvements and techniques pose newer problems both of adjustment and education but surprisingly, the components of our human nature reveal very little change, if any.

2. The present structure of American industry is no longer immune from foreign competitions and overseas aggressions. It is apparent that future years will see increased foreign participation in our business activities.

3. In spite of rigid channelisation of human performance and specialized professionalism, non-conformity and individuality are greatly admired in the managerial circles. The economic 'rationale' of our business operations emphasizes greater creativity and individual brilliance than ever before.

4. Modern business strategy is increasingly becoming a major function of governmental interference and high-level official interest suggesting a swift break-through from the traditional policy of non-alignment with any business action followed by our administrative hierarchy in the previous ages.

These four points convey the spirit of the modern age and its managerial implications. We are rapidly moving into a new age, perhaps a transitional one, but nevertheless an age of new expectations and potentialities. In order to face up to this innovistic age, the future managers must meet these four salient characteristics and define ways and means to understand the same. As the managers will move outwards from the confines of their business life, their interests, obligations and occupations will grow in intensity. As their intellectual faculties get outer stimulation and motivation, their cultural allegiances will develop too. As they consciously strive towards enhanced creativity in their managerial spheres of actions, they will experience a sense of imaginative and aggressive participation in extra-business activities. All these things will develop a new breed of administrators, integrated and liberal; harmonious and well-adjusted.

And, undoubtedly, these broad mental disciplines can be cultivated only through a well-balanced program of liberal education combining arts and humanities. It is felt that this educational approach provides the necessary framework of development and stimulation to the modern executive in grasping the wide issues of the future.

The Liberal Pattern

There is hardly any anachronism in suggesting this educational concept for the administrator of the technological age of the day. But some people will ask how a liberally-trained manager will ever be able to conceptualise his thinking in terms of managerial science, operational research, systems-engineering and various other quantitative tools. This question is not only irrelevant, but also quite misleading. First, all these

so-called scientific themes of controlling and decision-making are only tools in the hands of the management; they are not substitutes for management at all. Second, the wide perspective of the liberal education does not exclude scientific or quantitative studies from its domain. Third, and perhaps,, the most significant point is that this crude differentiation of administrative knowledge into two separate categories of arts and sciences is irrational. In this reference of management concept, the functional difference between **art** and **science** disappears. There remains only a difference of viewpoint. Art is perception; science is expression. One imagines the thing; the other exposes the same. Therefore, managerial education—at least in its liberal phase—seeks to remove this crude division of knowledge by emphasizing a homogeneity of concept and identity of administrative-values.

What is the character of this liberal education? How can it be defined in actual and realistic terms? Basically, it is a conscious intellectual activity. It develops the mental faculties and integrates the entire executive personality. It motivates, fulfills and encourages; it broadens, sharpens and inspires too.

How broad is the scope of this educational pattern? It does not seek to emphasize specialised perfections but only strives to liberate the hidden forces behind the manager. Therefore, subjects that broaden human intelligence, like history, logic and mathematics; subjects that sharpen faculties of communication, like literature, rhetoric and drama; subjects that stress ethical conduct and rich moral behavior, like philosophy, sociology and ethics, and finally, the subjects that expose the person to the complex structures of the period, like political economy, economics and international affairs are all basic ingredients of the liberal training program. These subjects do not stultify the executive mind by prearrived dogmas, cliches and custom-built themes but lead it to develop its own notions, concepts and periodical decisions. These subjects provide him with a basic context and a framework and from then on, it is up to the manager to form his own specific value judgments.

The administrator of tomorrow will primarily be a decision-maker and a leader. Hence, his first love will be attitudes, beliefs and human disciplines. The humanistic influence of this education will play a positive role in the development of his creative abilities in this direction.

The Vitality of Communication

Future managers are going to be associated more and more with the art of communicating with people. With the gradual increase in the complexities of the industrial life, the need for a well-balanced **system** of group relationships, mutual adjustment and corporate responsibilities will be felt in an increasing degree. This requires a subtle control over semantics: an imaginative use of words, symbols and themes with a command over the flexibility of the language. The managers would not be confined to the explanations of the balance-sheets alone but would be asked to express their ideas and concepts about their business units, industrial conditions and the over-all socio-economic tendencies of the time. This activity aims at achieving complete receptivity in the minds of the people at large. Hence, the managers must be well-prepared to project their messages across in a clear, understandable, simple and accurate manner.

Liberal education provides the manager with the necessary tools required in the art of **persuasive communication.** Perhaps, the administrator would not be required to write highly technicalized scientific reports and treatises, but he would, certainly be expected to express his thinking and translate his visions in everyday idiom. It is in this particular emphasis that the concept of liberal training comes handy.

The Breadth of Outlook

Management is a comprehensive art and it requires the services of a "fuller" man to accomplish all that the managerial strategy has to offer. The liberal educational program de-emphasizes any undue development of any specific faculty and aids in the development of the "entire man". The business leaders cannot reduce themselves to the category of automatons or complacent followers; they have to develop varying perspectives and differing viewpoints. The present argument does not suggest that the

successful executives will ultimately adopt the negative functions of a "jack of all trades." Far from it, indeed. It is a broad familiarity with a variety of mental disciplines and administrative approaches that we seek, not just an intuitive perception of a few scattered and unrelated concepts. An off-hand and passing acquaintance with many subjects and a diffused mastery over a few topics are both somewhat destructive elements in the proper development of the managers. Liberal education is aware of this possibility and reduces the risk of such tendency by encouraging the businessman to portray his own personality, character and attitudes in a positive way through the wide framework of intellectual background and outlook.

How does this program of liberal training differ from either vocational or professional education? While liberal education is choice-oriented, vocational training is attuned to a rigid **action**-orientation. One offers unlimited possibilities in terms of future openings and career-choosings while the other practically administers a dogmatic and restrictive influence. In other words, at least in the immediate managerial reference, it can be said that one is the education for the "free executive," the other for the "functional technician." Liberal education, in the same viewpoint, also differs from informative education, technical training and dogmatic education of a specialised type.

The Creative Continuity

As a matter of fact, this proposed liberal training program for the potential executive is not confined to a few years of formal study in an institution. It is a continuous activity requiring life-long pursuit and desire. By continuously exploring newer intellectual expriences and modes of thought and stretching mental dimensions to newer administrative themes and leadership concepts, the business manager is able to preserve the freshness of his outlook as well as the creative originality of his approach. With experience and experimentation, he gets exposed to new subtleties of of his management. In this way, a liberally-trained executive is always in the process of educating himself. His training never ends because it has no end. It is neither rigid nor static because a creative function of continuity can never develop these attributes at all.

In the final analysis, this liberal grounding will bring home an added consciousness of the need of an equilibrium and harmony in the minds of the business leaders. They are faced with the challenge of creating a harmonious whole of management out of these dissimilar disciplines of industrial complexities. This challenge becomes more acute in the context of international management. Out of seemingly different and hostile cultural values, business strategies, trade functions and managerial patterns in the international area, the potential executives have to frame and develop a model of managerial efficiency which would integrate these diverse socio-economic elements in a coherent system. This requires again an understanding with the functions of international affairs, universal business decisions and economic life in the different area-groupings. It is through a liberally-developed perspective that the executives can meet these stiff challenges in the rapidly growing structure of international management.

Conclusion

The manager of tomorrow is a product of different social environment and economic attitude than his counter-part of the previous age. His action-area is broad; his influence great and his administrative impact is widely felt. In order to be successful in this multi-dimensional world of his, he has to prepare himself thoroughly in the most effective and the best possible manner. This is achieved not as much by vocational, professional or technical education as by an integrated system of liberal training, designed to develop the "full" executive.

The economic freedom of tomorrow depends much on the role that our business executives are going to play in the coming years. Their role calls for a sharpened intellect, widened vision, increased moral vigor and a disciplined imagination. Where, indeed, can they look for these bounties of personality except in the all-embracing domain of liberal education?

INDIAN MINORITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

South-East Asia with an area of 1,600,000 square miles and a population of 170,000,000 consists of British Borneo possessions, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malayan Peninsula, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam (North and South). Excepting Vietnam on the north-east of the region, the boundaries of South-East Asia separate it effectively from the nearest land mass on all sides. It is fringed by water on the east, south and west. High mountains on the north divide it from India and China except from the north-east coastal region of Vietnam.

South-East Asia has been subjected to pressures from all sides all throughout history. Racially, culturally, economically and politically, it has been always a "low-pressure" area. It is peopled for the most part by the descendants of successive hordes of migrants from the north by ever-increasing pressures upon them, stemming in the last analysis from the Chinese. Compared with China, South-East Asia is a region of low population density. Patches of over-population notwithstanding, South-East Asian countries are, on the whole, sparsely populated and there is a heavy pressure of population from China and also to an extent from India. There are today about ten million Chinese and about a million and a half Indians[1] in the various countries of South-East Asia.

Throughout the long centuries of its history, South-East Asia has received cultural influences from all sides. The high level of civilisation attained, among others, Sumatra and Java in Indonesia and by Cambodia in the pre-modern period was due to the penetration of the area by Hinduism and associated social elements. Arabs, Chinese and Indian cultural influences are not far below the surface of South-East Asia even today. Cultural influences have, in a word, converged upon South-East Asia from China, India and Middle-East and also from America and Europe and all have been accepted. They have moulded the socio-cultural pattern of this part of the world. Cultural influences, it must be remembered, have never emanated from South-East Asia.

Economically, Arab, Chinese and Indian merchants fostered South-East Asian trade and commerce in olden days. Its economic structure, however, underwent a revolutionary change with the foundation of the Western power in this region. Subsistence agriculture, cottage industries and bartar economy gave place to the growing of food and raw materials for the world market, among others. The South-East Asian market was flooded with cheap, machine-made, finished factory products from the West. Cottage industries were cornered, if not altogether wiped out. Money economy drove barter economy out of existence. South-East Asia became a leader of the world rice, and rubber markets.[2] Politically too, South-East Asia has always been a low-pressure area. China, the Asian colossus, has moved southwards on several occasions. Vietnam was long tied to the apron-strings of Chinese imperialism. Kublai Khan's hordes devastated Burma, Cambodia and Champa (in Vietnam). He also sent an expedition to Java because the latter had helped Champa against China. Emperor Yun Lo (1403-24 A.D.) of the Ming Dynasty occupied most of Vietnam, controlled Upper Burma and sent several expeditions to the south to collect tributes and to persuade the local rulers to accept Chinese suzerainty. Indo-South-East Asian relationship, on the other hand, have always been peaceful in the extreme. But the expedition of Rajendra Chola I of Tanjore (1012-44 A.D.) against the Sailendras of Java shows what an aggressive India could do. Japan too struck at the region only once. But for the Anglo-American intervention she would have become today the arbitress of the destinies of South-East Asia.

The West took full political control of South-East Asia for a time. Western rule certainly did some good to it. But the evils of foreign rule always for outweighed the beneficial results thereof. Today South-East Asia is a principal arena of the cold war between the countries on either side of the iron curtain. It is clear from what has been said above that "As much in terms of international relations as of population, culture and economics, South-East Asia can best be understood in terms of a low-pressure area."[3]

Foreign penetration of South-East Asia, it is

important to note, has been easy due to its division into a number of small political units. As van Mook puts it, the West found South-East Asia in the 16th century "a patchwark quilt of Kingdoms, principalities and tribal chieftainships, independent cities and local or regional confederations."[4]

Hindu and Buddhist merchants and missionaries sowed the first seeds of civilisation in South-East Asia. Java, Sumatra and many other regions in South-East Asia owe their earliest civilisations to India. Indian cultural influences, are still traceable in South-East Asia. About a million and a half Indians (and Pakistanis) are scattered all over the region. About 80 per cent of them are agriculturists and unskilled labourers.

The rest are traders and money-lenders with a sprinkling of doctors, lawyers and government and non-government employees. The majority of these Indians are from South India. Others are, by and large, Sikhs and Hindus from the Punjab, and Parsis from Bombay. There are a handful of Bengalis as well.

Pre-independence India was, on the whole, indifferent to the Indian community in South-East Asia. Only on rare occasions, in times of crisis, she showed interest in them. Her expression of anxiety for the Indo-Burmese riots of 1938 and for the economic distress of Malaya Indians during the trade-slump in the late twenties and early thirties is a case-in-point. The 1936 annual session of the Indian National Congress adopted the following resolution—"The Congress sends greetings to our fellow-countrymen overseas and its assurances of sympathy and help in their distressful condition and the continuing deterioration in their status in the territories in which they have settled. The Congress is ready and willing to take all action within its power to ameliorate their condition, but desires to point out that a radical amelioration in their status must ultimately depend on the attainment by India of independence and the power to protect her nationals abroad." The Congress set up a Foreign Department in 1936 with a twofold objective, *viz.*, to keep in touch with Indians overseas and to contact such international organisations as might be of help to India's quest for her lost heritage. The Department sent a circular to the Indians in various countries and published some literature on Indians overseas. Jawaharlal Nehru's Malaya and Burma tour in 1937 awakened for the first time national and political consciousness of his compatriots in these countries. It is a pity that this awakening was not made permanent by suitable propaganda and organisation.

Today, India stands high in the estimate of various South-East Asian people and their governments. Almost all of them have implicit faith in India's, particularly Nehru's, leadership in the field of international politics, Burmese Premier U Nu's message to a special news-reel broadcast by the All-India Radio, Delhi, on November 14, 1960, the 71st birth anniversary of Nehru, reflects what South-East Asia in general thinks of Nehru. Premier Nu, observed, "Just as a bright star cannot" help influencing "all heavenly bodies around it, Panditji's great influence has not been confined to India. Under his leadership India's peace-preserving efforts, ... have today come not only to be generally recognized, but even to be widely sought . . . . We Asians are happy, indeed, to acknowledge these great achievements of India under her great Prime Minister."

Not to speak of Buddhist Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, even predominantly Muslim Indonesia and Malaya cherish their Hindu-Buddhist Indian heritage, and are not ashamed of it. The situation, however, may change in the not very remote future. Enemies of India, both within and without, miss no opportunity of maligning and misrepresenting her. Our publicity in South-East Asia leaves scope for improvement. Paradoxical as it may sound, none of the South-East Asian Governments is very sympathetic to the Indian section of its population. They are either hostile or indifferent.

But why? For one thing, Indians are mostly unwilling to settle down permamently in South-East Asian countries and for sound reasons at that. India is a sovereign state today and many at home and abroad are optimistic about her future. Indian immigrants in South-East Asia are not, therefore, willing to renounce their Indian nationality. The policy pursued by some of the South-East Asian Governments and the internal condition of their countries do not inspire much confidence and the Indians are not

very eager to identify themselves and their future with those countries. The attitude is selfish; but human nature being what it is, we must admit that it is only natural. For another, Indians are conservative by nature and do not easily give up their own way of life. Nor do they encourage social contacts with the peoples in whose midst they live. For yet a third, Indians migrated to South-East Asia in modern times in the wake of foreign conquerors (excepting Thailand which was never conquered by any western power) and did not a little in consolidating foreign rule in that part of the world. South-East Asian nationalists, therefore, looked upon them as allies of their conquerors and spoliators. Little wonder, they (Indians) have been always disliked and suspected and suspicion and dislike have been accentuated in recent years. The all-out effort by some "*educated*" Indian immigrants to play the black American or black Englishman together with their patronising attitude to the children of the soil has further widened the gulf between the Indian immigrants and the indigenous communities. Last but not least, Indians in South-East Asia took an active part in the Azad Hind movement backed up by Japan. Indians are, therefore, held partially responsible, quite erroneously though, for Japan's misdeeds in South-East Asia during World War II. Indian merchants and money-lenders, who have earned millions in South-East Asia, have done little for the well-being of the indigenous population. The comparatively poor middle class Indians were formidable rivals of their counterparts in the indigenous society. Indian labour competed successfully with local labour. All these have contributed to the unpopularity of Indians in South-East Asia. They are not liked; but just tolerated. We shall attempt here a brief review of the condition of Indians in Burma, Malaya (and Singapore), Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam.

Burma—Though Burma has had an Indian problem for many years, it became serious only after the separation of that country from India in 1937. The great Economic Blizzard of the late 'twenties and early 'thirties of the present century disrupted Burma's economic life. Burmese national consciousness began to grow in the years before World War II (1939-45). After the separation of Burma from India, the Government of Burma placed a number of laws on the statute book to safeguard the interests of the children of the soil. These laws adversely affected the interests of Indian immigrants in Burma. A Burmese Muslim savagely attacked Buddhism in a book written by him. The book, first published in 1929, had attracted little attention at the time. Reprinted in 1938, it touched off serious disturbances in the country. The Burmese Buddhists were infuriated. Anti-Indian riots broke out in Mandalay in Upper Burma, The conflagration spread to other places. 200 lives, mostly Indian Muslim, were lost. According to government estimate, property worth Rs. 18,000,000 was destroyed. The riots strained the relations between Indian Hindus and Muslims. Hindus had sympathised with the Burmans during the riots. Attack on Buddhism had naturally wounded Hindu susceptibilities. Besides, the Muslims in India had been rapidly forfeiting the confidence of their Hindu compatriots about this time. The Muslims should thank themselves, particularly the Muslim League supporters among them, for the attitude of their Hindu countrymen to them. The joint efforts of the representatives of the Government of India[5] and the principal Indian organisation in Burma, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, external Hindu-Muslim harmony was restored after a time. A real heart-unity could not be achieved, however, and the fire of communal animosity smouldered below the surface. The Government of Burma appointed a Riot Enquiry Committe, which held the Indians mainly, if not solely, responsible for the 1938 disturbances. It reported that "perhaps the most compelling cause of the anti-Indian outbreaks had been the unrest and discontent caused by the dominant position of Indians in Burma and by their unrestricted entry into the country."[6]

During the years 1938-40, the Government of Burma passed a number of laws detrimental to Indian interests. United action on the part of the Hindu and Muslim immigrants might have stayed the hands of the government. But that was not to be. The Burma Land Purchase Bill authorised the government to buy out the non-agriculturist absentee landlords and distribute the land thus obtained among the tillers of the soil. The Burmese Tenancy Act reduced the land revenue

to be collected by the landlords. Most of Burma's non-agriculturist landlords being Indians, Indian interests in Burma were threatened with serious losses by these laws. But, thanks to the inefficiency of the Burmese Government and the efforts of the Nattukotai Chettyar Association, the losses actually sustained were much smaller than they had threatened to be.

The riots of 1938 and the two laws under reference were an eye-opener to Indian landlords and money-lenders most of whom were Chettyars from South India. They began to dispose of their capital and properties in Burma. Transfer of money from Burma to India readhed an all-time high in 1938 and has not been equalled or surpassed before or since. Indian landlords and money-lenders in thousands left Burma for good.

The Rangoon Municipal Bill, 1940, proposed that at least one-half of the members of the Rangoon Municipal Corporation should be Burmans. The reader should note that in 1940 Indians constituted more than 50 per cent of the city's total population and that 55 per cent of the Corporation's tax-payers were Indians. The Bill was subsequently amended through the intervention of the Government of India. The Indo-Burmese agreement concluded at the time of the separation of Burma from India had provided for the free entry of Indian imports and Indian immigrants into Burma. But a new Indo-Burmese Trade Agreement (April, 1941) imposed duties on Indian imports. A preferential treatment was, however, accorded to India and tariff rates for Indian imports were fixed at 10 per cent and 15 per cent lower than those on (British) Empire countries, respectively. The Minister U Saw of Burma announced in 1940 that his government intended to stop the unrestricted immigration of Chinese and Indians into Burma. A committee of experts under the chairmanship of Mr. James Baxter, the Financial Adviser to the Government of Burma, had been appointed in 1939 to find out (i) the volume of Indian immigration into Burma; (ii) how far it was seasonal and transient; (iii) the principle occupation of Indian immigrants; (iv) if in such occupations they already had displaced the Burmans or could be replaced by them and (v) whether unskilled Indian labour was indispensable to Burma. The committee's report was not published by the government for a long time.

An Indo-Burmese agreement concluded in July, 1941, sought to regulate the entry of Indians into Burma. It accepted the principles of Burma's right to determine the composition of her own population and the equality of rights and privileges between Burmans and those Indians who identified themselves with the interests of Burma. The Indian migrants were divided into two categories: (i) Those who could stay in Burma for an indefinite period, could carry on business and could be employed there and (ii) Those whose entry-permits would be controlled by the Government of Burma and issued only to Indians with "specified financial guarantees and literacy qualifications."

The Government of Burma next announced that they would soon introduce the system of registering Indians domiciled in Burma.

The agreement was received with a chorus of disapproval both in India and Burma. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, the Imperial India Citizenship Association, Bombay, and the All-Parties Meeting, Madras, jointly memoralized Viceroy Lord Linlithgow protesting against the agreement. Mahatma Gandhi too raised his voice of protest and said that he could not believe that the agreement had been made in response to "a vital cry from the great Burman nation." The Government of India could not remain indifferent and persuaded the Parliament to withhold its approval of the agreement. The Indian community in Burma and the only repersentative of Indian labour[7] in the Burmese legislature had also protested against the 1941 agreement. The Burman legislators accused their Indian colleagues of not identifying their interests with those of Burma and of using their votes for interference in the domestic issues of Burma and the Burmans. Indian public opinion in Burma, while accepting the inevitability of some sort of restriction on Indian immigration, felt that negotiations for the 1941 agreement had been conducted with undue secrecy and that those most affected by it had been the least consulted.

When the question of the separation of Burma from India was raised in 1931, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Burma reported that domiciled Indians accepted Burma's right of

ıtion and only desired that the legitimate ɜts of Indians in Burma should be protected. ›overnment of India interpreted "the legiti- interests of Indians" as the interests of the .nd it was through their (The Government lia's) intervention that the interests of the ars, of Indian business magnates and of ı shipping companies were partly, if not protected. It was not until 1939 that the nment of India appointed an agent to look the interests of Indian labourers in Burma. little powers were, however, give to this ary.

'he Indian community in Burma was ɜtic to politics. Rich and poor, educated and vise, all were absorbed in the pursuit of ıal ends. Till 1937, Burma had a Provincial 'ess Committee affiliated to the Indian nal Congress. The Provincial Committee :o send a few delegates to the annual sessions ɜ parent organisation. The former (*i.e.*, the ncial Committee) has no remarkable achieve- to its credit. It was dissolved in 1937. A a Committee of the Indian National Con- was organised to work for the independence ırma. The Committee used to elect 2 Indian . Burman members to the All-India Congress nitte till 1939. The All-Burma Muslim League the Burma Hindu Sabha were founded in ıtter year. These latter organisations were ose touch with the Indian Muslim League the Hindu Mahasabha, respectively. A few nal organisations, such as, the Young Chulia m League and the All-Burma South Indian :iation, were also founded about this time. ɜ had no political programme. To safeguard ɔcial and economic interests of their members associates was their principal objective.

he number of Indians in Burma was steadily ıe increase till 1941, when the conflagration g in Europe since 1939 spread to Asia. The of increase, however, had been going down nany years. According to the 1931 census ns—since 1931 no census has been taken in ıa as a whole—there were 1,018,000 Indians urma and they constituted 7 per cent of the try's total population. More or less 500,000, about one-half of Burma's Indian population ned home after the Japanese invasion in 1942. According to the Government of Burma, about 10,000 died on the way. In the post-war period (1945-60). The number of Indians in Burma has never reached seven figures. Strict immigration laws and an equally strict enforcement, thereof, lack of security in Burma and disruption of her economic life in post-war years coupled with war-time evacuation, among others, have kept the number of Indian migrants much below the one-million mark. Reduced in numbers, the Indians have lost much of their pre-war political and economic importance.

Hardly had Rangoon been captured by the English, when the Chettyars and the Scindia Steam Navigation Company began to press the Governments of India and of Burma for the recognition of the "right of Indians to enter Burma without let or hindrance." The request was, however, turned down.[8] The two Governments concerned and the Colonial Office finally decided that all Indians, who had left Burma during the war, excepting unskilled labourers, would be permitted to go back to Burma. But shipping difficulties, shortage of food, problem of accommodation and the difficulty of proving pre-war residence in Burma were so many formidable stumbling blocks in the path of those who were willing and entitled to return. Many of the evacuees could never go back to Burma.

About 200,000 Indians trapped in Burma during the war wanted to return home after the war. But lack of sufficient shipping facilities made repatriation slow and difficult. The exact number of Indians returning to Burma after the war is not known. A statement of the Burmese Minister of Labour and Industry in the spring of 1947 said that about 246,000 Indians had re-entered Burma after the re-establishment of civil government there. The Government of India statistics, however, showed a maximum of 140,000. The expenses of repatriation to India and of return to Burma were all paid by the Government of India. Many complaints were heard at this time as to the inefficiency and corruption of the Burmese Immigration Department.

The Burmese Emergency Immigration Act (June, 1947) laid down that all persons entering Burma must have passports from their respective governments and visas from the Government of Burma or permits issued by the Burmese Controller of Immigration. The Government of Burma

informed in reply to Government of India's protest against this "unilateral and harsh" action that the Act was applicable to immigrants of all nationalities and was called for by the emergency situation in Burma. The Government of India, they concluded, had, therefore, no valid ground of complaint. The Emergency Immigration Act is not a little responsible for keeping down the number of Indians in post-war Burma. Not more than a quarter of Indians, who had returned to India in 1942, have been able to re-enter Burma. According to the 1953 census returns of the city of Rangoon, the Burmese metropolis had a population of 737, 079 of which only 40,396 were Indians.[9]

Though the Government of Burma discouraged Indian immigration, they welcomed Indian doctors. Most of the Burmese doctors in government service resigned after the war and beccame wholetime private practitioners. There was in consequence a serious shortage of doctors in government hospitals and dispensaries. Of the 670 doctors employed by the Government of Burma before the war, only 280,—(a little less than 41.8 per cent) were in service in early 1952. A Burmese mission was sent to India about this time to recruit doctors. 600 Indian doctors offered themselves as candidates for 280 available vacancies.

Untold harassments, hardships and sufferings were the lot of Indians left behind in Burma after the withdrawal of the British army early in 1942. Indians were threatened. Their shops were looted. There were large-scale pogroms of Indian labourers in the Irrawaddy delta. The bay ran red with Indian blood. The beach was littered with Indian bones. The arrival of Japanese troops in Burma improved the situation. Indians left rural areas in large numbers and took shelter in Rangoon. An Indian Residents' Association was organised under Japanese auspices. The Rangoon branch of the I. I. L. (Indian Independence League) was organised in August, 1942. Indian prisoners of war willing to fight for the independence of India were all released and armed by the Japanese military authorities. Each was to receive a salary of Rs. 5/- per month. The I.I.L. first turned its attention to the relief of Indian miseries and the security of the Indians. It was not, however, "catapulted into publicized activity until Subhas Chandra Bose came Rangoon in June, 1944.[10]

In October, 1942, Burma's war-time gov ment, under Dr. Ba Maw, imposed a ban on future entry of Indians into Burma. But u Japanese pressure, the ban had to be withdr within a year. Indians' right to Burmese cit ship was recognised at the same time. Dr. Maw at first did not agree to make Burma operational base of the Indian National Ar (I. N. A.) Manipur offensive. But he waived objection later on. The Headquarters of Azad Hind Government and the I. N. A. transferred from Singapore to Rangoon in C ber, 1943. The Japanese occupation author from now on made strenuous efforts to win the Indian Muslims in Burma. Burma was lover of the Azad Hind Government and activities. But Burmese leadership Moderate well as Radicals,—realized before long that Bur economic future was linked up with India's that Burmese policy to Indian immigrants bound to have far-reaching effects on I Burmese relations in future.

The Azad Hind movement gave to Bu Indians "a greater unity than they had achieved before and a larger identificatio their aspirations for independence with thos the Burmese nationalists."[11] The Chettyars turned home, almost to a man, during the The Indian community in Burma was nun cally much weaker during and after the war before it. Indian labour accepted Burmese la leadership. The cumulative effect of all these the weakening of anti-Indian sentiments Burma. By 1945, it had almost disappeared. Burma Indian Congress and the Burma Mu League actively supported the A. F. P. I (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) Burmese attitude to Indians underwent a c plete change. Leaders of Burma Indians much to cement the nascent Indo-Burmese co ality. Dr. C. Rauf, representative of the Gov ment of India in Burma and free India's Ambassador to Burma later on, and his bro U. Raschid were the foremost among these lead The latter opted for Burmese citizenship and for sometime a Minister of the free Burn Government. Both stood high in the estimate the Burmese nationalist leaders.

Nehru's speeches dispelled Burmese fear and suspicion of India immigrants.[12] It would be too much, however, to assume that the Burmese fear an suspicion of Indians were completely removed. They only receded to the background. General Aung Sang, the principal architect of Burmese independence, made no secret of what he thought of Indian vested interests in Burma. He observed in course of a press interview at New Delhi in January, 1947,—"There are some Indians in the A. F. P. F. L. . . . . but Indian vested interests, like any other vested interests, are not in favour of independence. The rest of the people are with us."[13] He is also on record as having said in April 1947, that "The rapacity and economic imperialism"(!) of Indian big business "in regard to Burma were held in check only by Nehru."

Burma became independent on January, 4, 1948. The Constitution of Independent Burma drawn up in the same year made a distinction between aliens and the children of the soil for purposes of citizenship. Indians were required by the Constitution to renounce their Indian citizenship before admission to the Burmese. Aliens, who did not apply for Burmese citizenship by April 4, 1949, were to register themselves as such. The time-limit was, however, extended several times. According to Kondapi[15] more than 150,000 out of about 250,000 Indians in Rangoon were admitted to Burmese citizenship by September, 1949. Reliable statistics for the period, since 1949, are not available. It is, however known, that thousands of Indians have left Burma since late 1949. Insecurity of life and property in post-war Burma coupled with a strong sentimental attachment to the motherland partially account for this large-scale withdrawal.

Buddhism is the state-religion of Burma. Premier, U. Nu, is a devout Buddhist. The Government of Burma, it should be noted, are not indifferent to Hinduism, which is the religion of the majority of the immigrants from India. The All-Burma Hindu Central Board was founded in 1953 with financial aid from the Government of Burma. The Board, a purely non-political organisation, seeks to preach the fundamental principles of Hinduism.

Chettyars from South India were by far the most prosperous section of the Indian community in pre-war Burma. About a quarter of the best rice lands in the country were in their possession in 1937. Capital invested by them in land amounted to about Rs. 500,000,000/- in 1930. It was mainly Chettyar capital which gave a fillip to Lower Burma's paddy cultivation. Chettyar capital invested in urban properties amounted to about Rs. 25,000,000/- in the same year.

Chettyars having left Burma in 1942, the Burmans occupied the properties left behind by them. The Japanese-sponsored war-time government of Dr. Ba Maw validated this unlawful occupation. The Chettyars on their return to Burma, after the war, claimed their properties. Burma, however, was in no mood to listen to them.[16] The Government lost no time in strengthening Burma's inadequate pre-war agrarian legislation. The Tenancy Act of 1947 fixed the rent that a landlord might realise from his tenants at roughly twice the land-tax payable to the government. On January 3, 1948, one day before independence, the transfer of land to a foreigner for more than one year was forbidden. Three more land laws had been placed on the statute book before the year was out. The Land Nationalization Act denied proprietory right in land to non-agriculturalists and fixed a ceiling of land holding by peasants. No peasant was to have more than 50 acres of land. The maximum compensation to be paid to an expropriated landlord was fixed at 12 times the annual land-tax. The compensation in no case was to exceed Rs. 60/- per acre.[17] The Land Alienation Act forbade the sale of land to non-Burma nationals. The Disposal of Tenancies Act authorised the government to lease out to a tenant of their own choosing as much land as he could cultivate efficiently. The laws under reference devalued Indian landed property worth about Rs. 1,000,000,000/- and arbitrarily deprived their owners of their legitimate income therefrom.[18] Lack of Burmese capital for land purchase has worsened the situation. The Government of India requested the Government of Burma to postpone the enforcement of the above laws "pending an overall agreement between the two countries."

The Chettyars, according to Andrus, were "much the most important part of Burma's financial community judging by volume of business

and economic impact on the country as a whole". Chettyars are, by and large, money-lenders. The interest charged by them ranged between 15 and 36 per cent, per annum. The Burmese debtor seldom re-pays his debt. The results were disastrous and during the great slump of the late twenties and early thirties many peasants lost their land for non-payment of debts. Burmese money-lenders, often landlords, charged interests at much higher rates than the Chettyars. Their capital being much less than that of the Chettyars, they could neither compete successfully with the latter nor cope with the demand for loans, by the peasantry.[20] There were six Indian banks in Burma before the war. Five were closed down by the Japanese occupation authorities during the war. Laws passed by the Government in the post-war years have practically stopped money-lending by foreigners. Money-lenders in Burma, it may be noted, were mostly Indians.

Indian businessmen occupied a very important place in the economic life of British Burma. They controlled "more than half of Burma's rice export, and were important in the export of several other commodities, as well as being the importers of most items. They owned many saw mills, rice mills, and miscellaneous but important factories like those manufacturing matches, soap and knit goods".[21] 49 per cent of Burma's income-tax payers in 1931 were Indians.

The restoration of British rule in 1945 marked the beginning of evil days for the Indian mercantile community in Burma. The Civil Supplies Board, formed in 1946, to regulate import trade ignored the claims of Indian merchants and allotted, quite arbitrarily, an unjustifiably large share of the import quotas to British merchants. 65 per cent of the rice traders in pre-war Burma were Indians. The Agricultural Projects Board, another post-war creation, reduced their precentage to 36. Assaults on Indian interests mounted steadily from 1947 when power began to be transferred to Burmese hands. Before the war hardly 10 per cent of Burma's importers were Burmans. From 1947, 50 per cent of the import licences were given to them. The rice trade was nationalised. The policy of the government, needless to say, adversely affected business. Thanks to the expanding Indo-Burmese trade in post-war years, the big Indian trading houses weathered the storm. The small fries, unable to hold their own against the government-backed indigenous traders, were, however, cornered.

According to the census returns of 1931, only 14 per cent of Burma's male wage-earners were Indians. But Indians predominated in banking, trade, various government establishments and also in the field of unskilled labour. Burmese field-labour, however, had not to face much Indian competition in the late thirties. The 1938 ban on the export of Indian labour was certainly beneficial to Burma's indigenous agrarian labour.

Unemployment has been a serious problem in Burma since the days of Japanese occupation. Large-scale influx of agricultural labourers into urban areas in search of security and employment created a problem of unemployment in towns, already suffering from the problem of chronic under-employment. Many of Burma's saw mills closed down in post-war years and the employees thereof lost their jobs. A drastic curtailment of the mining and petroleum industries and a reduction in the transport services threw thousands out of employment. At least 5,000 Burma Indians were unemployed in May, 1949.

The leadership of Burmese labour passed from Indian hands to the Burmese. Indian labour is responsible for this change of leadership. The Burma Trade Union Congress had a total membership of 30,000 in 1947. Only 5,000, *i.e.*, one-sixth of the members were Indians. Thakin Hla Kwye, Secretary of the Burma Trade Union Congress, told American authors, Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, that Indians had no leaders of their own, who might challenge successfully the Burmese domination of the Congress, "which prided itself on its inter-racial character".[22]

Indians in the Burmese Government service have shown the same passivity as Indian labourers. In 1947, the Government of Burma announced that the number of foreigners in government establishments would be reduced. About 4,000 Indians were employed under the said government at the time. Faced with discharge or registration as Burma nationals and acquiring a knowledge of the Burmese language about 1,000 had returned to India by February, 1949. The All-

Burma Ministerial Services Union called for a general strike by government employees in the same month. The attitude of the Indian employees pleased neither their indigenous colleagues nor the government. On the advice of the Indian Embassy at Rangoon about 1,000 Indians in government service stayed away from work; but they declared at the same time that they were not on strike *deliberately*. They also re-affirmed their loyalty to Burma. On February 7, the authorities asked all strikers to return to duty by the 10th on pain of dismissal. On he 11th, 600 Indian (and Pakistani) employees were dismissed. They were all due to retire within a short time. By May, about 1,500 Indians in government service had been discharged. Pensions of some them were arbitrarily reduced.

Notes and References.

1. Vide, A. Vanderbosch and R. A. Butwell, *South-East Asia among World Powers*, pp. 2, ff.
2. Vide, D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 649.
3. A. Vanderbosch and R. A. Butwell, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
4. H. J. Van Mook, *The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia*, pp. 36-7.
5. The post was created after the separation of Burma from India in 1937.
6. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adlo *Minority Problems in South-East Asia*, p. 73.
7. There were in all 8 Indian Deputies i the Burmese Legislature.
8. *The Civil Affairs Services Bureau*, Burm was, however, permitted to recruit 16,000 u skilled Indian labourers for temporary rehabil tation work in Burma.
9. Including Pakistanis.
10. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adlo *op. cit.*, p. 78.
11. *Ibid*, p. 79.
12. *Ibid*, p. 80.
13. *Ibid*, p. 80. (quoted).
14. *Ibid*, p. 80.
15. C. Kondapi, *Indian Overseas*, 1838-194 p. 420.
16. About 3,000,000 acres of land value between Rs. 600,000,000/- and Rs. 800,000,000 were legally still the property of Indians, most Chettyars. About a quarter million of India residents of Rangoon owned about 70 per cent the buildings and 50 per cent of the cinemas i the city. The alien domination of the country economic life was naturally an eye-sore nationalist Burma.
17. The land-tax at the time varied betwee Re. 1 and Rs. 5 per acre.
18. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
19. J. Russell Andrus, *Burmese Economi Life*, p. 305.
20. *Ibid*, p. 311.
21. *Ibid*, p. 351.
22. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adlof *op. cit.*, p. 88.

EXPORT PROMOTION IN INDIA

By Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.COM., LL.B.

Introduction

ADE is a symptom of civilisation. The onomic progress of a nation is based upon ade. One nation exchanges its surplus production r the surplus of another nation and in this ay every country tends to produce only that mmodity for which the nature has given her e greatest capacity. Climate, topography, il, social and economic organisations determine e capacity of production. They also, on the her hand, determine the market for commodi-es. India is rich both in natural resources as a ase for production and in geographical location r purposes of international trade. She stands ce a pendant among the continents at the very ntre of the eastern hemisphere and commands ade routes running in all directions.

From time immemorial India is known to irry on a very flourishing trade with countries ke Egypt, Rome, Greece, Arabia, Iran and hina and the balance of this trade always used be in her favour. Even during the modern eriod the balance of her foreign trade never scillated so heavily against India as in more cent years after the Second World War. The asons for this change are not far to seek. The o sides of a nation's balance of payment-sheet epresent the strength of the two general forces f supply of a nation's currency and demand for nation's currency, the former, *i.e.*, supply de-ending on a nation's imports and the latter, *i.e.*, emand depending on its exports. The strength of ese forces is directly determined by existing conomic conditions within the country. Income vels, degree of employment, range and nature f goods entering into consumption, structure of roduction, monetary and fiscal policies, these nd similar parallel forces within an economy are e determinants of the inflow and outflow of oods, services and capital between nations. hus, at best, the external economic conditions s denoted by the balance of payments are a ere reflection of internal conditions. And a ersistent disbalance in external accounts is by nd large an offshoot of internal disequilibrium.

Recent Trends in India's Balance of Payments Position

Though India's balance of payments position was very satisfactory at the end of the Second World War, yet very soon the scales took a turn. Imports of foodstuff, machinery and consumers' goods increased. Machinery was required for replacement and development purposes whereas hitherto pent up demand for consumers' goods led to the intensification of their imports. This brisk rise in imports could not be matched by the pace of exports. Within our economy the rising price level coupled with uncertain political conditions kept prices of our exportable goods high enough to discourage foreign demand. The overall position was one of exports lagging behind imports leading to an adverse balance of payments, the net deficit on current account having reached about Rs. 49.7 crores in 1948. The pressure of post-partition events, *viz.*, the political, economic and psychological dislocation led us deeper into the maze of foreign currency dependency and the year 1949 recorded a heavy deficit of Rs. 53 crores. This situation continued unabated and the bulge grew to Rs. 57.4 crores in 1951. Later in 1954, due to two important factors, namely, a succession of good agricultural harvests and the curtailment of imports (as opposed to expansion in exports) the deficit was reduced to 4.1 crores.

The net deficit again rose to 206.2 crores in 1956 and to Rs. 451.9 crores in 1957. There was, however, some decline in the deficit to Rs. 355 crores in 1958 and a substantial decline to Rs. 171.7 crores in 1959. The continued deficit, and that too in increasing proportions upto 1957 was chiefly due to the import of capital and other goods needed for the execution of the projects included in the Second Plan. The subsequent decline in the deficit was due to the strict check exercised over imports since 1957 and the foreign assistance which we received during this period.*

*Records and Statistics, *Quarterly Bulletin of the Eastern Economist*, May, 1960.

Need to Promote Exports

There is no gainsaying the fact that any attempt at quickening economic development brings in heavy pressure on the country's balance of payments. For, generally the export earnings rarely rise to the tempo necessary to serve the expanding domestic economy adequately. Again, substantial periods of time are required to carry out the adjustments necessary to direct the rising productivity at home into a healthy foreign trade position. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the trade deficit cannot go on expanding to any extent. While it is not possible to reduce substantially our imports in view of the developmental plans, every effort should be made to increase exports. However, it was not till the deterioration in the country's balance of payments position began to jeopardize the execution of the various development programmes under the country's successive Five-Year Plans that for the first time the question of more vigorous export promotion was invested with a sense of urgency. In view of the growing foreign exchange crisis, the size of the Second Plan was cut short and it was announced that foreign exchange would be arranged for those projects only which were included in the 'core' of the plan.

As such it is more than clear now that for the implementation of these Plans the problem of foreign exchange is going to be a tough task. Taking credit from abroad is not a permanent comfort to our economy because it is only a deferred payment for which we shall have to find money in no distant future. To counteract, therefore, the pernicious effect of imports of essential goods and services we must endeavour to stimulate exports substantially.

Weaknesses in Our Export Trade

The stepping up of our exports is limited by the following weaknesses :—

(1) The expansion in home demand that must necessarily accompany the projected rise in the standard of living may tend to reduce the size of exports of such commodities like raw cotton and oil seeds.

(2) The fact that earning capacity of a number of commodities that figure in the export trade depends on the taste and demand of consumers in a limited number of countries constitutes a second source of weakness. For instance, while about 65 to 70 per cent of India's exports of tea are bought by the U.K., over 80 per cent of the cashew kernal exported from India is taken up by the U.S. Because of dependence on a limited number of markets, the diversion of demand in the U.S.A. for manganese ore from India to sources nearer home and for mica from the natural product to synthetic substitutes has proved to be one of the principal causes of distress and unemployment in the manganese and the mica mining areas of the country.

(3) Wide fluctuations in export prices introduce yet another factor of instability which is not conducive to the maintenance of a constant and prosperous export trade. Witness for example, the phenomenal rise and fall in the prices of tea and pepper in recent years. This often results in unexpected prosperity or unlooked for poverty for producers.

(4) Stiff competition from rivals makes it difficult to place too great a reliance on the potentialities of India's traditional foreign exchange earners, namely, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, tea, manganese and spices. As regards cotton textiles, significant ground has been lost to China and Japan in many South-East Asian markets. Account must also be taken of the natural desire of the cotton-growing countries which import a fair proportion of Indian textiles to endeavour to manufacture their requirements at home. The competitive capacity of our jute goods in foreign markets is being progressively undermined in the present context of (i) Pakistan's renewed efforts to expand production and exports of jute goods, (ii) competition from other packaging and wrapping materials, (iii) imposition of certain restrictions on imports of jute manufactures by the Governments of the European Common Market countries, and (iv) controls over Indian jute fabrics imports into Britain. Export trade in spices continues to be threatened by other rivals. Among them, mention may be made of Borneo and Sarawak for pepper, Zanzibar for cloves, Jamaica and Sierra Leorie for ginger and Guatemala for cardamom.

Clearly, therefore, it is largely in the new lines of exports of manufactured items like light

engineering products and metal manufactures that one may reasonably look for a substantial expansion in exports. But here too the scope seems to be limited because of European influence over banking and insurance business, high shipping freights, the offer of attractive terms of credit by the more developed countries of the West and our own rising costs.

Export Promotion Committee, 1957

The Government's deep concern about the weaknesses in our export trade became manifest when in February, 1957, it appointed an Export Promotion Committee headed by Dr. V. L. D'Souza, former Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University, with 7 other members, to recommend measures to increase the country's exports in all possible directions. The Committee was to make a comprehensive study of all aspects of export promotion and make recommendations with particular reference to the nature of fiscal or other concessions to be granted to increase exports and the nature and extent of credit facilities required for the export trade.

The Committee in its report suggested a target of our exports worth Rs. 700 to Rs. 750 crores a year. In order to reach this target the Committee made the following recommendations :

(i) There should be a substantial increase in production in all sectors of the economy (agriculture, industry, mining, etc.). The Committee in particular very strongly recommended increased output of vegetable oil seeds and raw cotton.

(ii) Prices should be maintained at competitive levels. The Committee dismissed a possible way of reducing prices through devaluation as being against the interest of the country. On the other hand, it suggested the use of latest methods of production to bring down processing and overhead costs and to increase the productivity of labour.

(iii) Exports should be encouraged even at some sacrifice in respect of domestic consumption.

(iv) Export goods and export markets should be diversified and research should be conducted into new uses for traditional exports.

(v) Following the example of many countries, transportation costs should be reduced on export goods and bottlenecks removed.

(vi) The export duties should be kept at low-levels and should not be changed too often. Further, export goods should be made free from excise duties and sales tax and draw-back of customs duties should be granted to exporters using imported raw materials. Some relief from income tax can also be granted to exporters for better export performance, the extent of the relief being dependent on the actual increase in exports, the total business turn-over of the exporter and the total income tax he has to pay.

(vii) Five per cent of the increase in exports (by value) of non-quota item effected by an exporter over his average performance during the past 3 years might be allotted to him for effecting such imports as he likes but allowed under the import trade control policy in force from time to time. In the case of the cotton textile industry, the import entitlement might be given 50 to 75 per cent of additional exports utilizable for the import of modern machinery and equipment.

(viii) The Reserve Bank and the State Bank of India should offer more rediscounting facilities to the commercial banks and the rediscount rates should be materially below the bank rate. The benefit of the low rediscount rate should be passed on to exporters.

(ix) Encouragement of entrepot trade in certain ports in India, conclusion of bilateral agreements with countries with which India is in heavy deficit, simplification of procedural and administrative formalities relating to exports, greater publicity of Indian goods in foreign countries, setting up of a private agency in the country for the dissemination of status, reports on Indian traders to foreign importers and exporters, greater replacement of foreign shipping by Indian vessels, improving the handling and storage facilities at the ports, increased use of Indian banking and insurance companies, encouragement to tourist traffic into India, pre-shipment inspection and adherence to quality and standards and the improvement of arbitration facilities within the country are some other measures recommended in the direction of export promotion.

Most of the above recommendations have been put into effect by the Government.

Government Measures to Help the Export Drive

1. *Setting up of Export Promotion Councils* :—These Councils have been sponsored by the Government to maintain and develop export markets for Indian products. These Councils consist of representatives of manufacturers, traders, growers and others interested in the export of the commodities concerned as well as a few Government representatives. Financial assistance is being given by the Government to the Councils which carry out market surveys in foreign countries, send delegations to survey export prospects, provide information to exporters regarding market conditions and help in establishing trade contacts. So far 12 Export Promotion Councils have been set up for 12 different commodities, namely, cotton textiles, silk and rayon textiles, plastics and linoleum, engineering goods, cashew and pepper, tobacco, hides and skins, mica, shellac, sports goods, chemicals and allied products and spices.

2. *Setting up of Export Promotion Advisory Committees* :—These Committees which have been set up at important port towns consist of experienced businessmen and are presided over by the Joint Chief Controllers of Imports and Exports. The Committees undertake the study of commodities exported from the ports within their respective jurisdictions and endeavour to explore the export potentialities of commodities produced in the hinterland which are not yet making an adequate contribution to the country's foreign exchange earnings. Besides, the Export Promotion Advisory Council has been set up to advise the Government on matters relating to export policy and procedure with particular reference to the promotion of exports.

3. *Insuring export risks* :—The conception of insuring export risks is a fairly simple one. The exporter, like other businessmen, faces certain risks in his trade, which are beyond his control. These are, first, pre-shipment risks, such as non-availability of raw materials for transport, export control difficulties, strikes and enhancement of export duties and costs generally. Where goods are sold to foreign buyers on credit, certain post-shipment risks are also faced. These include interruption or diversion of voyage, import control difficulties at destination and repudiation of contract or default of payment by the buyer as well as his insolvency. Then there is another classification of risks—commercial and political—the most prominent among the latter being war and civil war risks which come in the way of the due performance of the contract, either by the exporter or by the buyer. Such of these risks as are not normally insurable with the general insurance companies are, in a number of countries, covered by special export credit guarantee schemes which are essentially export promotion measures. They encourage exporters to do business on credit terms and thus meet the desire of their customers, the importers to be able to make payment in their own (*i.e.*, the importers') country after shipment. Further, they strengthen the position of the exporter with his banker and this advantage in turn assists the former to offer more favourable credit terms to his foreign customers. In advanced countries of the West, export credit insurance is a well-developed branch of general insurance and has played a notable part in the development of foreign trade of such countries as the U.K., Canada, West Germany, Japan, Norway and Sweden.

The question whether India's export trade would benefit from a credit guarantee was looked into in 1949, by the Export Promotion Committee, under Mr. A. D. Gorwala, which rather airily dismissed the idea with the remark that the scope of such a scheme was very limited in India. The Government, however, rightly refused to take this as the last word and after circulating draft proposals among trade associations, appointed in January, 1956, an Export Credit Guarantee Committee, with Mr. T. C. Kapur as Chairman, to examine the need for export credit insurance as well as prepare a scheme. Pursuant to the recommendations of this Committee the Export Risks Insurance Corporation was established in September, 1957, with headquarters at Bombay. Now the Corporation has opened offices at Calcutta and Madras also to reach more easily the exporters in other centres. The Corporation has an authorised capital of Rs. 5 crores provided entirely by the Government of India. The Board of Directors of the Corporation consists of 7 members. The Corporation offers facilities to the exporters to insure risks arising in the course of

export trade which are not normally covered by commercial insurance companies. The scheme works on a voluntary no-profit no-loss basis. During 1958-59 the Corporation issued 176 policies.

4. *Setting up of a Directorate of Export Promotion* :—In June, 1957, a Directorate of Export Promotion was created in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. It has a two-fold task. On the one hand, it is the executive agency for policies and decisions formulated by the Foreign Trade Board (which has been set up to coordinate all work relating to the development of India's foreign trade, particularly the promotion of exports). On the other, it is an agency to which all exporters in the country can look to for guidance, information and assistance, *e.g.*, securing wagon capacity or shipping space for expeditious movement of export goods. The Directorate functions under the Director-General of Foreign Trade assisted by the Director of Export Promotion. The Director of Export Promotion is assisted by two Deputy Directors at headquarters and export promotion officers in important port towns.

5. *Removal of Disincentives* :—To make Indian exports more competitive exporters are being given draw-back of import duties and rebate of excise duties paid on raw materials used in articles which are exported. If an article is produced, partly from materials on which an import duty is paid and partly from materials on which an excise duty is paid it has been decided to combine, wherever possible, the duty elements and prescribe a composite rate of rebate for the producer. Replenishment of iron and steel contents of exported articles is also permitted. Rebate on freight has also been given for a number of commodities transported by rail from the interior to the ports.

6. *Setting up of the State Trading Corporation* :—To the extent that the Corporation has been able to supplement the existing level of exports, it has proved to be an instrument for export promotion. Among the goods for which exports have been arranged by the Corporation are mineral ores, shoes, handicrafts, salt, tea, coffee and woollen goods. The Corporation has been successful in boosting up trade contracts with Communist countries. The Corporation's business transactions, including contracts entered into with foreign countries since inception, amounted to about Rs. 126.8 crores. Of this about Rs. 74 crores are exports.

7. *Conclusion of Bilateral Trade Agreements* :—Many of the agreements concluded or modified in recent years are directed towards ensuring a balance in India's bilateral trade in addition to enlarging the markets for Indian exports. This is sought to be achieved by (i) providing for payment for imports in non-convertible rupees, thereby inducing the contracting country to purchase Indian goods or to spend the proceeds within the country, (ii) providing credit arrangements to facilitate purchase of Indian goods, and (iii) fixing monetary or qualitative ceilings for imports and exports.

8. *Curtailment of Imports* :—Import restrictions are the keynote of trade policy and indirectly influence export promotion. Although the stringent import policy adopted since 1957 was continued during all these years it was slightly modified to subserve the ends of export promotion through special schemes for the supply of raw materials needed for the manufacture of export goods.

9. *Quality Control Measures* :—Compulsory grading and standardisation of agricultural and livestock produce prior to export is carried out under the provisions of the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, 1937. Many industrial commodities are standardised under the certification marks scheme of the Indian Standards Institute.

10. *Participation in International Exhibitions and Sponsoring of Trade Delegations* :—The Director of Exhibitions looks after visual commercial publicity for Indian goods. It participated on large-scales in the California Fair, the Chicago Fair and many other International Fairs. In addition, wholly Indian exhibitions have also been organised by it at Saigon, Budapest, Baghdad, Buenos Aires and Rio-de-Janeiro.

A number of trade delegations have been sponsored and sent abroad by the various export-promotion councils.

Prospects of Export Trade with Foreign Countries

An important factor in the Indo-British trade has been the complementary character of

the economies of the two countries. For the sale of certain items there is a close interdependence between India and the U.K. India, for instance, depends on the U.K. for the bulk disposal of her tea, tobacco, coir manufactures, etc., while the U.K. finds in India one of her best markets for the export of metal manufactures, electrical machinery, chemicals and aeroplanes. Recently in some commodities, India has been facing competition as, for instance, tobacco from Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which is better in quality and colour, and manganese ore from Ghana and Soviet Russia. Similarly in her tea exports to Canada, India has been facing keen competition from Ceylon and British East Africa.

India's place in the import trade of Switzerland is very negligible, being less than half per cent. Her important exports to that country consist of precious stones, coffee, tea, mica, coir, etc. There is considerable scope for the expansion of India's trade in these commodities. It should, however, be remembered that the Swiss are very quality-conscious and that the Indian traders should undertake adequate publicity for their pruducts by establishing branches, appointing local agents and adopting latest business techniques. Switzerland is known as the "Test Centre" for Europe and what is saleable in Switzerland can fetch a ready market elsewhere.

India has been experiencing a heavy dificit in her trade with Iran, mainly due to large imports of mineral oil and petroleum products. Until now our exports to this country mainly consisted of tea, spices and cotton textiles. Recently the export trade has been expanded in many directions but it must be noted that there is keen competition for many goods from leading European countries. As such Indian suppliers should visit Teheran to make on-the-spot survey and to develop personal contact with Iranian firms. This is of paramount importance, for no amount of correspondence can take the place of personal contact.

There is good scope for increasing India's export trade in non-traditional commodities with Aden—the flourishing entrepot centre of the Middle East. India has certain definite advantages over her western rivals—her close proximity and many merchants being Indian. But as it is a free port, with no import control restrictions, competition is keen and the price factor governs the marketability of commodities.

India with her industrial potential can play a big role in the economic growth of Ceylon, Thailand, Malaya and Singapore. Hongkong can be used as an entrepot trade centre by Indian exporters for expanding their trade with the neighbouring countries in that area. The prospects for greater exports to Japan and Australia are also good. Since Australia is a quality-conscious market, Indian exporters have to pay special attention to create confidence among importers at this end of their ability to supply goods according to specifications and in time.

Ill Effects of the European Free Trade Movement

The Western European countries which began the European Free Trade Movement as members of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation about the middle of the 1950s could not retain their original unity in later years. On account of different attitudes of individual countries on the proposed European Common Market scheme, they were divided into blocks. Six of them, namely, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburgh, who believed in a closely-integrated union, embracing all the important economic activities of their members formed in 1957, the European Economic Community, popularly known as the Common Market. Seven other west European countries, namely, the U.K., Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, Norway, Sweden and Denmark grouped together to form in 1959 a looser association where the individual members would be able to retain many of their rights as nation states. This was named the European Free Trade Association. Five members of the O.E.E.C. are even now outside the two groups.

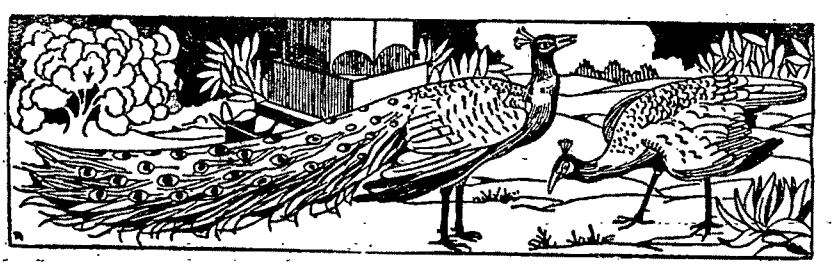
There are mainly three differences between the two blocks. Firstly, while the E.E.C. will eventually abolish all internal tariffs and will have a common external tariff, the E.F.T.A. will abolish internal tariffs only and will retain individual external tariffs against non-members. Secondly, the E.E.C. unlike the E.F.T.A. associates the overseas territories of the members. Thirdly, the E.F.T.A. is confined only to trade

in industrial goods whereas the E.E.C. scheme applies to both industry and agriculture.

Both E.F.T.A. and E.E.C. form important regions in world trade. In both the cases the removal of tariffs on all imports originating within the region will have inimical effects on exports from the outside world to the region. However, in the case of E.F.T.A. the region as a whole being dependent on the outside world for the major portion of its imports, the competition that is present from within the region is not very marked. In the outside world the E.E.C. countries have the biggest stake in the imports of all the E.F.T.A. countries except the U.K. In the import trade of the U.K., the stake of India is quite big because of her total exports to this region (about 30 per cent of India's total) about 95 per cent go to the U.K. alone and only 5 per cent to the other 6 members. Even so, E.F.T.A. does not pose a real danger to India because of all the major items of our exports to the U.K., *e.g.*, raw goat skins, grey cotton fabrics, tea, coffee, tobacco and sugar preparations, there is little competing trade from within the region. From the Indian point of view the ill effects of the E.E.C. seem to be more marked. The preferential treatment to the products of the member countries and their overseas territories will adversely affect export of goods from India to this region because of the competition which India will have to face from the products of the overseas territories of the member countries, *e.g.*, un-manufactured tobacco, ground-nut oil, coffee and tea from Belgian and French colonies. Besides being duty-free they will also benefit by the lower manufacturing costs as a result of economic integration and other measures and the likely establishment of giant enterprises.

In October, 1961, the U.K., plagued by economic troubles has also applied for membership of the E.C.M. Now it will have to find solution for problems of the Commonwealth, British agriculture and the E.F.T.A. of which it is a member. Britain is said to be eager to end this present division of Europe into two rival trade blocs. An assessment of the effect on India of Britain's joining the Common Market can only be known later when the new policies to be followed by the Common Market countries are decided upon. Nevertheless one certain result would be that instead of the preferences Indian goods enjoy in the British market today there would be "a reverse preference operating against our exports." One important reaction to this development has been that many Asian countries (notably India, Japan and Thailand) have started discussing the desirability of mutual trade liberalisation and other forms of economic co-operation among themselves as a corollary to the growing trend towards similar regionalisation in Europe.

At one stage the British Government proposed to secure for some members of the Commonwealth the status of associated overseas territories under the Rome Treaty but the idea was rejected by the political or economic status. Now they may be invited to associate themselves with the community on mutually acceptable terms without militating against the principles of GATT which are that new preferences should not be created, that long-term preferential arrangements should be allowed to continue and if these preferences are reduced, the benefiting countries should offer tariff concessions. In line with these principles India has demanded suitable transitional arrangements for a gradual ending of the preferences, a substantial liberalisation of the import policies of the Common Market countries and the abolition of all quantitative restrictions on Indian exports to the "six."



USE OF POWER IN VILLAGE INDUSTRIES : THE PROSPECTS IN INDIA

PART II

BY SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THERMAL PROJECTS

DURING the Third Five-Year Plan the installed capacity of steam (thermal) plants is expected to be increased by 3.62 million kilowatt while that of hydro-plants is expected to be increased by 3.17 million Kw. The total contribution of oil plant (0.36 million Kw in 1966) and nuclear plant (0.15 million Kw in 1966) is negligible.[29]

INVESTMENT AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE

The total planned investment on power up to the end of the Seond Five-Year Plan was Rs. 1,017 crores, of which State-owned public utilities would account for Rs. 790 crores. The estimated cost of the power programme in the public sector in the Third Plan is Rs. 1,039 crores, investment in the private being estimated at Rs. 50 crores. Of the public sector investment, Rs. 661 crores are meant for hydro and thermal generating schemes, Rs. 51 crores for nuclear power development and Rs. 327 crores for transmission and distribution schemes including rural electrification. The value of the foreign exchange component is placed at Rs. 320 crores. Although the foreign exchange component of coal-based power stations is two to three times that of hydro-stations we have still to depend on the expansion on thermal plants.[30] The dependence on imports of electrical equipments has been a serious obstacle to rapid development of power. In the case of nuclear development still more foreign exchange becomes necessary.

29. *Ibid*, p. 402 (Table 10).
30. *Ibid.*

PATTERN OF POWER CONSUMPTION IN INDIA

During the first decade of planning (1951-61) there has been no marked shift in the pattern of consumption of electricity except for traction and irrigation pumping.[31] About 62 per cent of electricity generated in India in 1959-60 was being consumed by industrial establishments, about 7.7 per cent was being accounted for by consumption on domestic or residential light and small power; 4.3 per cent by commercial lighting and small power; 2.5 per cent by traction; one per cent by public lighting; 4.1 per cent by irrigation ; 3.4 per cent by public water works and sewage pumping; and 16 per cent by consumption of auxiliaries, transmission losses, etc.[32] The slow rate of growth of electric traction resulted in a fall in the percentage of consumption of electricity from 4.4 in 1951 to 2.3 in 1961. Consumption of electricity for irrigation pumping however increased from 2.7 per cent in 1951 to 4.2 per cent in 1961.

The growth in the consumption of electricity has been very sharp. Between 1950 and 1955 domestic consumption rose by 62 per cent, industrial consumption by 92.5 per cent, commercial lighting consumption by 56.5 per cent, public lighting by 75 per cent. In the next five years (1955-60) the percentages of rise in these four categories were 75.5, 82.5, 69.3 and 82, respectively. The following table[33] depicts the sector-wise growth of electricity consumption during the first decade of planning (1950-60).

31. *Ibid*, p. 403.
32. *Ibid*, p. 424 (Annexure X).
33. *Ibid*, p. 425 (Annexure XI).

Table VIII

Sector-wise growth of electricity consumption during First and Second Plans (including generation in self-generating industrial establishments)

Class of Utilisation	1950* million kWh	1955* million kWh	% increase over 1950 (First Plan)	1960-61** (Estimate) million kWh	% increase over 1955 (Second Plan)
1. Domestic or residential light and small power	524.6	350.4	62.0	1492.0	75.5
2. Commercial light and small power	308.8	514.4	65.5	870.0	69.3
3. Industrial Power @	3983.6	6757.1	92.5	12313.5	82.5
4. Traction	308.4	403.3	30.8	449.0	11.3
5. Public lighting	60.3	105.6	75.0	192.0	82.0
6. Irrigation	161.7	254.8	57.6	836.0	228.0
7. Public water works and sewage pumping	189.1	284.6	50.5	455.0	60.0
8. Consumption of auxiliaries, transmission losses, etc., (including 5% of generation in self-generating industrial establishments)	1038.0	1607.0	55.0	3242.5	102.0
9. Total generation	6574.5	10777.2	64.0	19850.0	84.3

*Figures relate to calendar year.
**Figures relate to 1st April, 1960 to 31st March, 1961.
@Includes 95 per cent of generation from self-generating industrial establishment as in the absence of precise data, 5 per cent of generation in self-generating industrial establishments is assumed as losses.

Regional Variation

There is, however, a wide divergence in the regional *per capita* consumption of electricity.[34] It varies from 2.4 KWH in Assam to 147.8 KWH in Delhi reflecting the uneven economic development of the various regions. The regional *per capita* consumption of domestic and small power was highest in Delhi (34.0 KWH) and the lowest (0.4 KWH) in Orissa, the national average being 3.3. West Bengal was leading Delhi in the *per capita* consumption of industrial power until 1957-58; since 1958-59 Delhi has had the highest *per capita* consumption of electricity—49.3 KWH in 1958-59, 54.8 KWH in 1959-60 and 63.6 KWH in 1960-61. The *per capita* consumption of electricity is rising in all the States except Maharashtra, Jammu and Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh. The All-India *per capita* consumption rose from 23.2 KWH in 1957-58 to 31.8 in 1960-61. Between 1957-58 and 1960-61, Orissa recorded the highest gain (636.8 per cent) in *per capita* electricity consumption, Madhya Pradesh (179.3 per cent) coming second and Andhra (110 per cent) coming third. The following table[35] shows the *per capita* consumption of electricity in different States in the country.

34. *Monthly Statistical Commentary on Indian Economic Conditions* by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion Ltd., New Delhi, Vol. III (September, 1961) No. II, p. 20 (Table II).

35. P. K. Chaudhuri "Development of Electric Power"—*The Economic Weekly*, Bombay, December 10, 1960, p. 1799 (Table IV).

Table IX

Regional Pattern of *per capita* consumption of electric energy in India

State	Domestic use	Commercial use	Industrial including traction & water works	Public lighting	Irrigation	Total *per capita*
Andhra	1.39	1.30	4.60	0.36	0.56	8.07
Assam	0.88	0.27	0.28	0.17	0.01	1.61
Bihar	0.84	0.33	9.34	0.06	0.23	10.80
Bombay	4.56	3.22	46.87	0.50	0.49	55.64
Kerala	2.12	0.30	19.70	0.29	0.83	23.24
M. P.	0.98	0.50	4.41	0.20	0.03	6.12
Madras	4.00	2.24	17.35	0.70	7.06	31.44
Mysore	2.93	0.91	31.88	0.04	1.00	37.42
Orissa	0.77	0.31	2.85	0.43	1.78	3.97
Punjab	2.22	2.46	10.34	0.22	0.11	17.23
Rajasthan	0.82	0.66	2.16	0.14	2.66	3.97
U.P.	1.15	0.90	5.59	0.62	0.02	10.44
West Bengal	9.82	3.10	52.14	0.17	0.09	65.68
Jammu & Kashmir	3.90	0.50	3.97	3.76	2.97	8.18
Delhi	33.78	30.82	68.70	0.19	0.93	140.63
Rest	1.04	0.18	1.54	0.36	1.39	3.88
All-India	2.78	1.55	17.68	8.21	20.16	23.76

Apart from this divergence in the consumption of electricity in various States, even within each State there is wide disparity in the consumption of electricity by the different regions. The following table[36] shows the regional disparity in Maharashtra :

TABLE X

Consumption of Electricity for Industrial Purposes in Maharashtra (1951-56)

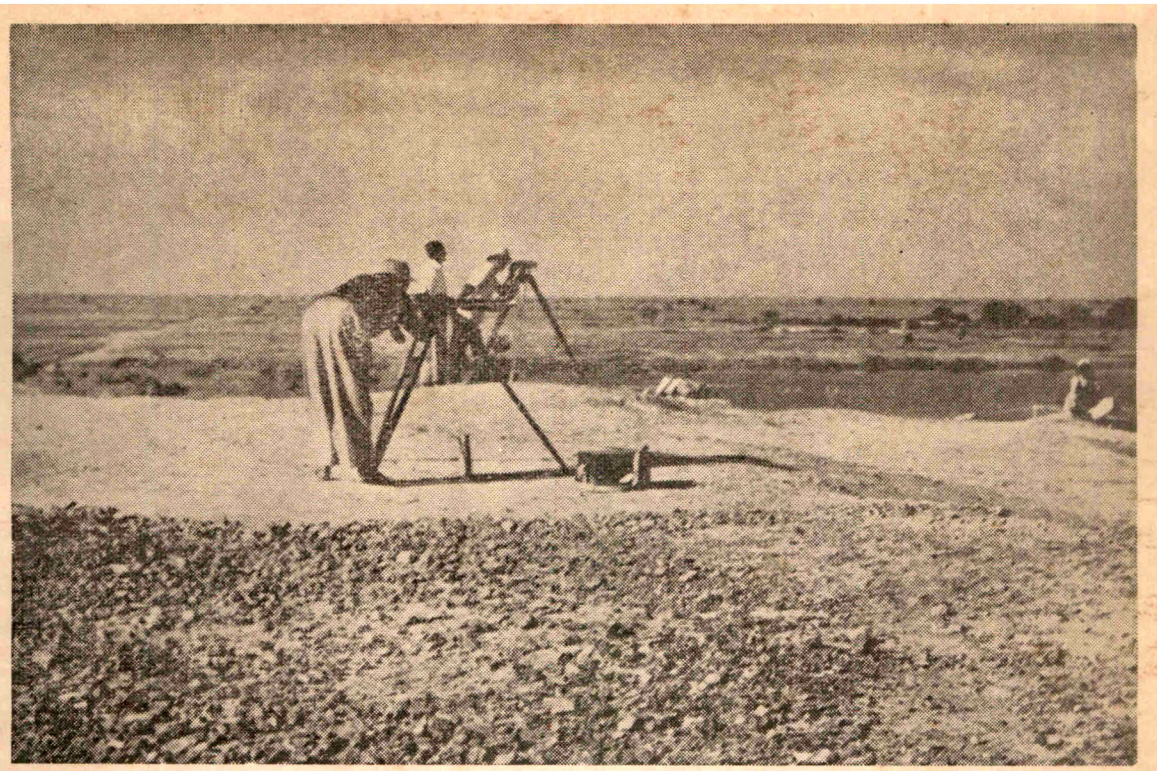
(In Million KWH)

Division	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
1. Aurangabad	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.4
2. Bombay, excluding Gr. Bombay	9	—	13	15	348	357
3. Greater Bombay	743	—	1111	1181	995	1074
4. Nagpur	—	42	64	80	96	96
5. Poona	40	39	43	42	40	50
Maharashtra	792.7	—	1,232.2	1,319.2	1,480.1	1,578.4

—Not available.

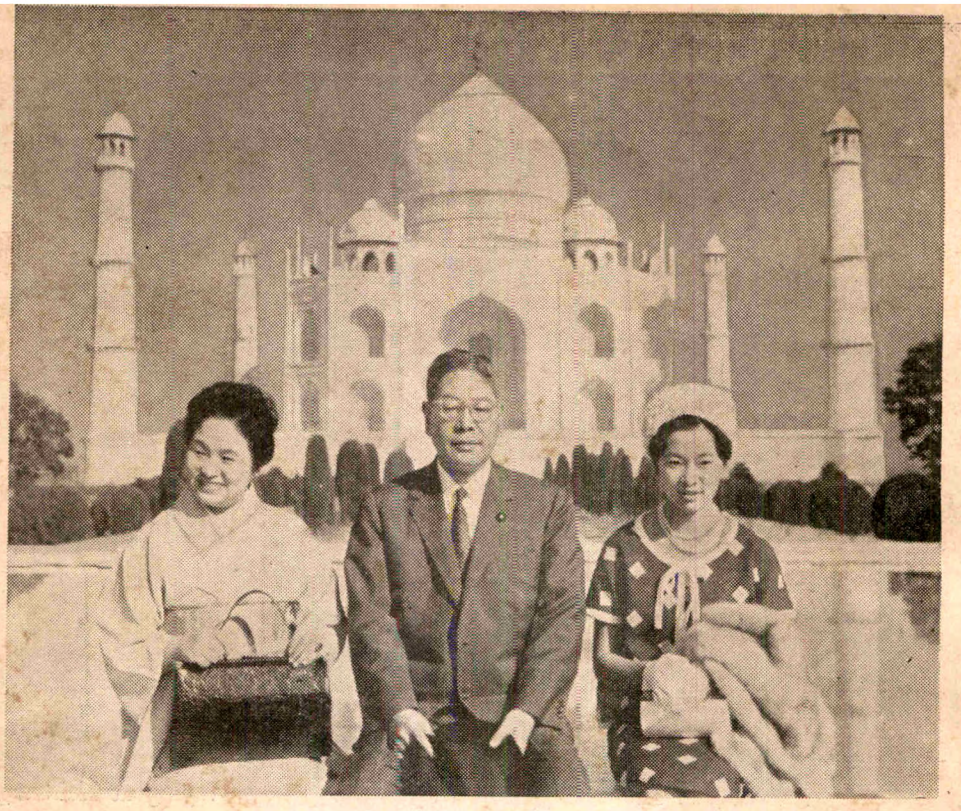
Source: Statistical Abstract of Bombay State, 1957, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Bombay and Handbook of Basic Statistics of Maharashtra State, 1960. The same picture holds good for other States with minor variation here and there.

36. *Problems of Maharashtra* (report of a seminar held under the auspices of the Indian Committee for cultural freedom, the Asian Office, Congress for Cultural Freedom and the *Sadhana weekly*), Bombay, 1960, p. 52 (Table 3 in the article "Pattern of Instrical Development in Maharashtra by K.R. Ranadive).



Students of the School of Archaeology receiving training in surveying at Kalibangan.

The Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, shaking hands with Major Gagarin and his wife on their arrival at New Delhi.



The Japanese Prime Minister, H. E. Mr. Hayato Ikeda with his wife and daughter at the Taj Mahal.

Sreemati Tarkeshwari Sinha, Deputy Minister for Finance, Government of India, receiving a Cheque of Rs. 25,000/- from Shri R. N. Jadhav Talathi at Gadag.

Urban Consumption

From the above table it would also be evident how the bulk of the electricity generated is being consumed in the urban areas, leaving very little to be utilized in rural areas. Writing in 1959, an author calculated that out of an estimated outlay of Rs. 480 crores on hydro-electric projects, only about 7.6 per cent or Rs. 36.48 crores were likely to benefit the villagers who constituted over 80 per cent of the population.[37]

"That is to say out of a rupee spent by the Government, the share in the benefit of the villager is Re. 0-1-3 (Re. 0.08) only while the town-dwellers get Re. 0-14-9 (Re. 0.94)."[38]

Rural Electrification

Electrification of the villages can go a long way in promoting their regeneration. It would cheapen several processes and augment the earning capacity of the rural masses. For example, the Central Water and Power Commission has estimated that the lift irrigation by electric motor and pump would be much cheaper than any other available method. The following table[39] gives a comparative estimate:

Table XI

Cost of Lift Irrigation in India

	(Rs.) Per acre per crop of paddy.
By Animal Power	300.00
By Oil-Engine driven pumps	83.00
By Electric motor and pump (cost of power being 0.75 anna per KWH)	50.00

Source: Proceedings of the World Power Conference, New Delhi, 1951.

Besides promoting agricultural production through better irrigation, electricity can contribute to the improvement of several rural industries such as wooden toy-making, button-making, tape-weaving, knitting, etc. It can provide better lighting and heating to farms and can augment dairy farming, poultry farming, fruit growing and horticulture. It can act as a brake on the rural exodus which has already assumed serious proportions in several countries of Asia including India. As a report prepared by the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East notes, electrification of rural areas "can be a powerful factor in preventing the drifting of the rural population to urban centres, where higher wages and more of the comforts of life are available."[40]

The experience gained by the Japanese is instructive. "Japan's success in industrialisation," the report adds, "may be stated to be due to decentralisation and the availability of power at reasonable rates throughout the country, including rural areas."[41] In his well-known study on the economic development of Japan, Professor William W. Lockwood also mentions,[42] "If the transplanting of labor to the cities was one aspect of industrialisation, another was the carrying into the countryside of improved techniques, business capital, and organisation." It is obvious that without the availability of electricity, people in rural areas could not adopt modern technology. "The difference between Japanese and Indian industrialisation (in the British period—S.C.S.)," writes[43] Prof. Lockwood, ". . . . is particularly instructive as regards the contrasting relations between modern and traditional industries. Factory enterprise developed more rapidly in Japan than in India after 1900; but it appears to have been much less destructive of cottage and workshop industry. To a far greater degree the Japanese succeeded in modernizing the production technique of the small establishment . . . ."

37. M. Vinayak: *Sarvodaya and Electricity*, Madras, 1959—P. 6.
38. *Ibid*, p. 7.
39. United Nations (Department of Economic Affairs)—*Rural Electrification*, Bangkok, 1954—P. 34.
40. *Ibid*, p. 33.
41. *Ibid*, p. 35.
42. William W. Lockwood—*The Economic Development of Japan* (Growth and structural change, 1868-1938), Princeton University Press, 1954, p. 487.
43. *Ibid*, p. 213.

"The introduction of electricity into rural areas," the ECAFE report referred to earlier goes on, "and the introduction of the improved tools required for the cottage industries with financial and technical assistance, will provide employment for the population all the year round which will be a real step forward in the economic uplift of the country."[44]

Electricity in India's Villages

In 1952 only 4,518 towns and villages or about 0.81 per cent of the towns and villages of India were supplied with public electricity. This general percentage did not present a correct picture of the actual position in respect of effective consumption of electricity by different types of towns and villages. While electricity was available to all towns with a population of over one lakh, to 98.2 per cent of towns with populations of over 50,000 but less than 100,000; and to 76.81 per cent of towns having a population of 20,000—50,000; only 0.72 per cent of towns and villages having a population of less than 20,000 were being supplied with public electricity. The following table[45] gives the details:

TABLE XII

Number of Towns and Villages Electrified in India (1952)

Population Range	Total Number of towns or villages in India	Towns or villages with Public electricity supply	
		Number	As % of Total
Over 100,000	73	73	100.00
50,000-100,000	111	109	98.02
20,000- 50,000	401	308	76.81
10,000- 20,000	856		
5,000- 10,000	3101	4,029	0.72
Below 5,000	556,565		
Total	561,107	4,518	0.81

Source: United Nations (Department of Economic Affairs)

In contrast, according to the annual survey at the end of June, 1950, 86.3 per cent of all United States farms—*i.e.*, about 5,053,676 farms were receiving central-station electric service. The percentage was only 10.9, fifteen years earlier. The improvement had been brought about by the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) which had been brought into being in 1935.

The number of towns and villages electrified at the end of the First Five-Year Plan was 7,401. By the end of the Second Plan another 15,600 villages were electrified. During the next five years about 20,000 more villages are expected to be electrified bringing the toal number of towns and villages electrified to 43,000. It is expected that all the towns and villages having a population of over 5,000 will have been electrified by March 1966 and about half of the 10,000 villages having a population between 2,000 and 5,000 will have been benefited by the schemes of rural electrification for which an outlay of Rs. 105 crores has been proposed in the Third Plan (which excludes the outlay required for providing the necessary generating capacity for meeting rural loads which is included in the provision for generation).

The following table[46] shows the number of villages already electrified, and proposed to be electrified during the Third Plan, with their population :

(See Table XIII on next page)

Problems in Rural Electrification

The principal limiting factor in the expansion of rural electrification is imposed by the problem of making electricity available economically to small units scattered over long distances.[47]

In India also "rural extensions of electricity become relatively uneconomic mainly because of distances separating individual villages the low level of power consumption and the seasonal character of the requirements of power specially in agriculture."[48]

44. U. N. Department of Economic Affairs —*Rural Electrification*, p. 35.
45. *Ibid*, p. 11. (Table 7).
46. *Third Five-Year Plan*, p. 404.
47. United Nations, *Rural Electrification*, p. 21.
48. *Third Five-Year Plan*, p. 404.

TABLE XIII

Towns and Villages Electrified in India

Population Range	Total Number according to 1951 Census	Number electrified by March, 1951	Number electrified by March, 1956	Number electrified by March, 1961 (Estimate)	Number electrified by March, 1966 (Estimate)
Over 100,000	73	49	73	73	73
50,000 to 100,000	111	88	111	111	111
20,000 to 50,000	401	240	366	399	401
10,000 to 20,000	856	260	350	756	856
5,000 to 10,000	3,101	258	1,200	1,800	3,101
less than 5,000	5,56,565	2,792	5,300	19,861	38,458
Total	5,61,107	3,687	7,400	23,000	43,000

The following factors affect costs of electricity supply :

(a) *Load factor—i.e.,* the ratio of the number of kilowatt-hours supplied during a given period to the number that would have been supplied had the maximum demand been maintained throughout that period. Unless there is sufficient load the cost of electric supply tends to grow high. In rural areas the load factor is generally not satisfactory because of the absence of the diversity in the demand for supply. The consumption is mostly for domestic and heating purposes at particular hours of the day. During other periods the capacity remains practically idle. This tends to raise costs per unit of consumption.

(b) *Diversity factor*—There are various types of consumers whose peak demands may not synchronize. Diversity factor may thus help reduce the peak demand on the system while improving the load factor and contribute to the lowering of the cost.

(c) *Power factor*—Unless the power supplied is of a minimum voltage, cost per unit of consumption may become higher.

(d) *Integration*—Integration of various different systems into a grid generally contributes to an improvement in the load factor and the power factor and thus reduces cost.

(e) *Losses*—Which may occur in generation, transmission and distribution. Losses can be divided into two parts—iron losses, which are constant and, co-operative losses, which depend on load carried or energy supplied.

Special Features of Rural Electrification

It would not be proper to apply the same test of profitability to the measures for rural electrification as can be applied in the urban areas. "Even in some of the western countries where the standard of living is high and farm holdings are large, and where the cost of electrification has been made as low as possible, it has been found that the return on the investment (on rural electrification) is not adequate at least initially."[49]

In India also special measures for rural electrification will have to be considered. In the initial stage rural electrification cannot become profitable as already mentioned. But here rural industrialisation can play a very significant role by improving the load factor and diversity factor. "With a view to improving the load factor," the Planning Commission of the Government of India notes,[50] "it is essential that different types of economic activities in each district requiring the use of power should be developed in a co-ordinated manner."

Conclusion

This brief survey has been intended to throw some light on the state of availability and utilisation of electricity in India in the context of the world situation. Demand for energy is growing at an accelerated rate all over the world. In the

49. United Nations—*Rural Electrification,* p. 56.

50. *Third Five-Year Plan,* pp. 404-405.

process of development India is also undergoing the same experience of an accelerated demand for power. In India power is needed to lift the country out of its present miserable condition. In this respect the demand for power in India differs from that in others—more advanced countries—where it arises out of the effort to further improve an already high standard of living. Unless productivity is raised considerably India cannot sustain her population at the present rate of growth, even at the existing low-level.

Resources

The accelerated demand for energy has created a world hunger for energy and has led to a search for exploitation of alternative sources of energy. Although the level of power production in India is very low, the known resources—coal and hydro-electricity—do not admit of a very high production of energy over any considerable period of time. At an annual coal production of 300 million tons in India, the estimated reserves of some 40,000 million tons of coal would be sufficient for only 130 years. Even if the reserves were three times of this figure they would last for only about 400 years. This may be compared with the estimate that at an annual prodoction of 300 million tons the reserves in the U.S.S.R. are expected to last for 4,050 years; at the rate of 500 million tons per year reserves in the U.S.A. for 2,600 years; at the rate of 220 million tons per year, the reserves in the U.K. for 770 years; and at an annual production of 300 million tons the reserves in China would last for over 1,000 years.[51]

Even at present there is an actual shortage of power throughout the country. We have already noted specific instances and areas of such shortages. Development of electrical power has favoured the urban areas and has not so far succeeded in touching, even the fringe of the really rural areas. In terms of population, by the end of March, 1966, electricity may be expected to reach about 10 crores of people at the most, while about more than 3 times as many people would remain unaffected by it.

Need for a Special Agency

The cost of supply tends to become higher in the case of rural electrification. It is to be noted, however, that even in the most highly developed countries like the United States of America rural electrification could not make any headway until the Rural Electrification Administration had come into being.[52] In the course of the first 15 years of its existence, the Rural Electrification Administration succeeded in raising the percentage of farms served by electricity from 10.9 to 86.3. If this was the case in the United States, the need for a special agency for rural electrification in India can hardly be exaggerated.

Pattern of electricity development in India including the projected pattern does not leave much scope for optimism regarding the availability of electrical power for use in village industries. The generating capacity itself it too limited to admit of any sizeable extension of supply outside the areas which are now being served by electricity. The prospect of getting an adequate supply of electricity for the development of industries in our rural areas is far from a heartening one.

Alternative Sources

This naturally leads to the need for exploring sources of energy other than mineral deposits and hydro-electricity. The following table[53] shows the world availability of solar energy from various sources, their actual use as in 1950 and the possibility of their development by 2,050—some hundred years hence.

51. See Bhaba and Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 310, Table 5.

52. United Nations, *Rural Electrification*, p. 14.

53. Eugene Ayres and Charles A. Scarlott: *Energy Sources—The Wealth of the World*, McGraw-Hill Book Co. In., New York, 1952, p. 281 (Table 1).

TABLE XIV

World Utilization of Solar Energy In Trillions Horsepower-hours per Annum

	Maximum Energy Available	Energy Used in 1950	Energy possible in 100 years
Land Vegetation	60	3	10
Waterfalls	360	1	6
Solar Collectors for power	17,000	Trace	20
Solar Collectors for space heating	9*	Trace	3
Peat	5	Trace	1.0
Wind	2	Trace	Trace
Heat Pumps	2	Trace	0.2
Tropical Waters	20	—	Trace
Total	———	———	40

*This is the amount of energy now required for space heating. More than this amount is, of course, theoretically available.

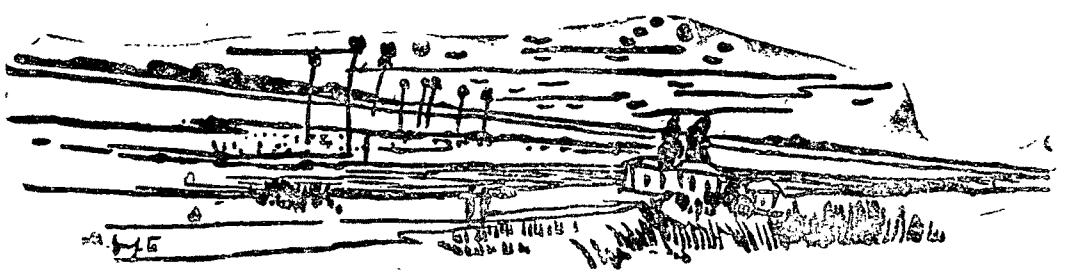
"Solar radiation" write two serious students of energy availability, "is more than ample to supply our maximum energy requirement in the future. There are many different ways of capturing some of this energy—from desert areas, peat bogs, fertile valleys, forests, ocean. If photosynthesis can be manipulated to take care of the world's food requirements, similar industrialized techniques may be applied to the growth of fuel. Superior photo-chemical reactions will probably be found. We are only at the threshold of knowledge of such phenomena."[54]

54. *Ibid*, p. 280.

In point of fact there seem to be good prospects for the development of some of these alternative sources of energy in India. The Wind Power Committee, after making wind velocity surveys, concluded that in at least 2/5th of the geographical area of India suitable wind-mills could be set up to augment power supplies in villages to the equivalent of another 100 KW capacity of electricity per year with an outlay of only Rs. 3.5 crores, *i.e.*, at an initial cost of about 1/20th of the coal-based power stations and a maintenance cost of about one-fifth of hydel stations. It has been possible to devise two wind-power machines costing about Rs. 2,500 each and requiring a maintenance cost of Rs. 300 per year.[55] Experiments are going on in other fields as well and, given proper attention, they may yield encouraging results.

Under such circumstances the agencies and institutions engaged in the promotion of rural industrialization have to give a special attention to the development of the sources of power supply in rural areas—mostly from non-conventional sources as well. Another direction to which research could be geared up is improving the efficiency of use of various sources of energy such as coal, cowdung, wood, etc. To the extent this is possible to be done, efforts at improving the lot of millions of our rural people by diversifying the economic conditions in our villages would bear fruit.

55. See the article "A Plan to overcome Power Shortage", by A. W. Meem in the *Economic Times*, Bombay, October 23, 1961, pp. 4-7.



A CRITIQUE OF CONGRESS POLICIES AND ACTIONS

By K. K. NANDI

THE election manifesto of the Congress Party, which has only just recently been approved by the Party presidium, is no more than a roster of vague but extravagant promises and a litany of claims relating to its past achievements, any of which is hardly justified by the realities of the situation obtaining in the country today. The Congress has been in control of the machinery of government ever since Independence throughout the last fourteen years and more and any correct evaluation of the legitimate support from and confidence of the electorates that the Party is entitled to, must be based upon a factual analysis of its policies and actions during the period passed by and their impact upon the physical, economic and social life of the community.

IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD

The primary claim to achievements by the Congress Party during the last fourteen years since its accession to power consists mainly of the policies formulated and actions taken by it in the field of planned economic development of the country by way of the Five-Year Plans. Two of the successive Five-Year Plans, the first relating to the period 1950-51 to 1955-56 and the second from 1955-56 to 1960-61, have already been completed and, now, the Third Five-Year Plan relative to the period from 1960-61 to 1965-66 is on the way.

Any factual analysis of either the achievements or defaults of the Five-Year Plans must, however, for the sake of a proper and precise understanding of their immediate and long-term implications, be preceded by a dispassionate assessment of the policies and principles that have been at the foundation of these Plans. The basic policies of the Congress Government as they have emerged ultimately through years of vague, indefinite and not infrequently hopelessly confused thinking and action, is reflected in the philosophy of *Mixed Economy* adopted for the purpose of carrying out the planned economic development of the country. The initial stand of the Congress in the matter of its economic goal had been declared to be eventual but complete socialization of all sources and means of production by way of progressive nationalization of all major industries in the country in gradual stages while, at the same time, by establishment of new industries under Government aegis and management. The difficulties of translating such a policy into actual practice, it soon became obvious, would be overwhelming and, even before the First Five-Year Plan could be actually formulated, there had to be a considerable shift in Congress policies in this regard. In fact, it would appear obvious that there must have already been a considerable cleavage of opinion even within the highest echelons of the Party counsels in this regard. In one of his public utterances in South India, when the Party was yet toying with the idea of nationalization of large industries, the late Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel openly declared himself to be vigorously in opposition to this policy. The policy of nationalization of land by way of liquidation of landlordism and other intermediary interests and interceptors of revenue between the cultivator-tenant and the State had already been more or less generally adopted throughout the country by the State Governments concerned and legislation to implement this policy was already in the process of being formulated in most States.

Such policies, not yet quite definitely formulated, but only somewhat vaguely but, nevertheless, publicly discussed, had one immediate effect, that of virtually freezing capital formation for fresh investment, whatever little of it used to normally come forth, throughout the country. It was the natural and inevitable impact upon the money market of such loosely discussed policies of the ruling Party, and investable surpluses naturally diverted themselves to secret hoards rather than come out in the open for investment. The public

revenues also began to increasingly suffer, for this acted as a direct incentive to massive and widespread tax evasions. By the time, therefore, that the ruling Party arrived at the stage of formulating its First Five-Year Plan some three to four years since it first acceded to power, it was faced with a complete and wholesale capital famine that would be bound to shrivel up the Plan at its very roots. It was as a result of dire necessity forced upon it by circumstances, rather than a real change in its goals and policies that compelled the Congress to effect a shift in its operative policies to enable the Party to pursue a process of planned development of the national economy under Government aegis.

Mixed Economy

The result was the formulation of the now well-known principles of a *mixed economy*. That is, the economy of the country was intended to be developed simultaneously under both private capital and enterprise and Government control and management at the same time. The contents of a *mixed economy* was not entirely unknown in this country. Some large public utility industries like, for instance, the Railways, Posts & Telegraphs, etc., have already been under Government control and management for a long time past. These were very good revenue-earning enterprises and the Government obviously imagined that their projected further inroads into the wider fields of production industry would, at once, place correspondingly increased revenues at their disposal at comparatively massive scales and would thus provide the capital resources for the eventual build-up towards a progressive and self-generating national economy. In the comparatively narrower field of municipal administration also we have been long familiar with publicly-owned and managed enterprises such as water-supply, sewage and sewerage disposal, street lighting, etc. Selling the idea of a *mixed economy*, therefore, especially in a country riddled with innumerable, generally unprincipled and, most often, brazenly anti-social petty capitalist enterprises, did not prove very difficult so far as the masses of the country's citizenry were concerned, although big business, such as we already had within the country, remained persistently resistant to its enticements.

Private Sector

It was not really until much later, not really until the Government formulated a definite policy of pursuing the country's economic development and progress simultaneously and, more or less permanently, through both private and public enterprises at the same time that the resistance of private enterprise to Government Plans could, ultimately, be broken down. Such a policy had to be definitely and publicly avowed by the Government through an Industrial Policy Statement and allocation of spheres of public and private enterprises outlined. Even then, however, private capital did not very much come out into the open and, in respect of certain major key-producer industries at least, Government had to provide direct incentive to their growth in the private enterprise sector by way of rupee and foreign exchange loans provided or guaranteed by itself. Here was, again, a swing in Government policies and practices to almost an opposite extreme and conditions were provided for the expansion and growth of privately-owned industries by which private capital and enterprise would be able to enlarge its stakes in the industries owned by itself to a massive extent virtually at public expense. This, perhaps, was an inevitable evil flowing from the confused working of the ideas of a *mixed economy* for, Government found that such were the absolute minimum conditions upon which private enterprise would be prepared to toe the lines chalked out for itself in the Government's Plans for the development and growth of the national economy.

Incentive to Private Sector

It is doubtful if any very close attention to Government's policies and actions has, so far, been paid in this regard. In the field of certain major producer industries Government have helped to provide massive rupee and foreign exchange credits on certain very peculiar terms to say the least. In the field of one such industry with which the present writer is intimately acquainted, massive credits have been provided of both rupees and foreign exchange, on the definite condition that redemption of both capital and interest thereon in respect of these credits

would be effected from correspondingly marginal increases to be allowed in the price factor of the commodities produced by these industries covering their obligations in this behalf. This, in other words, postulates that expansion of privately-owned industries of certain key-producer varieties would be encouraged at public expense. In respect of one such industrial organization, for instance, credits have been provided to the extent of very nearly three hundred per cent of the residual stake of the share-holders themselves in the industry concerned and conditions have been provided for enabling the organization to redeem its debts partly directly provided and partly guaranteed by the public exchequer from out of corresponding increases in the price of the produce of the industry allowed to the producer concerned to meet these obligations. In plain words, therefore, the owners have been provided, at public expense, with the extraordinary privilege and facility of increasing the value of their property by very nearly four times their original capital stake in the organization, the burden of this process of expansion in the contents and value of the *private* property concerned to be entirely borne by the tax-payers.

It is not unnatural, therefore, that the present owners and managements of industries who have been provided with such extraordinary privileges should be anxious to continually go on expanding the capacities of their respective concerns on similar terms, and overtures for more and more fresh instalments of such credits are being continually made to Government with, in certain cases, more or less satisfactory results to themselves, for the purposes of similar further expansion of their respective plant and production capacities. This would seem to be especially extraordinary when regard is had to the fact that the private sector managements concerned of one such particular industry similarly favoured have not been chary of publicly giving expression to their pessimism in respect of the ultimate prospects of the industry concerned in the country. It is no less extraordinary that the Government, whose initial avowed economic policies postulated ultimate eventual socialization of all key-producer industries, should have been prepared to extend such extravagant privileges to privately-owned such capital enterprises without, in any way, reserving to itself the rights of natural compensation for their expansion at public expense.

Even if such extraordinary privileges to certain key industries could be justified on grounds of their immediate potential of contributions to the general economic advancement and development of the country as a whole, the least that the Government providing such massive facilities to these organizations would seem to own to itself and to the people at whose expense these encouragements and enticements are being offered, would be to take necessary measures to ensure that these industries are administered rationally, and with justice and with a view to obtaining the highest yield in production at minimum cost, while at the same time ensuring prevention of all avoidable wastage. In other words Government should, in such circumstances, reserve to itself the right of supervision and, where necessary, even control with a view to the maximum utilization of such public resources as may have been placed at the disposal of these industries. In actual practice, however, except for what is merely a nominal nomination of a Government representative on the Board of Directors of the organizations concerned, no further check is found to be maintained over the operations and administrations of these industries. The result, very often, has been criminal waste and misapplication of funds and the growth of a community of unscrupulous *noveau riche,* mainly of so-called contractors of every description.

It is not necessary to go into further details in this behalf but any independent and thorough inquiry into the working of most public-exchequer-financed private industry in the country today would be bound to more or less present the picture detailed above.

The Public Sector

The situation in respect of the Public Sector industries organized under Government initiative and management also would not seem to be very much better. The story about the three large public sector steel plants is already well-known all over the country. In the first instance, in every single instance the original capital estimates upon which these projects had been initially planned have been found to be considerably

at variance with the actual capital that had ultimately to be thrown into their foundations. The stock excuse for these increased and increasing expense of building these steel plants has been that of price increases of plants in the meanwhile. References to the figures in values of India's imports of capital goods during the corresponding periods, however, as would be found in the issues of the Government of India's weekly *Trade Journal*, do not seem to support such a contention to the extent it has been taken recourse to. The time schedule also between commencement of construction and the stage when production could commence has not been maintained in two out of the three cases under reference. Now that all three plants have long since reached production stage, the level of production has been woefully short in most cases of scheduled plant capacity. There is the excuse usually resorted to that there is an inevitable long time lag between the stage when a newly laid down steel plant can commence production operations and the one when it is able to reach targetted production capacity. But even when all these factors have been duly taken into consideration, production would still be found to be woefully short of expectations and the period taken to get over what has been described as the initial teething troubles to be unconscionably long. In the meanwhile expenses of production would be bound to remain unjustifiably high for, whatever the actual quantum of production-yield, expenses have to be inevitably geared to the plant-capacity level. There are other wastages and nepotism also is not entirely unknown creating production lags and increases in production costs which, at any time, would be extremely difficult to completely eliminate.

Similar would be the story, if careful inquiries were to be pursued, in respect of most other public sector industries. Corruption, inefficiency, nepotism, lack of proper and legitimate production planning, all would seem to have been affecting the course of progress of most public sector industries. In a word, management organization of public sector industries normally sensitive to pressures and persuasions of party politics, have so far been found to be most inadequate to the requirements of the organizations they have been invested with the responsibilities of. It would seem, therefore, that the ruling Party's new experiments with the national economy, at overwhelming public expenditure, have not, so far, proved anything like the success they have been claimed to be and it is not unlikely that the commitments that the country has been obliged to run into in these behalves may, yet, prove quite a back-breaking burden for the country's as yet unorganized resources.

Over-all Results of Planning

The discussion above provides only a few glimpses of the conditions of affairs in respect of individual private and public sector industrial organizations which have either expanded or have been newly laid down under the stimulus or facilities provided under the Five Year Plans. It would be equally interesting to note the results of the last ten years of planning in its over-all aspects so far as the present condition of the national economy is concerned. At the eve of the First Five Year Plan, the country started off with an estimated gross national income of about Rs. 9,000 crores and *per capita* income at approxinately Rs. 252 per annum. The *per capita* incidence of taxation at that stage was calculated at a gross of Rs. 8 per annum including direct and indirect taxes, the proportion of indirect to direct taxes being only about 7 per cent. Employment level was comparatively satisfactory having regard to continuing employment in a large number of war-time organizations which had not yet been demobbed and the foreign exchange balances were quite satisfactory as well as a satisfactory surplus being available on current account.

The end of the First Five Year Plan and the beginning of the Second was officially held by the Government and the Congress to have been most satisfactory, gross national income having risen over the five year period to an approximate Rs. 10,800 per annum and *per capita* income to have correspondingly risen to approximately Rs. 282 per annum. But as far as employment progress was concerned, it had to be admitted that mainly due to the liquidation of certain wartime organizations in the meanwhile, its quantum had actually shrunk compared to the pre-Plan period despite the increases registered

as a result of the implementation of the Plan. In the matter of taxation it is easy to understand why the burden of *per capita* taxation, over the five year period, had gone up by a little more than a hundred per cent, but what is really most significant in this connection is that of this gross burden of *per capita* taxation, indirect taxes constituted as much as 40 per cent of the total. The field in which the indirect tax burdens have their most impact is in that of essential consumer commodities and the usual feature of indirect taxation on such commodities is that the actual burden on the consumer is really far heavier, indeed beyond all reasonable proportion, than the actual incidence of the tax. It was estimated by the *Daily Statesman* some time ago that for every Rs. 10 collected by the Government by way of excise or other indirect taxes upon essential consumer commodities, the buyer or consumer has usually to pay anything between 100 to 120 per cent more in increased prices. It would seem, therefore, that with the burden of indirect taxes at approximately Rs. 6.4 per annum the actual cost to the payer of the tax in question would, therefore, be in the region of between Rs. 12 to Rs. 14 per annum. The consumer price level had also moved up over the five year period of the First Plan, especially in the essential commodities' sector to a considerable extent. Taking all these different factors into consideration, it would be easy to realise that the increase in the *per capita* income claimed to have been achieved as a result of and at the end of the First Plan period, was really almost entirely neutralized by the heavier burdens that had correspondingly fallen upon our people over the identical period. Apart from this there was also another very significant and, in a sense, quite alarming factor which made itself evident by about the end of the First Plan period. This is in regard to the country's foreign exchange position. India's export trade had, in the meanwhile, suffered severe reverses in respect of some of her established markets abroad with the result that with the end of the First Plan period her export markets had already considerably depleted, as would be evident from the already growing deficits on current account and substantial portions of accumulated balances having already been liquidated by way of payments for imports of certain capital goods required for the implemetation of the First Plan in respect of some of the projects included within it. She had also, at the same time, already commenced to accumulate foreign exchange debts by way of loans from the World Bank for the implementation of the D.V.C. projects of electrification. In short the end of the First Plan period, despite the extravagantly vociferous claims officially made of its successes and achievements, really ushered in a period of mounting anxieties which it was hoped could only be adequately offset by providing for massive industrialization during the following Plan period.

Second Plan

Thus it was that the Second Plan had for its objectives an over-emphasized programme for industrial development. It was at this time that increasing attention began to be paid to the Private Sector of Indian industry and overwhelming incentives began to be provided for its expansion under Government guarantees and protections. The achievements and failures of the Second Plan have yet to be assessed before a proper evaluation of its gains and losses could be made. But certain symptoms which have been blatantly evident in the meanwhile are not at all encouraging in the context. On the contrary, there is every reason to apprehend, that whatever the gains and losses of the Second Plan in physical terms, its impact in economic terms has created a situation which it would be extremely difficult for the country to be extricated from. The foreign exchange content of the far more massive Second Plan was much higher than that of its predecessor against a background of depleted reserves and already increasing deficits on current account. Efforts at export promotion instead of helping to correct this alarming situation only ended by further increased deficits. The only way to meet the foreign exchange requirements of the Second Plan, therefore, was, partly, to draw upon whatever balances were available and, also, partly, to find assistance abroad to fill the remaining gap. It was not possible to abridge the entire gap, and the size of the Plan had necessarily to be pruned to a corresponding extent. Today, our foreign exchange position is visibly in a dismal state, although commitments already incurred in this

regard are comparatively massive on the other hand. Having regard to the fact that our foreign exchange balances provide the necessary reserves for our currency issues, continually depleting balances which, at one stage some time ago touched the rock bottom of only about Rs. 69 crores, must be viewed with considerable apprehension if not with positive alarm. On the other hand even if the estimated increase in the national income as envisaged initially in the Second Plan may have been achieved in full, viewed on the background of further pressures on the price structure in the meanwhile on the one hand and increasing burdens of taxation both direct and indirect—indirect taxation now covers almost the entire range of essential consumer commodities that one could think of—the results so far as increase in *per capita* income in *real terms* for one thing, or as regards having arrived anywhere within striking distance of a self-generating savings process in increasing proportions for new investments, for another, cannot be said to have been achieved in any way.

Test of Economic Progress

Indeed, despite the comparatively massive investments of the First and the Second Plans taken together, the only test which would prove economic development and progress could not be said to have begun to apply yet in this country. The only acceptable standards of measurement of economic progress are, first, the progressive widening of the area and content of *effective demand* and, secondly, which is really an inevitable corollary of the first, that the employment potential must be correspondingly expanding. Judged from these twin points of view we cannot claim to have arrived anywhere near a satisfactory level of progress yet. And, yet, viewed in the context of the rate of spontaneous pre-Plan capital formation in the country, investments during these two Five Year Plan periods have admittedly been very heavy. Lack of correspondingly assessable results, therefore, must be ascribed to certain important factors which had not been as carefully taken care of as they should have been. To quote Prof. John Galbraith from one of his recent University addresses, the essential prerequisite of planned economic development of underdeveloped economy must be, first, an efficient, dependable and incorruptible public service; secondly, there must be an upward levelling of education of the people concerned and, finally, when these essential human materials have been adequately provided for, naturally the necessary capital and other resources requisite for investment and development. But, here again, Prof. Galbraith warned, that the use of advanced technology—an ambition which appears to have completely enveloped the thinking machinery of the Government and other agencies directly concerned with Planning—is, *primarily* and largely an *accommodation to labour shortages* and its application to an underdeveloped economy may, in certain circumstances, prove completely ruinous. We have, we are afraid, not paid the attention to these requisites of development of an underdeveloped economy as defined by Prof. Galbraith, that we should have. On the contrary, in the name of the use of advanced technology and methods we have, visibly, frittered away a great deal of our resources, both material and human which we could hardly afford to neglect. The result has been what is becoming increasingly obvious, despite the extravagant claims to success that our official sponsors of economic planning lay, that at the end of ten years of our progress, in spite of capital investments amounting to very nearly a hundred per cent of the annual national income during this short period, has been incomparably infinitesmal, if any at all, compared to what it might have been if rationally conceived, guided and supervised.

PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN LOK SABHA ON CHINESE ACTIVITIES IN LADAKH

THE Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on November 28, 1961, on Chinese activities in Ladakh :

As you have been pleased to fix, I think, the 4th of December for a discussion on this subject of our border, more especially in regard to the renewed activities and aggression of Chinese authorities there, I do not propose to say much. But, I should like to help Hon. Members to know the facts as far as they are in my possession so that it might help them in the course of their discussion.

This White Paper that I am placing today contains a large number of letters, charges and counter-charges made by one Government or the other and the replies. That will give them some picture of the relations of the two Governments which are obviously very far from friendly. It consists of charges and counter-charges being made of this kind. In one of the letters sent more or less recently on the 31st of October, 1961—it is a long letter sent by our Ministry to the Embassy of China here—various matters are dealt with, various charges made by the Chinese Government against us are replied to and repudiated. Then this letter says : I shall read out a paragraph from it.

> "Reports received in August-September, 1961, show that the Chinese forces have spread even beyond the 1956 Chinese claim-line in Ladakh to establish the following new posts, and that they have constructed roads to link these posts with rear bases :
>
> Post at E 78.12, No. 35.19—this is the location of the post—
>
> Post at Nyagzu.
>
> Post at Dambuguru.
>
> These fresh instances of violation of Indian territory by the Chinese establish conclusively that the Chinese are guilty of further aggression against India and their protestations to the contrary are only a cloak to cover up these renewed incursions and aggressive activities."

Thereafter, we rejected their note. I read out this brief reference because this particular matter has been before us now.

I should like to explain because there is much confusion on this issue. On the one hand, quite rightly and inevitably, there is a strong feeling in this House and in the country about these Chinese aggressive activities in Ladakh and elsewhere, a feeling that is obviously completely shared by the Government and by, I take it, almost everybody in India, and further that active and effective steps should be taken against these activities. What has happened? I wanted, first of all, to make that clear. In the course of the last two years—I am not referring to the period previous to the years as that has been fairly well-discussed here and the facts are known—in the course of the last two years, we find that three Chinese posts have been established. I have myself used the word 'check-posts' for their posts or our posts. It is not a correct description. They are military posts; they are not check-posts. Check-posts are normal police posts. Whether they are our posts in these mountains or the Chinese, they are regular military posts. In the course of the last two years, three posts have been established.

As a matter of fact, so far as we are aware, they were established during the last summer, especially one important post to which I shall refer. Of these three military posts, two of them, one at Dambuguru and the other at Nyagzu in the Kongka La-Khurnak Fort sector of Ladakh, are practically on the international frontier between Tibet and Ladakh; I am talking about the real frontier, not where the Chinese have come in. They are actually on the international frontier. We are not quite certain whether they are a mile or two on this side or on that side, because it is rather difficult in these high mountain regions to be precise about the actual line. But, broadly speaking. . . .

Shri Nath Pai : Then, they must be on this side. If there is doubt, then they are obviously on this side.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Let us presume that . . . . We have presumed that. But I am merely saying that they are near the international frontier. And it is an objectionable thing the Chinese having built them, not because they have included any particular area of territory there by coming a mile but because that is a sign of aggressive mentality behind it and aggressive activities. What I mean to say is that to consider or to think that, as has been said, a large area—I do not know how much, thousand or to two thousand square miles—have been further occupied is not a correct statement. What is correct is that in so far as these two posts are concerned, they are, as I said, almost on the international frontier. And it is objectionable, because the mere erection of these posts even on the international frontier is an aggressive activity and not in keeping with the assurances given to us.

The third post is a more important one, that is, a post in the northern part of this Ladakh area. Presumably, this was put up during this last summer. It is very difficult to give exact dates, because we find out about the existence of these posts by reconnaissance. When a reconnaissance occurs, we see that it is not there; when it next occurs, it is there or it is being built, so that all we can say is that on a certain date, it was there, and on a certain date it was not there; and roughly, we can, therefore, say that it must have come into existence between those two dates.

Shri Balraj Madhok (New Delhi) : What was the date or the month at least when Government came to know about it? Summer is a long period.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : The month in which we discovered it ? Early in September, our reconnaissance took place and discovered this post, which is a post a little further to the west of their last post where it was.

This is towards the Karakoram range. As a matter of fact, we have built an important post, military post right near the Karakoram Pass, which is a very important route of entry. Although now it is not used very much, it used to be a very important route from India to Sinkiang and Central Asia. We have built a very important post there at a place named Daulatbeg Oldi which is about ten miles from the Karakoram Pass, and which is a post at about nearly 7,000 feet altitude. The Chinese post which they have built up is to the east of this, ten to twelve miles to the east of this. It is this one single post that is a little further away from the old frontier, from the frontier line, and must be put in a different category, as compared to the two other posts that I have said, which are more or less on the international border. We objected to these posts, of course, for reasons which I have stated. But to this post, our objection is greater because it has moved west two miles. But even that does not imply that the Chinese have taken possession of any large area. A post is just a post at that point, to the right, to the left, or to the east; they are not in possession; nobody is in possession except any Armed Force that goes there for the time being. And as I have pointed out, we have got an important military post . . .

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura) : About how many soldiers are there in one post?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I cannot say how many people the Chinese have put there. Roughly speaking, about fifty is the outside limit on a post; it may be sixty or it may be forty, I cannot say, because every such post, so far as we are concerned, has to be fed, and everything has to be supplied, by air. Ever since these troubles became marked in our frontier regions, we have been trying to build rapidly roads, and in order to facilitate this process, we have taken it out of the normal channels and routine methods of building roads by the P.W.D.'s, which, however, good they may be, are rather slow-working. And we have created a special division of the Army for building roads in these high mountains, with good engineers and the rest. They have done very good work, and proceeded more or less according to schedule. But it has been a tremendous task, in this sense that every little match-stick, every screw, and everything else has to be carried by air, even to build the road; every person whom we station there has to be supplied with everything he needs by air. So, it was for this purpose that we purchased a number of very good transport aircraft from various countries.

It has been of help to us. And this process is continuing well. This was the base, because we have normally been thinking of preparing for such effective steps in a thorough way. We cannot take adventurist action which may land us in greater military or other difficulties.

It is not an easy matter to conduct a warfare in these regions, but it has to be done, and, therefore, we have to prepare for it, if necessary, and the base of that preparation is this system of roads that are being built rapidly, not only there, but over a large part of the border. After that, of course, in the ordinary military sense....

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun) : On a point of order. I do not think that army strategy will permit Ministers to talk so openly about the preparations which they are making, whatever the demand of the Parliament may be.*

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi) : Especially, the number should not be disclosed.

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh) : The Prime Minister knows his job better.

Mr. Speaker : I have always felt that it is the privilege of the Ministers to say, whenever they do not want to disclose anything to the House, that it is not in public interest to disclose the information. I do not know if it is open to an ex-Minister to claim that privilege.

Shri Tyagi : It is based on conventions observed in many Parliaments. It is not an ordinary matter.

Mr. Speaker : It is somewhat curious. On the other hand, the complaint has often been made here that sufficient information is not being made available and that it is not being given in public interest.

Shri Tyagi : Let photographs also be sent to China. It would be better!

Shri Nath Pai : The Chinese know much more than we.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : The Hon. Member Shri Tyagi has rightly drawn attention to the fact that we should not help those who are opposed to us to get information which might help them; that is an obvious precaution that every country takes.

They may know, as Shri Nath Pai hinted, much of this, as we know a good deal about their activities. Nevertheless, they do not know everything. It is no good helping them to know a little more than what they know. I acknowledge that my general tendency, more especially in the House, is to take Hon. Members into my confidence and say things which perhaps I ought not to say. From that point of view, I was, in fact, thinking of inviting some Hon. Members, leaders of parties, to see me privately when I could talk to them with a map in front of me and try to explain these matters a little further, which I cannot do in the House.

Shri Tyagi : Let us have a closed sitting of the House. A debate can be had in that way and let all the Members know.

Mr. Speaker : He wants a Secret Session.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : No, Sir. I am very sorry. A Secret Session or Public Session, these things cannot be discussed with hundreds of people present. Obviously, however, secret it is, it only means that it does not go to newspapers. But otherwise, it becomes semi-public.

Shri Ranga (Tenali) : That is the general weakness of all parties.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : That is not a weakness of ours. That is a well-known fact everywhere. I was merely stating something that is terribly secret. The locations may be secret, but obviously not, we have been engaged to the best of our ability to strengthen our positions all along the borders. In fact, as I once said, we were engaged in doing this, to some extent right from 1950 onwards. One error—if you like—we made in our judgment. The frontier was a tremendous frontier of 2,000 miles, and it is a very difficult frontier, in the sense that there is no means of communication sometimes for hundreds of miles on the frontier, because this was a dead frontier in the past. The old British Government did not take much interest in it, and it remained so. But the moment we became independent, both because of that and because of the fact at that time the Chinese came into Tibet, we were alerted by this fact, although nothing had happened against us so much directly. But this frontier became a live frontier and we began taking military and other steps, 'other steps' meaning development of communications, etc.

We concentrated rather on the North-East

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

Frontier Agency because we thought that might be threatened more than any other place. The problem was so huge, involving 2,000 miles of mountainous frontier. In fact, we succeeded not only in bringing a large part of the North-East Frontier Agency in a system of regular administration and communications but in establishing many posts there which have done good work and which have, in fact, prevented any incursion there.

References have often been made to Longju, which is a small village of a few huts only and which, according to us, lies in our territory just on this side of the border. According to the Chinese, it does not. We are even now within about four or five miles—that is, our posts are —from Longju. Of course, the four or five miles are not just straight going. It is mountainous territory and is very difficult going. We have been asked why we have not occupied Longju, although Longju has been vacated by the Chinese. Why they vacated it, I do not know. They are four miles beyond on the other side. It is not a difficult matter, I suppose, for us to go four or five miles ahead and sit there. But it is of no particular importance.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): Have they re-occupied Longju? On a former occasion, we were told that they vacated it because of certain epidemic there.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There was some story about epidemic. They left it. They have not, so far as we know, re-occupied it. What their reason is, I do not know. But it is of no particular importance to them or to us.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): On a previous occasion also, the Prime Minister made statements like this about Ladakh and I objected to that. Here also I do not want the Prime Minister to say that Longju is not of much importance to us because this may be taken advantage of by the Chinese. Let us not be shaky about our borders.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not speaking a lie. I am not going to tell a lie. It is not the method of our Government.

Shri Hem Barua: My trouble is that in regard to border disputes the Prime Minister has a tendency to act like an umpire in a cricket match rather than as one whose interests are involved. That is the trouble.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member ought not to interrupt like this.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : It is perfectly clear that Longju is of no military importance to either party. Of course, it is our territory. That is a different matter. It is an obvious fact. We can, and we may perhaps, occupy it, but if we occupy it, we must be prepared to do many other things too all along the border. When we want and when we are ready for it, we will do it. What I mean is that we have to see things in the large context and perspective, military strategy and the rest. We have to go by the advice given to us by our military chiefs and advisers, that it is not of great importance from that point of view. For instance, Ladakh or any other part is far more important.

So my point is that we hold the entire North-East Frontier border well except this little village of Longju which, at the present moment, nobody holds. At one time, we had even suggested to the Chinese, before these various developments had taken place, that they should retire from Longju and it should be left unoccupied by either party. That was sometime ago. But we have every right to occupy it, if we so choose and if it is in keeping with our general military strategy. That was the point I was making. But it is not, from the military or other point of view, of extreme importance.

Shri Hem Barua: These are unfortunate remarks about Longju.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It may be unfortunate, but I am trying to make a factual statement. That is my difficulty. If I have to be frank to the House, I hope this House will never compel me to speak lies to this House because they consider that lies are good for this country. We may delude ourselves with a lie. We do not delude the opposite party by our lies because they know the facts as well as we do, and perhaps more.

That is what I ventured to say. We are taking even from 1950, onwards steps to protect our borders, trying to build roads, etc. We attached importance to the NEFA border for various reasons, and we have succeeded in pro-

tecting it adequately. We are now building up a system of roads right up to the border.

In the other parts, specially the Ladakh part, difficulties were greater—for greater—for us to build roads. Take, for instance, even a single road, which leads from Srinagar to Leh. Leh is a very important part of the Kashmir State. Even the building of that road had caused great difficulties to us. It is now completed. That is one of the big things we have done, and that helps us to move materials and men into Ladakh.

So we have been building these roads and building bases at suitable places for our armed forces. Out of the bases go forward posts etc. The whole thing is being built up in an organised way, paying special attention to the logistic demands of the situation because the whole thing depends on that. Napolean or someone else once said that an army moves on its stomach. That is true, not only stomach but other supplies and all that.

We are a modern army. We are not just an adventurist group going in and taking undue risks in doing it, undue risks for our soldiers and others. Therefore, we have been proceeding step by step, building up our strength in those areas, and we have gone a good distance in doing that.

I was talking about the last two years. That is where, keeping in mind what Shri Tyagi has said, it is not proper for me to mention places of outposts, etc., the military posts we have set up. But we have set up more than half a dozen new posts, important posts, in various parts of the Ladakh border. I have mentioned one already, an important one which is right near the Karakoram Pass a very important one.

An Hon. Member asked what was the strength of each post, and I said that normally it is 40 or 50 men. But I should like the House to remember that behind those 40 or 50 men is a huge apparatus to feed them, to supply them and so on, involving 10-20 times that number of persons.

So, all this has to be built up like this, with a solid base, so that nobody is left unconnected with the bases and, therefore, weakened. What has been our general plan, which I think, has been proceeding more or less satisfactorily, in spite of all these difficulties what have taken place.

Now, it is clear that from the point of view of feeding alone, these areas in Ladakh cannot support large armies, either Chinese or ours or anybody else's, it just can't. Roughly speaking, 80 men require a thousand men for their support somewhere behind the scenes, to feed them, etc. You can imagine how any large army can be supported. May be, I cannot say, a great country like the United States of America or the Soviet Union may be able to do it with their vast resources, but certainly neither the Chinese Government nor any other Government can support large armies in this area.

It is not a question of large armies manoeuvring and crushing each other. It is a question of strong armed groups—armies, yes—relatively small groups going and either taking possession of a place or removing somebody from some place. That is, the whole strategy has to depend on that conception, but with strong bases behind them to support them. One has to do this with a strong base and logistics and food supplies and all that. So, all that has to be taken into consideration.

As I said, I recognise the strong feelings in the House over these matters. We entirely share them, but the House will not expect the Government, feeling strongly as it does, nevertheless, to take some step which cannot be fully carried out. We are ready for it, we are perfectly prepared for it.

I do not think the last two years, with which I am dealing, have changed the situation to the advantage of the Chinese in these areas. If I may make a broad statement, I think the situation has broadly been changed progressively in our favour, not as much as we want it to.

It is a fact that they are still in the areas which they occupied, that is true, but progressively the situation has been changing, from a military point of view and from other points of view, in our favour, and we shall continue to take steps to build up these things, so that ultimately we may be in a position to take action to recover such territory as is in their possession.

I am sorry I took so much time, I did not intend to, but the matter, as you were pleased to say, will be discussed a few days later in the House.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): May I ask one small question of the Prime Minister? If the sett-

ing up of a base on our territory by the Chinese Republic, he does not think will lead to war, why should we be worried that destroying the base set up by them will lead to war?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a question of leading to a war. We do not want a major war, of course. It is not a small matter to have a war between two of the biggest countries in Asia. It is not a question of liking or disliking. It is a major historical fact that one gets entangled into when, whatever step we take, we have to be strong enough to pursue it to the logical end. Every military administration has to think of that. It must be pursued to the logical end; and one has to be prepared for that, whether it is there or elsewhere in India, whether it is in Goa or whatever it is. A step has to be taken knowing what the second, third, fifth, twelfth step should be. We should be prepared for all this. We do not take a step and then find that we are not prepared for something that follows.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): The Prime Minister has been saying that the versions given in the press about the territory which has been recently occupied by the Chinese are exaggerated. Some papers say it is 1,500 square miles or so. We were expecting that the Prime Minister would clarify the position, and tell us what, according to the estimate of the Government of India, is the extent of the territory which has been freshly occupied by China.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I thought I had made that clear. There is no occupation of territory except in so far as you put a small group of 40 or 50 men in a particular point. That particular point is occupied and from that area they may exercise some control round about, but there is no other territory occupied at all.

The one place that I have mentioned where they have opened these check-posts, about which we got to know in September last, is a place on the banks of a river with the happy name of Chip Chap river. It is 17 miles south-east of our post which is Dauletbeg Oldi. This is connected by road to the previous post behind which is Jilga, which was established two years ago. So, that the question of occupation of territory does not arise excepting, as I said, they have got a few soldiers sitting at one post, in a sheltered post, which has been created.

Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur): That is occupation!

Shri Hem Barua: Occupation and exercising control!

Shri Vajpayee: Are we to have a new definition of occupation? After the Chinese post is created on our territory, it is occupation.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Hon. Member, I am afraid, when he deals with these matters, will have to exercise a little patience. I did not say that is not occupation. I said it is incorrect to say 1,000 or 500 sq. miles have been occupied. That is ridiculous, that is not true. Where they have occupied a particular point, because they have occupied that point, they can exercise some influence round about in those mountainous areas, but to draw a line and say east or west or north of it is occupied is not a correct statement. That is what I ventured to say in answer to the Hon. Member.

Shri Balraj Madhok (New Delhi): It seems they set up some check-posts two years ago. How many miles are the new check-posts from the old ones?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot precisely say, but it may be 10 or 12 miles.

Shri Balraj Madhok: They have advanced 10 miles. It means $10 \times 100 = 1000$ milies of the border.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You can also draw a line from our post of Dauletbeg Oldi, and say that we have already driven out the Chinese, because the line drawn would cover all that area. The area is an extraordinary area where our posts and their posts go in a zig-zag line to some extent; somewhere zig-zag, somewhere something else over that area where they have occupied and where our posts are increasing in number to control that situation.

"Ministry of External Affairs."

"ECONOMICS OF GROWTH AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN INDIA"

By Prof. R. N. BANERJEE

The concept of growth economics has been of crucial importance particularly in the underdeveloped countries. In India with successive Five-Year Plans the principles underlying such economic growth would assume more and more strategic importance. In a such context, what role can be assigned to industrial relations in India with reference to economic growth?

It is our purpose to touch upon the problem, first, from the standpoint of theoretical background of the concept of Economics of Growth; and then to examine briefly the casual relationship between the problem of economic growth and industrial relations in India in so far as our inquiry into adjudication and a possible collective bargaining system is concerned.

Precisely speaking, Harrod-Domar models concerning Economics of Growth are of particular significance for our purpose. Mr. R. E. Harrod has analysed certain fundamental assumptions which are the rudiments of his growth model.[1] According to his conception the level of income and the supply of saving in relation to demand and supply are of crucial significance for a dynamic economy. Harrod has constructed an equation which sets forth his model as follows :

$$GW = \frac{S}{C}$$

Here GW stand for warranted rate of growth, S denotes propensity to save of the community, comprising both individuals and corporate bodies and C denotes value of the capital goods necessary for accelerated investment. C is the inverse of the capital co-efficient or the capital-output ratio. It is now clear from the equation, that rate of economic growth of a community is the function of the ratio between the propensity to save and capital-output ratio.

Harrod has also further explained that long-range rate of growth is also a function of population growth and technical progress which he has christened as natural rate of growth.

1. Vide his article, "Essay in Dynamic Theory", *Economic Journal*, 1939.

Closely similar to Harrod's model, Professor Domar has also constructed another model which can be set forth in equation as follows :[2]

$$d = S8$$

Here d stands for the rate of development, S is the proportion of savings, and denotes the average productivity of capital. Now from the equation two important conclusions can be drawn. (1) First, the rate of development or the rate of growth of national income would be faster as capital-output ratio tends to be lower or higher the average productivity of capital and, (2) Second, given the value of the average productivity of capital, larger will be the rate of development higher the propensity to save. Thus, it seems also clear from this equation what are likely to be the contributory factors for declining the rate of growth in a community.

Harrod-Domar models provide not only meaningful tools for economic analysis, but also very powerful instruments for economic planning. Therefore, one can easily see that these models can be of decisive importance in India in accelerating the pace of economic growth.

But it is pertinent to question how far India is in the process of economic growth? Or to put in technical terms, the question may be posed : Is Indian economy in the "take-off" stage of economic growth?

It is well-known that the term "take-off" has been popularised by the economic-historian, W. W. Rostow,[3] as the interval during which the rate of investment increases in such a way that the real output *per capita* rises and this initial growth carries with it radical changes in production techniques and income flows which perpetuate self-sustaining growth. While it is not our purpose to dwell upon the full discussion of the "take-off" stage of Indian economy, it can be fairly said that India is well in the process of the initial stage of "take-off". The next two decades would

2. Vide Domar's article, "Expansion and Employment", *American Economic Review*, March, 1947.

3. W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth—A non-Communist Manifesto*, p. 179.

be of critical importance for more rapid growth and accelerated pace of "take-off".

This process, however, is hinged on to the rate of domestic savings by which growing investment should be financed. It is then obvious that propensity to save or capital formation should be rapidly increased for self-sustaining growth. The rate of savings should be raised at 15 per cent from the current rate by the next decade, and to mark the completion of the "take-off" stage by 1975, it is necessary to raise the rate of savings to at least 47 per cent of the national income.

It is now relevant to refer briefly to some important problems connected with the capital-output ratio for higher investment which raise the fundamental question of competing growth of agricultural sector and industrial sector in India. This is important before we examine the implications of industrial relations in the context of economic growth.

It must be pointed out that in a country like India with an ever-increasing mass of population and a limited supply of superior land-holdings, agricultural sector cannot be fully relied upon for maximum level of employment and national income. This, however, does not for a moment under-estimate the improvement of agriculture. For, in India this primary sector would, perhaps, demand major attention and care for a pretty long time till at least self-sufficiency in food and essential raw materials is reached. But once this is achieved, industrialisation will be the only alternative to absorb the surplus labour. Therefore, in that context again capital-output ratio and consumption function assume added importance.

Of course, it can very well be said that in the growth of mechanised agriculture also such capital-output ratio is of considerable significance. But as we have pointed out, agricultural sector cannot be relied upon except to a certain limit of self-sufficiency for the self-sustained growth of economy as a whole, especially for employment and income maximisation. For instance, estimated rate of capital-output ratio of Indian Five-Year Plans for the economy as a whole is assumed to be of 3:1, and that for agriculture is of the order of 2:1 which are rather low. Colin Clark has estimated that in underdeveloped countries the capital-output ratio is approximately of the order of 4:1.[4]

Considered from this standpoint, paucity of domestic savings might greatly arrest the growth of economy, and the danger is a real one in India. To tide over the problem, increasing reliance is generally placed on capital import and massive foreign aid. But it must be said, that this tendency cannot sustain self-perpetuating growth for long. To improve the situation the government should adopt adequate tax-reform policy, monetary policy, price policy and efficiently run the administrative machinery. Also the government should guard against too much reliance of self-perpetuating policy of deficit finance, as it ultimately saps the saving potentiality of the community in face of inflation in a country like India where mostly the aggregate demand is of an inelastic type.

Now it is in this context of economics of growth that implications and importance of industrial relations should be understood in India. It seems obvious from the foregoing discussion that the rate of domestic savings, which may be termed as the reciprocal of capital-output ratio, is of supreme importance in relation with a particular pattern of industrial relations system. So in India, one might ask, to what extent the present industrial relations have contributed to such factors as rate of domestic savings or capital output ratio ?

This question is convenient to analyse from two standpoints. First, what have been the effects of compulsory awards on economic growth ? And, second, what should be the desirable effects of a possible collective bargaining system *via* voluntary arbitration on economic growth ?

With regard to the first point,[5] it can be fairly said that effect of compulsory adjudication and awards have adversely affected the rate of domestic savings or capital output ratio, which is the indirect reciprocal of consumption function of labour. It might be fairly said also that immediate results of awards have been the sharp increase in consumption which has naturally

4. Vide his article—"Population growth and Living Standards", *International Labour Review*, August, 1953.

5. See Chapter VIII.

retarded the rate of savings. It is, however, important to note here that for a considerable length of period consumption function of Indian labour would go on increasing till a fair standard of living is reached, even if compulsory adjudication is superseded by a collective bargaining system. Therefore, the rate of domestic savings is not likely to be accelerated much from the labouring class for some time to come, at least so long as their sub-human standard of living is not improved by further increase in wage rates and other better amenities of life. Thus, from a short-period point of view, both compulsory awards and a collective bargaining system are unlikely to accentuate the growth of savings.

But considered from long-period point of view, collective bargaining would definitely expedite the rate of savings by improving the standard of living, the level of income and other amenities of life, which the compulsory system could never achieve in any foreseeable future. For it must be known that awards in spite of some wage-increasing effects cannot possibly raise the income of labour to that level which is conducive to capital formation.

This should also be understood in the context of the marginal rate of man-days lost and the number of disputes, as a result of strikes and lockouts, the fundamental factors which involve the problem of industrial peace. Because, industrial peace is an essential pre-requisite for the ideal capital-output ratio which again is the function of optimum productivity of capital. As a result of awards, incidence of the number of man-days lost and disputes has not improved so far. This leads to the conclusion that awards have adversely affected productivity of capital. This has been so from two major standpoints. Firstly, the increasing rate of number of man-days lost and industrial disputes have considerably reduced the marginal efficiency of capital resulting in dis-investment. And, secondly, awards in such a context, despite employers' disinclination, have compelled them to give higher money wages to labour, however insignificant that might be. Thus, both ways, awards actually reduces the efficiency of capital. With this we might say, as we have examined just now, that productivity of labour has not also improved as the rate of savings has not been accelerated by awards.

Against this background, we can expect material improvement both with regard to labour and capital; if collective bargaining is introduced. Since collective bargaining is not adopted, we cannot, of course, prove from any investigation the claim of betterment of economic growth under review. But wherever in the world the system is relied upon better results on the score of capital-output ratio have been recorded. Even in India, despite the absence of collective bargaining, noticeable improvement in industrial relations are registered whenever the disputes have been settled by voluntary methods with mutual compromise. From this we can hope, productivity of both labour and capital is bound to increase if full-fledged collective bargaining is introduced.

It is relevant to point out in this connection, as noted already, that from short-period point of view consumption function of labour is likely to increase sharply as the level of income improves further even as a result of the introduction of collective bargaining. Obviously, this would adversely affect the rate of savings. To tide over this problem it might be suggested that apart from the well-known provident fund system, a compulsory savings-bonus scheme should be introduced. According to this scheme, special bonus should be granted to all categories of workers on the basis of a fixed percentage of savings of their half-yearly income, the bonus being double the rate of savings. The special feature of the scheme is that, the rate of savings-bonus should be compulsory upto a fixed limit, say on the basis of 5 per cent savings of income. But beyond this limit, savings-bonus should be entirely voluntary, on the basis of progressive increase in the bonus of different slabs of savings which should be finally determined by the mutual consent of both labour and management.

Another important feature of this scheme is that such savings of labour should be compulsorily deposited with the reserve fund of the firm in which the worker is employed, which means that such savings cannot be utilised by the workers for his personal benefit. It follows then that this would help capital formation which would increase marginal efficiency of capital and investment directly in the best possible manner.

It would be clear from the rough outline of the scheme, that labour would not mind such contributions as it would be amply compensated by the bonus they get. On the part of the management, they exactly give what they receive from the labour, thereby incurring no loss. But directly they accumulate a fund which, if profitably reinvested, might yield more than what they give to the labour in shape of bonus. It must be pointed here that this scheme holds good both in private and public sectors, obviously with different purposes.

The scheme mentioned above, of course, is only a bare outline of an idea which should be fully developed into a workable and detailed plan. This is provided here only to manifest the profound necessity of some such thought which is essential for the economic growth in the context of the complicated industrial relations in a developing economy like India.

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TAGORE : AN EDUCATIONIST

DR. S. C. CHATTERJI

RABINDRANATH Tagore was born on the 25th Baisakh, corresponding to 8th May, 1961, to a well-known Bengali family of North Bengal. His father Maharshi Devendranath Tagore was one of the pioneers of Indian Renaissance; and along with the great Raja Rammohan Roy regenerated our national life not only in art and literature; but also in social, political and economic activities in general.

Rabindranath grew up during a period when our whole atmosphere was surcharged with a spirit of resurgence; and an idea of humiliation due to foreign domination pervaded all walks of our national life. The versatality of his genius was unique : he touched and adorned all phases of literature. He was a poet, a philosopher, a dramatist, a novelist, a political and religious thinker, a musician, a painter, an actor, a humanist, and above all an educationist. We are here concerned about the last aspect of his life and shall discuss it in as few a words as possible. although volumes could be written on this item of his prodigious scholarship.

Unlike our Upanishadic conception in which renunciation or negation of life was over-emphasized, he laid special stress on human relationship. Consequently, education, as laid down by him at Santiniketan, created suitable materials and spiritual conditions for self-development. In his beautiful sonnet "Vairagya" he emphasized, unlike Rousseau, the positive aspect of education and blamed the man who was about to desert his family, and wanted to be an ascetic. As dealt with in the *Bhagwat Gita* his educational system breathed a profound love of life and appealed to a deep sense of duty to mankind. In another sonnet "Mukti" he gave the same idea that salvation was not to be obtained through self-abnegation. The aim of education should, therefore, be, to fit a child to face the realities of life and not to cut himself off from the world as was done in our hoary past.

In another place, while emphasizing religious education he conceived religion in a very broad sense : his faith was even wider than Buddha's "maitree" or Christ's "brotherhood." His God is with and within us in our vices and virtues, in our sorrows and pleasures, in our sufferings and enjoyments. In fact, in his vision he finds God and man merging to one another making our existence a complete unity.[1] Disagreeing with the Hindu University, Benaras, and the Muslim University, Aligarh, where religion was taught much in the same way as other subjects of the syllabus, he excluded all kinds of direct teaching of theology and held that the main object of moral instruction would be to create a religious

1. Adapted from Tagore's Hibbert Lectures on "*Religion of Man.*"

atmosphere in his institution; and this could be best achieved where there was freedom and spontaneity in the work. He consequently gave no place for corporal punishment or other forms of external coercion, for such methods were likely to set an anti-religious atmosphere.

During the days of British imperialism he keenly felt that our country had greatly suffered from a callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life, as primary education, and an adequate provision of food and clothing. His heart bled for the sufferers and he started experimental work in his Santiniketan. He, consequently, spent much of his time, energy, and physical resources in creating a feeling of self-confidence in the neglected masses of our agrarian India.

Rabindranath, as we all know, was a worshipper of Nature. In his famous institution he, therefore, like Comenius, laid special emphasis for nature study. He not only made provisions for teaching in the open air under the bracing influence of nature at Santiniketan; but also organized teaching under the shade of trees. Although handicapped by rigid school curriculum he infused the spirit of open-air education in classroom work.

Besides, following the syllabus, scholars were given facilities for making various observations and experiments in the open air. For this purpose they are not only supplied with apparatus for weather study, *viz.*, maximum and minimum thermometer, barometer and a rain-gauge, but each senior student is given a plot of land which he cultivates and produces things according to his choice.

Moreover, in order to compare differences in landscape, climate, and social conditions of the people in the neighbouring villages, short excursions are organized from time to time to extend the knowledge of the young educands beyond the limits of their immediate environments.

Realising that a truly national system of education should be founded on the principle of equality of rights, Rabindranath gave a new colouring to pupil-teacher relationship. He found that the system in vogue was based on the assumption that the teacher was to command and the pupil was to obey. On the other hand, the new method demanded that there should be a policy of "give" and "take" between the teacher and the taught. He, therefore, made a new approach to the problems of curriculum and method. He found that in the past the approach was only psychological depending mainly on the traditional methods of rewards and punishments; but now it belonged to the province of educational sociology. Considered from this point of view, true discipline comes not from the position or commands of the teacher or any higher authority; but it is implicit in the work carried out in a friendly spirit. When each pupil feels that he is a real part of the working force of the school society, when his work appears to him both useful and interesting in the sense of arousing effort, the usual problems of discipline do not arise. It is of course necessary to have recourse to personal discipline; but that should be a part of the discipline which emanates from within in the sense that it originates from the scholar's appreciation of what co-operation demands from him. Here, Rabindranath's personal influence, as a teacher, pervaded the whole atmosphere and worked unobtrusively in moulding the character of the growing generation.

Furthermore, he utilized the social instinct of the young by encouraging pleasurable hobbies that would ensure the children from wasting their time in ways that would counteract their classroom work. He, therefore, entertained them in the evenings, by story-telling, recitation of his poems, and himself participating in their open air exercises like wrestling and swimming.

Fearing an excessive use of competition in our present system of education and believing William James that "no educational progress is possible if the pupils are made to rush from one kind of work to the other," Rabindranath left some time to his pupils for rest and contemplation. He felt that the living of a life involved not only constant intercourse with others: it also required a period for analysing and synthesizing one's own experience. In his institution, therefore, he provided a secluded place where the young scholars could retire for meditation. With the growth of modern sciences, however, our idea of universal laws has undergone considerable changes. We begin thinking this world as a combination of physical forces. Rabindranath rightly thought that man could not be

merely physiological or even psychological. He has a relation with those great laws that lie at the basis of all creation. In his opinion, therefore, a separate time and place were necessary where adolescent scholars could retire for using a text like the following for deep meditation.

"Om bhur bhuvarsvah tatsa vitur varanyam bhargo devarsya dhimahi dhiyorah prachodayat Om."[2]

In this way, he made every endeavour to bring his wards into direct contact with the great spiritual forces that are working in the universe; but they were left free to respond to them according to their desires and inclinations.

Santiniketan having developed rapidly between the two world wars, it was but natural that Rabindranath had felt keenly the defects of our educational system. Although economic and other factors were involved for such a deplorable state of affairs he rightly pointed out that education had signally failed to inspire men with high ideals that would bring home the fundamental fact of human kinship and overcome the urge of lower motives.

He found that not only in Germany but also in other countries educational institutions were responsible for accentuating the differences which divide rather than unite nations. In order to overcome this defect, he established an international House in Santiniketan and freely admitted students of all nations. Following the Danish system of scrutinizing the text books, specially of history, he removed those matters which could not be supported from an international point of view. He stressed the importance of our ancient ideal of social service and self-renunciation and deprecated the desire for domination and self-gain; but he was handicapped by our rigid departmental and university syllabuses and the methods of teaching that had got to be done in a foreign language.

Another important experiment of Rabindranath's educational system was the establishment of the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan for agrarian welfare. He realised that it was useless to make children and even adults read and write if they soon relapsed to illiteracy for want of proper "mental food." What is done in our rural school is entirely bookish and does not produce the faintest desires for improving their social and economic conditions. He, therefore, not only tried to improve the school curricula and methods, but also to infuse a spirit of self-sacrifice and voluntary service in the mind of the would-be teachers of the district. In the absence of a band of voluntary workers, as found in western countries, the teaching staff should take up rural uplift work. In order to hold and take his proper place the teacher must practise what he preaches and set the example of working with his own hands all the uplift measures, he recommends. "His gospel is the dignity of labour and dignity of social service and he must be as willing to set about cleaning the village or adjusting an iron plough as he is to teach reading and writing. Then and only then will the villagers respect him and his mission."[3]

Closely connected with the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic is the education of the people for a healthy rural life. In his institution, therefore, he included farming and housekeeping projects as an integral part of the course. Thus the boys are trained to keep the records in connection with the growing of corn, caring for a few cows, looking after a flock of sheep, etc. In the domestic department the work to be done at home might be followed according to given suggestion. The point is to have the pupil recognise the definite limits of the project in order that she or he might have a sense of responsibility for doing it completely.

As our peasants are practically idle in the greater part of the year Rabindranath provided training facilities at Sriniketan for cottage and village arts and crafts. He disregarded the current notion prevalent here that cottage productions, specially handloom weaving, should be discouraged and mill products substituted in its place ; but from his experience of the conditions of other countries he had found that those types of cottage industries which were associated closely with farming had not entirely disappeared from

2. He prescribed similar passages from the scriptures of other nations.

3. Brayne, F. L., *The Remaking of Village India*, p. 158.

the world. For instance, "in Germany small-scale industries continue to employ about two fifths of the entire population and embrace more than 90 per cent of the industrial establishment."[4] In our country he rightly realised that the main cause for the deterioration of village industries was partly due to the apathy of the British India Government and partly due to the want of education of our village folks who could not effect the sale of their productions.

Understanding his own limitations, Rabindranath introduced in his institution the training in such crafts, as toy-making, bamboo and straw-weaving, and knitting of all kinds. He also introduced a bias to a trade so that on leaving his institution the student could expect a reasonable price for the articles which he had manufactured. He would thus not produce unsaleable artistic work nor follow slavishly "the old conventional patterns and designs which cramp artistic freedom."[5] Besides, he held continuation classes to facilitate training appropriate to different types of cottage and artistic industries, and organized extra-mural lectures for illiterate country adults.

Rabindranath heard a deal about the "pathetic contentment of the Indian peasantry"[6] which pointed out that the ultimate aim of life was to attain *moksha* (salvation) and that the material comforts of life were passing and transitory. What was most important was abstention from the needs and desires of worldly life. This was the version of India's conquerors and was not the real fact. The Indian agriculturist lives in poverty, because his income is meagre, and he has no education nor training to supplement it when he has no work at the farm. The desires for better and more physical amenities are imbedded in human nature, and no one would like to live in poverty only if he could live otherwise. Rabindranath also felt that one of the main problems in our country was to raise the standard of living of these millions of agriculturists, and the Government should take measures to achieve this aim. The British Government in India discharged its duty by only guaranteeing the security and protection against violence. It did not hold itself responsible for finding a market for their products (in fact, it was against its interest); nor did it seek to control the fluctuations of prices; nor did it succeed in evolving any scheme for financing the peasantry to carry on during periods of depression. Rabindranath could not concern himself with all these economic measures; but he felt in his heart of hearts that the standard of living of an average agriculturist must be raised at all cost. This entailed enlightenment and it was education alone which could give such an outlook on life. When his mental horizon was widened he would look upon cultivation from the business point of view. General agricultural education would not be alone sufficient to increase his income, but it should give him an originality, initiative and a desire to improve his land and make it give the best possible returns.

Finally, Rabindranath found that our villagers were reluctant to send their children to schools; it was but natural that when a farmer saw his children not earning more by school education, he became indifferent. Following the system in vogue in the United States of America, he sent his students with leaflets, etc., to villages to mould the opinion in favour of school education. He thus "contributed his full share to making education in India, Indian, as well as human and humane, in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation, reconstruction, reorganization and rejuvenation of villages. Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate".[7]

In the end, it becomes our unpleasant duty to offer criticism by saying that according to him the child should be placed in some beauteous spot of nature where he should grow, live and learn without an external interference. "The teacher should not tread upon the sacred soil of the inborn tendencies and powers of childhood."[8]

Like Pestalozzie, Rabindranath's ideals of education, as carried out in his famous institution,

4. Mukherji, R., *Rural Economy in India*, p. 230.
5. *Ibid*, page 236.
6. Joad, C. E. M., *Story of Indian Civilization*, p. 134.
7. *Modern Review*, May 1961, p. 357.
8. Tagore, Rabindranath, *Personality* p. 138.

mark a definite improvement on the current principles of Indian education; but they are apparently inadequate, like the Swiss education's, to meet our everyday needs. To us it appears that his scheme of education is an isolated educational experiment carried on through the instrumentality and under the auspices of the great elevating personality of the poet amid extraordinary favourable surroundings, and is thus of little or no value to those who are engaged in the cause of education outside Santiniketan. To be brief, an impracticable high ideal is not half as good as an ideal less high, but of more practical utility to the people.

In the first place, our attention has been repeatedly drawn to the sanctity of childhood and to the ardent pleading to let the child grow, live and learn unfettered in the beautiful natural surroundings which Santiniketan offers; but to admire, assimilate and love the harmony of nature is one thing; whereas to cut oneself off completely from the hard facts of life as experienced in Santiniketan is altogether a different matter. Nature, as depicted there, appears sweet and atonce entrancing; but life is not so: it has its full measure of joys and sorrows, its triumphs and turmoils. It may be pleasant, but it looks to be injudicious to train our young generation of today in a secluded place, for our youths are likely to find themselves, like so many Rip Van Winkles, to be in great difficulty when they have to deal with the complexities of modern life. Furthermore, they will not have acquired the necessary experience in their impressionable age to discharge the duties of our democratic system of government, when called upon to do so in their advanced ages.

In the second place, Rabindranath's idea of religion was in consonance with the spirit of the day; but he had not the necessary practical experience of bringing home some of the fundamental truths of morality and their bearing on human life and thoughts through the various departments of school activities. Of studies, history and literature would, if properly treated, heighten the sense of life and its values; geography and physical science would appeal to man's spiritual experience. Even games and athletics, if carefully organized, would offer opportunities for "fair play" and would thus be useful in awakening religious feelings, and in living a truly spiritual life.[9]

In the third place, it was not easy to base his educational procedure like Rousseau on freedom and spontaneity, and at the same time follow the departmental and university curricula. It is useless to hold classes of more than thirty pupils in the open air, and taking the blackboard and other apparatus outside follows the traditional method of teaching. In this respect, Gorukul Kangri near Hardwar has shown better initiative by not accepting a syllabus prescribed by the Punjab University. Rabindranath's personal influence as a teacher could not militate against the vested interests and the inertia of an actually established mode of thought and action. He had thus failed badly in reforming the system which he had so vehemently criticised in his educational schemes.

In the fourth place, the idea of nationalism according to Rabindranath was responsible for most of the evils of our school society. "Nationalism" writes he "is a great menace. It is the particular thing which for years has been at the bottom of India's trouble",[10] and he has, therefore, severely denounced, "nationalism" taking the word in its narrower sense. When, however, we consider the tremendous importance of possessing a national spirit in the light of our experience of Western life and culture we are led irresistibly to the conclusion that our ideal for the education of our future generation should be as broadly national as is found in the West.

Under a foreign regime nationalism had no meaning whatsoever to an average Indian child and was no doubt responsible for so much unrest; but it must not be forgotten that whatever the drawbacks of the system might be it was the idea or the sense of nationalism that has produced such an enlightened public in the West which is keenly sensitive to its civic duties and rights under the existing political system. To the same idea we may justifiably ascribe the wonderful organization and discipline that penetrate the social fabric of the modern civilized world.

9. Adapted from author's, *Physical Education*, pp. 118-121.

10. Tagore, Rabindranath, *Nationalism*, p. 111.

It again explains the zest to live freely, fully and abundantly so markedly conspicuous in our Western brothers. Nay, it is also responsible for the phenomenal success and progress which the Occident has recently made in art, literature, physical science, and in all other allied subjects.[11]

In the fifth place, the scheme of rural reconstruction is not comprehensive enough to meet the needs of the country. Both the students and the peasants should live as abundantly as is done in the advanced countries of the West. Our educational system should be so planned, not only to bring about the necessary "rural re-construction", but also what is called "mental re-construction". For instance, all attempts to remedy the evils of rural life will not fructify unless the entire outlook of our peasantry is changed. It is far better to attain a decent standard of living than to lead a life of mystic faith in the hope of getting redemption in the world to come through self-denials and privations voluntarily experienced for an unknown and unseen cause.

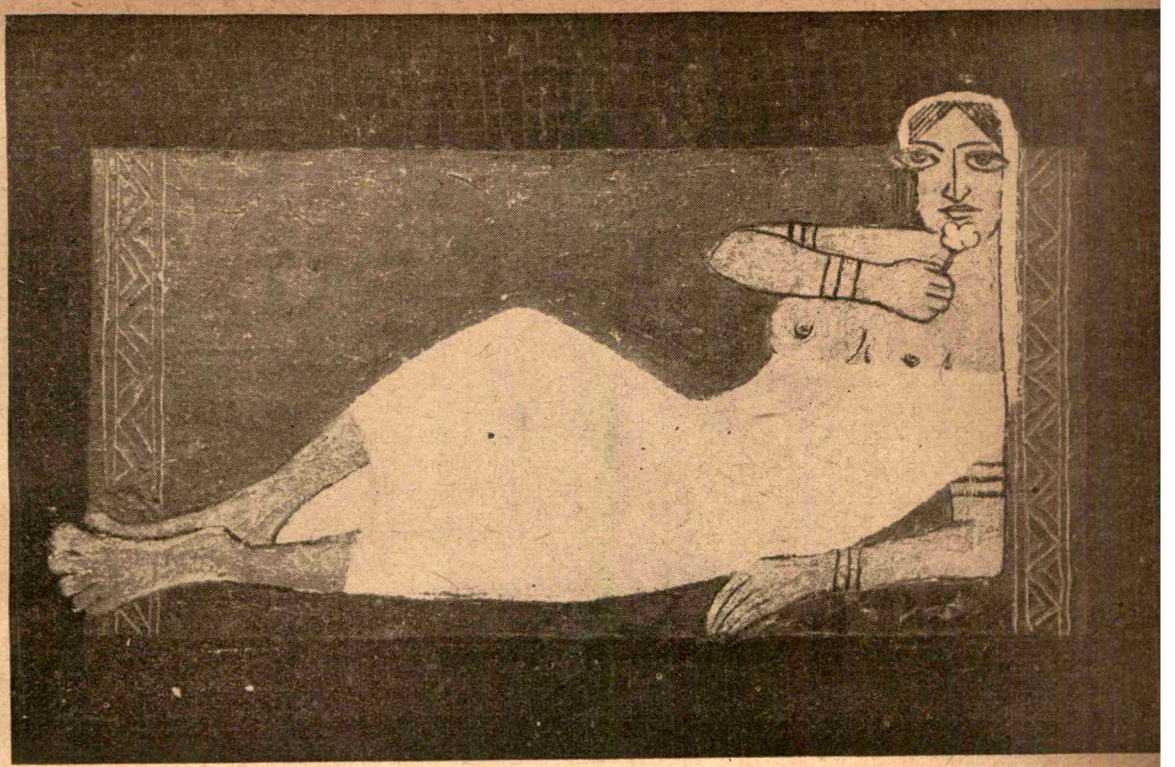
To sum up, we are inclined to believe that our rising generation should be inspired with a new hope and a new urge to lead life not exclusively under the benevolent influence of nature, but in harmony with the modern intensely competitive scientific world. We, however, admit our difficulty in harmonising both the views. On the one hand, we cannot regard education in our *Ashram* entirely as a means for inner happiness which was once the goal of our life; and, on the other, we cannot advocate Chicago system of including all the purposive worldly activities as a means for educating our "young masters". Time and our own experience will, however, determine how far we should depend on the one or the other.

11. Summarised from the writer's, *Educational Theories and Development*, pp. 120-50.

REVIEW OF THE 26TH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The 26th Exhibition of the Indian Academy of Art opened by the Maharaja of Burdwan on the 15th December, has valiantly maintained a high standard in all sections of the show—though the quality of individual exhibits—depend entirely on the chance contributions of different artists who have sent pictures from different parts of India—the contributions of which cannot be controlled but can only be accepted or rejected by the Selection Committee—according to the merits of individual pictures. It must be said that this Exhibition fully maintains its All-India character—though the contributions from Bengal—appear to predominate—though not in the actual numbers of local exhibits. During the last few years, not only in the Calcutta Exhibitions, but in all local centres at Bombay, Delhi, Madras and other regional centres, the imported fashion of painting pictures in the Modernistic manners—imitating the language of the Post-Impressionists, Cubists, and Abstractionists—has invaded, all coteries and groups. But a group of Indian painters has deliberately adapted an anti-national pose, and, is asserting with dogmatic persistence that Indian Art *shall not be Indian* in its language, technique, inspiration or subject-matter. This attitude is based on the false assumption that there is no such medium—as the language of Indian National Art—and that the Modern Artists in India should only speak in the international Esperanto in the absurd Abra Cadabra of modern European technique completely ignoring the various dialects of Indian Painting in which the Indian nationalist artists have produced unsurpassable masterpieces in the native Indian tongues, in Classical and Mediaeval Painting. According to the absurd logic of these denationalized Modernists—our national regional



Lady with Flower
By Lalu Prasad Shaw

poets and writers have and had no right to express themselves in the well-developed regional languages of the Hindi, the Guzarati, the Tamil, the Kanarese, the Orissan or the Bengali. Sri M. V. Seetaramiah, the noted Kanarese poet, should not have chosen the Kannada language, Padma-Vibhusana, Maithil Saram Gupta, should not have chosen his native Hindi language nor Tagore should have chosen his native Bengali-tongue—but should have written in French, German, or Italian as one of the recognized *Lingua Franca* of international communication. Rabindranath expressed himself in his national Bengali dialect and attained an international fame and status which no "Ism"-Painters of India has ever attained. Since our great national poets had not adapted any international language, according to these Moderners,—they are traditionalists and reactionaries with no place on the map of international culture—which our "Ism"-painters arrogantly claim by virtue of their borrowed feathers extracted from Gangin, Picasso or Matisse.

Unfortunately the contemporary interpreters of the National Language of Indian Painting are not producing much distinguished works to follow on the footsteps of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose.

Though several well-known veterans are represented in this Section—Dipen Bose, Indra Dugar, and Radha Bagchi, excepting the latter's powerful portrait of "Nandalal," no distinguished contributions are in evidence. Rajput manners are well-represented in several new and original experiments—Sudhansu Roy's 'Horse', Prabhu Panwar's "Stealing of Curds" and Khodidas Paramar's "Arjun and Chitrangada", Sridhar Rao's "Tulasi Puja", and S. Thakkar's "The Whole Truth", symbolizing the essence of Motherhood, are very distinguished contributions to the Indian Section. Barindra Niyogi's 'Monkey'—in the Japanese manner—deserves high praise.

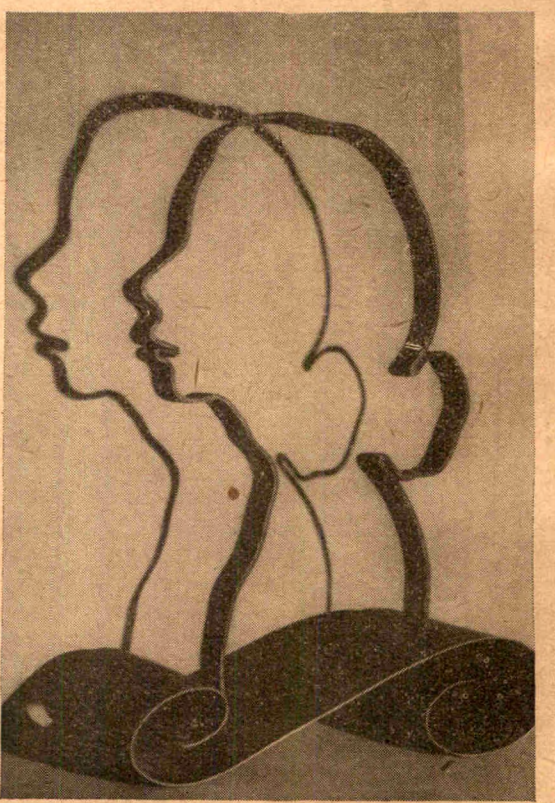
When one has not attained maturity in the language of Indian Painting it is safer to confine oneself to copying recognized old masterpieces.

Side of Nature
By Suresh Chandra

)n this safe path two artists have presented eautiful copies of old Masters. Thus, Vasana Iitter's creditable presentation of a well-known ajasthani theme "The Prince at the Well" will xtract high praise.

The training in mastering the conventions nd technique of the Raja Ithani Kalam is sure to e fruitful in her later endeavours. Several artists n the Indian Section have, much to one's regret, aught the infection of modernistic manners, on false ticket of progress. For an Artist happy in ie language of Indian Painting to ape the temerament, the agitation, and cheap technical stunt f the 'Ism'-Painters is to sacrifice his great ndian heritage of the qualities of respectful resraint and spiritual serenity.

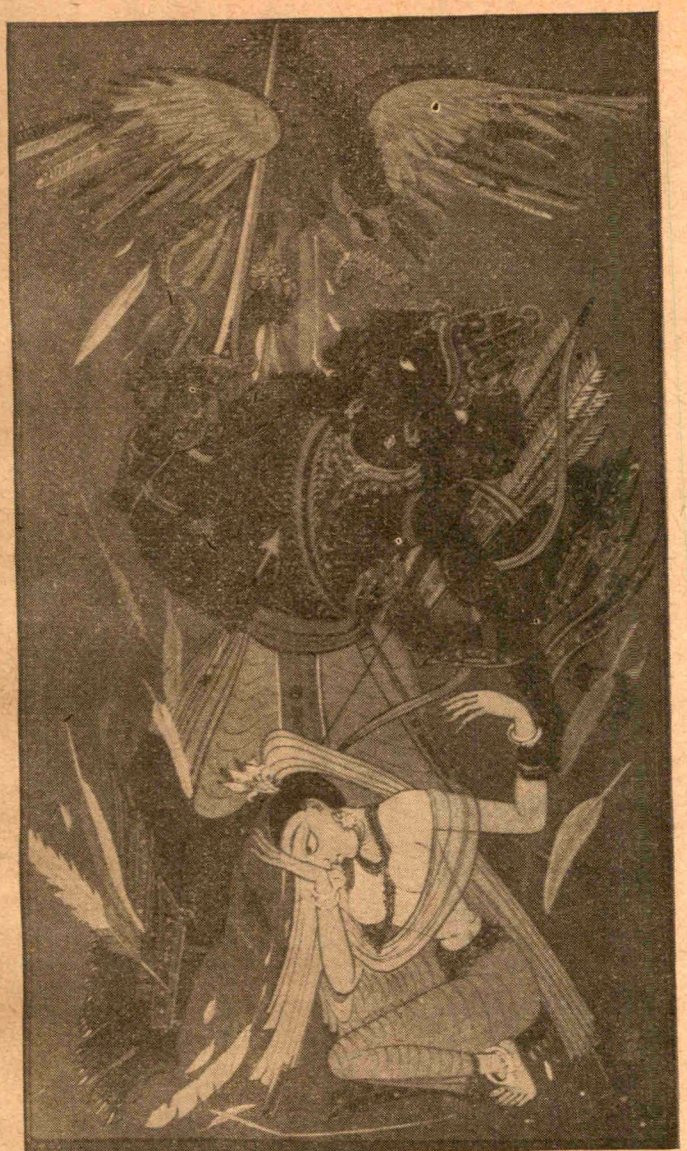
We now turn to the Section of Oils, appropriately placed at the beginning of the show. This a section which happily appeals to persons of ormal vision accustomed to admire beauty in the orrect and truthful representation of the forms f Nature—a manner of presentation now very uch ridiculed by the moderners as "academic," conventional", and "old-fashioned". That acaemic painting and truthful representation are ill worshipped in progressive America has been ecently demonstrated by the fabulous price paid n New York for purchase of a not very distin-



A Profile in Steel
By Robin Roy

guished specimen of the world-famous Dutch Master—Rembrandt.

In the present show—academic painting in oil is worthily represented by Atul Bose's excellent portrait of "Sir J. C. Bose", excellently characterized and excellently handled by delicate touches. This fine specimen is ably supported by several well-executed portraits—two contributed by the skilful brush of Kishory Roy—studying two phases of human face "Old Age" and "Childhood" both of remarkable dignity. The possibilities of portrait-painting are very well-demonstrated in Mrs. Mackenzies "Nicholas," Jagadish Roy's "Portrait of a Lady," and Kala Soshi Banerji's able study of "Brother and Sister" and Assis Mitter's little masterpieces; "A light in the Shadows." M. Powle's "White Skirt" is qualified by the merits of simplicity and restraint. Landscape is not well represented in Oils. Kulkarni's "Boat" is a halting performance easily eclipsed by K. M. Das' accomplished presentation of a "House Facade."



Ravana-O-Jatayu
By Dipen Bose

As usual—the most provocative and challenging section is the one dedicated to the Moderners and the Progressive,—who have wantonly destroyed all academic rules and conventions and are seeking Creative Values on the path of distortions, exaggerations and abstractions. It is a highly mixed fare full of both praiseworthy and blameworthy experiments, full of "lights and shadows," literally and figuratively, for the successes and failures are equally balanced. It is unfortunate that most of our Indian modernists are blindly imitating the formulas and patterns of modern Western Painters without assimilating their fundamental principles. Most of them are tiresome repetitions of rectangles and parallelograms, without any fruitful dissection of forms to unravel, the basic secrets of construction and creation. Yet, there are several shining highlights which catch the eye and move the mind by their stirring rhythm and resonant colours. The dominating piece is Deva Kumar Roy's "Kite" a resounding symphony of pink and blue—which in spite of its obscure symbolism will extract admiration. Equally enigmatic is V. Srikantha's "Dream Girl" a powerful experiment in abstraction—culminating any suggestion of "Dream" or of "Girlhood." A more convincing study is Paramar's excellent study of a "Bull," a vibrating vision in blue is of remark-

Self Portrait
By Muralidhar Tali

able effect. Other attractive pieces are Mazime's "Classical Music" and Kulkarni's "Madonna.' Deva Kumar Roy Chowdhry's "Smoking" is a masterly combination of realism and abstraction. Anil Bhattacharyya's "The Essentials" is an eloquent symbol of the vanity of human beauty mocked by two horrifying human skeletons. Raza who won laurels in Paris is well-represented by a study of "House tops" of which his reticence is more expressive than others' verbose descriptions.

But the peak of the show is represented by the exhibits of the Sculptures' Section. Both in the variety of treatment and diversity of medium, wood, stone, and metal—the section is full of stirring pieces—with numerous original compositions which invest the exhibition with great significant values.

In the medium of wood there are three remarkable pieces each differently treated. Nanilal Kumar's "Two Friends," is a simple yet eloquent pair, marked by praiseworthy originality. Less original but of profound appeal is Manik

'aluqdar's "Bull," borrowed from Mahenjo-)aro. Raghat Kanoria's eloquent interpretation f the anatomy of "Calf" is a masterly presen-ation in Bronze, deserving the highest praise. 3ut in sheer originality and power of expression hrough abstract means Kumar Robi Roy's 'Profile in Steel"—is the best piece of work in ıny medium.

By its varieties of exhibits, the present Exhibition will provide instructive lessons to all classes of persons and help them "How to look at pictures—and profit by them."

In a country of apalling illiteracy the educative value of Exhibitions cannot be over-estimated. For pictures provide knowledge without tears and wisdom without the aid of printed books.

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN INDIA

By B. B. LAL,
Director, School of Archaeology, New Delhi.

Just a couple of years ago, an archaeologist of nternational fame, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, observed: 'Today no part of the world is better served n archaeological matters than is the Republic of India.' And indeed this handsome tribute was no exaggeration, for, as in other walks of life, so also in archaeology, India has made considerable progress since Independence. The spade has brought to light several new aspects of ancient Indian civilization, besides adding more details to the already-known ones.

To look back into the dim past, when man was in a purely savage state, hunting animals with the help of stone tools and living either in caves or on open terraces of rivers; recent explorations have brought to light several new sites of this period, the more prominent being those in the Sub Himalayan region of the Punjab and in various river-valleys of Rajasthan, Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and northern Maharashtra. While the Sub Himalayan sites, with their typical pebble-tools, show a relationship with those in south-eastern Asia, the others recall similar sites in southern and eastern Africa.

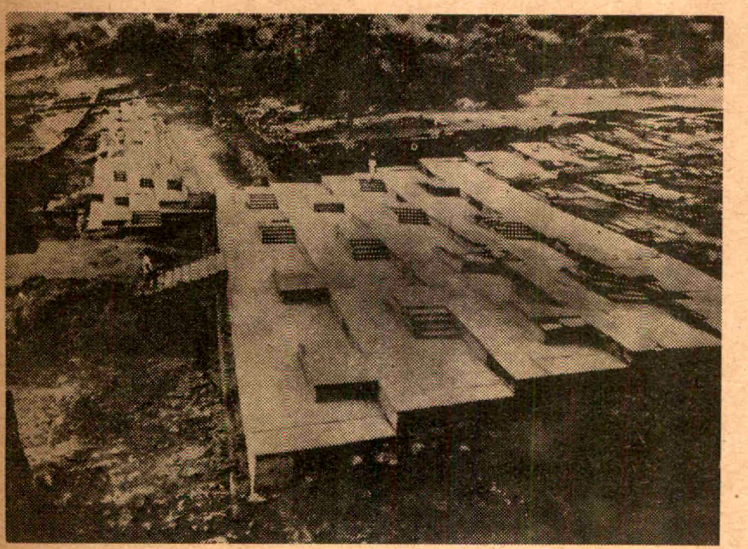
A most recent excavation, by Dr. R. V. Joshi and Shri M. D. Khare, of a cave near Hoshangabad in Madhya Pradesh has shown that it was occupied as late as the microlithic period, when tiny stone-tools of fine workmanship had replaced the bigger and cruder ones. At the close of the Stone Age stands the cultural equipment unearthed by Shri T. N. Khazanchi at Burzahom near Srinagar in Kashmir. The people now used, besides polished stone axes, bone harpoons, awls and needles. They prepared their own dwellings, domesticated animals and possibly carried on agriculture.

Getting out of the Stone Age, one's attention is atonce drawn to the excavations at Alamgirpur in Meerut District of Uttar Pradesh and at Lothal in Ahmedabad District in Gujarat, conducted respectively by Dr. Y. D. Sharma and Shri S. R. Rao. While the excavation at Alamgirpur has shown that the Indus Valley Civilization did in fact extend much beyond the confines of that valley, the excavation at Lothal has added quite a few new items to our knowledge.

Dock-Yard Excavated

Thus, apart from bringing to light several structures and antiquities, the excavation has laid bare a dock-yard, 218 metres long and 37 metres wide, connected by means of a 7-metre wide channel with a now-dried-up river, which itself is hardly a few kilometres off the sea. While seals of Indus civilization found, years ago, at several sites in Iraq had hinted at the possible trade connections between India and western Asia during the third millennium B.C., the discovery of the dock-yard at Lothal now

indicates the *modus operandi* of this trade. One can now visualize small boats, such as are in fact depicted on the Indus seals themselves sailing along the coast of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, carrying cotton goods, spices, etc., from India and bringing in return cosmetics and the like from western Asia. Indeed, the Sumerian records of a comparable date refer to such a trade between that country and the East. Another new feature revealed at Lothal relates to the brutal parctice. In some of the excavated graves two bodies lay together. Thus, if anthropological examination shows that in these cases the persons buried were each a male and a female, we might be having here something of great socio-religious import.



A Bathing Ghat built in the early centuries A.D. unearthed at Nagarjunakonda (Andhra Pradesh)

Another Indus site where excavation is presently being conducted for the training of students of the School of Archaeology is at Kalibanga in District Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan. The site consists of two mounds, a smaller one on the west and a bigger one on the east, which pattern is characteristic of both Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro where the smaller mounds have turned out to be citadels and the larger mounds the towns in general. Further, the lay-out of the streets at Kalibanga—north-south and east-west —is also reminiscent of the lay-out of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Kalibanga is immensely rich in antiquities, but a find of outstanding importance is a potsherd, the inscription of which clearly indicates that it was written from that right to the left.

It has been believed by some that the Indus civilization came to a sudden end. The excavation at Lothal, however, has demonstrated the slow yet certain devolution of that civilization and, combined with the evidence from Rangpur, another neighbouring site, has shown that many an item of the succeeding chalcolithic cultures of Central India and the northern India Deccan may not entirely be unrelated to that civilization.

Influx from Iran

Chalcolithic cultures have been laid bear at several sites, the more noteworthy among them being Navda Toli, Parkash Bahal, Nagda, Tripuri, Nasik, Jorwe and Nevasa, excavated variously by Drs. H. D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao, M. G. Dikshit, S. B. Deo and Sarvashri B. K. Thapar, M. N. Deshpande and N. R. Banerjee. The excavator of Navda Toli has compared some of the pottery-types and painted designs from that site to those from Iran and is inclined to believe that a large influx of people took place from that country into India about the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., which is the date obtained for the lower levels of the site by Carbon-14 tests.

In Southern India, Sir Mortimer's excavations at Brahmagiri, in 1947, had given a clear definition to the Polished Stone Axe Culture of that area. The recent work at Piklihal and Utnoor by Dr. F. R. Allchin of the Cambridge Universaty, in collaboration with the Government of Andhra Pradesh, and at T. Narsipur in Mysore by Dr. M. Seshadri, has added much valuable data to our knowledge, demonstrating a two-way cultural traffic between South India and the northern Deccan. The remains at Utnoor have been dated to *circa* 2000 B.C. by a radio-carbon test.

Proceeding from the somewhat impersonal story of prehistory and protohistory to that of

early history itself, we find two great cities, Kausambi in Uttar Pradesh and Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh, known to have been the capitals respectively of Udayana and Pradyota in the 6th-5th centuries B. C. The Lord Buddha is known to have visited the former site and stayed at a place called Ghoshitarama; and indeed an inscription discovered from the excavation helps us clearly to identify the place. At both Kausambi and Ujjain the excavators respectively Shri G. R. Sharma and Shri N. R. Banerjee, have unveiled mighty defences. Made of mud, the defences were further strengthened with burnt-brick revetments, which at the former site can be seen even today soaring to a height of over 13 metres.

The well-known site of Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh is awaiting submergence under a dam. The salvage operations over here, under Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, with general guidance from Shri T. N. Ramachandran, have brought to light a large number of *stupas*, monasteries, a citadel, a bathing-*ghat* and last but not least an amphitheatre—all assignable to the early centuries A.D.

At Ratnagiri in Cuttak District of Orissa, where excavation has been carried out by Mrs. D. Mitra, a large monastic establishment of the Mahayana cult ascribable to the early medieval times has been unearthed.

This brief survey shows that quite a substantial ground has been covered during the past few years. However, much more remains to be done before we can hope to have a really comprehensive picture of Indian archaeology.

(Courtesy: *A.I.R.*)

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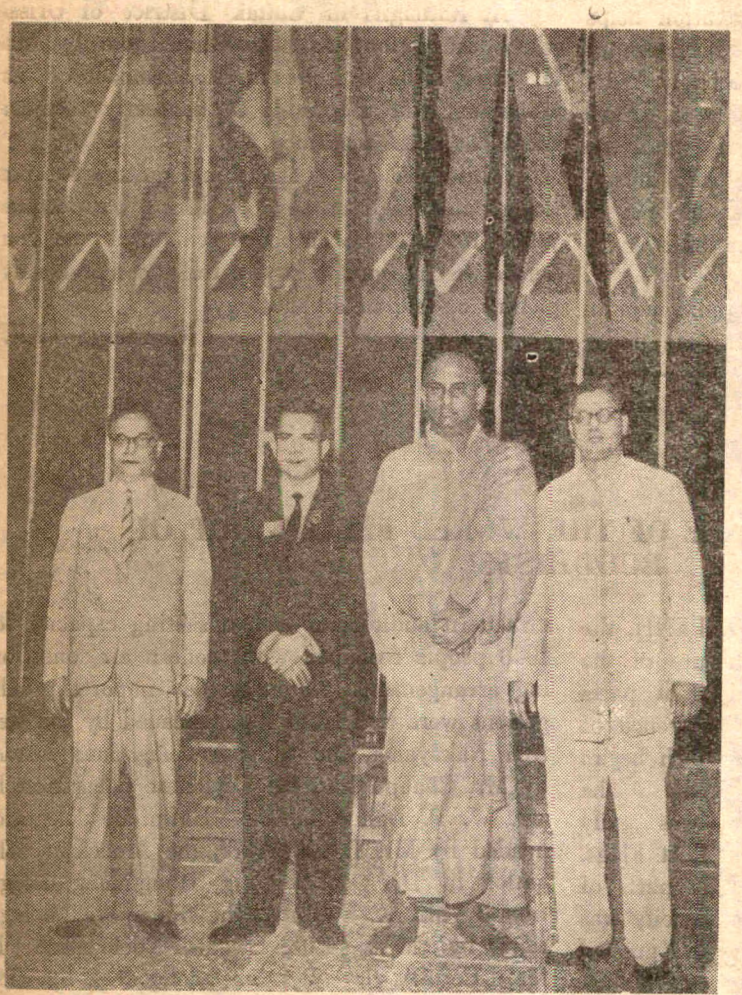
'THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF BUDDHISTS'

FROM 10th November, 1961, PHNOM-PENH, the Capital of Cambodia, was the cynosure of the world for Delegates went from different parts of the world to attend the Sixth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, which began its sessions on the 14th November, 1961. The Central Airport of PHNOM-PENH was gaily decorated with the National and Buddhist Flags. During the night the central and other parts of the city were flood-lit. Everybody in the city was conscious of this historic conference and greeted them with the words 'Long Live the Buddhist Session.' All this gaiety was because the Cambodian Government with His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the Chief of the State had made elaborate arrangements to play host to all the Delegates. The Government had accommodated about 150 Delegates representing nearly all the Buddhist organisations of the world in the most modern hotels in PHNOM-PENH also an official car was put at the disposal of each Delegation with an A.D.C. to look after it.

For this historic conference the Prince Norodom Sihanouk had constructed a Hall with a modern auditorium with a seating capacity for 1000 people equipped with modern air-conditioning arrangements. Amongst the important delegations were that from Japan headed by the Rev. Riri Nakayama, the Chinese delegations headed by Mr. Chaopu-Chu, the Ceylonese delegation by Mr. W. P. Daluwalla, the Hawaiian delegation headed by Mr. I. Mayabara, the American delegation by Dr. George Fong, Hong-Kong delegation by Mr. K. S. Fung, the Singapore delegation by Miss. Pitt, Swedish delegation by Mr. Cerutti, the Russian delegation by Mr. Delikov, and other delegations from England, Germany, Holland, North and South Vietnam, Pakistan and India.

On the morning, the conference began its opening session with His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the Chair. Ven. Bodhivarsa Mahathera, the Lipa-Sangharaja, administered Panchasila. It was followed by the impressive speech by the H. R. H. Prince which inspired the delegates. The President of the W.F.B.U., Mr. Chan U Ton of Burma, conducted the session. Messages were read from the heads

of the states and even President Kennedy of U.S.A. had sent his greetings to the conference. The message of the Vice-President of India was read by the Ven. Bhikkhu Aniruddha, leader of the Mahabodhi delegation. Shri Kishore Charan Law, the member of the governing body of the



Left to Right: Dr. M. Ghosh, Mr. V. S. Kamboj, Rev. Aniruddha and Mr. Kishore Charan Law

Mahabodhi Society, was also a delegate to the conference. Shri Law read a message on behalf of the Mohabodhi Society—"It is with great pleasure that the Mohabodhi Society sends its blessings to the Sixth Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists which is to be held in Phnom-Penh, Cambodia, from the 12th to the 22nd November, 1961, under the patronage of the government of Cambodia. It also gives its sincere thanks to this host country for holding this august conference here and for the kind invitations extended to all delegates from different parts of the world.

"The urgent necessity of OUR MASTER's teaching is keenly felt in the present world which is passing through a period of suspicion, fear and insecurity. There is cause for anxiety not only in the Western World but also in the Buddhist World. It hopes that this conference will resolve to find out ways and means to promote peaceful co-existence and brotherhood among nations."

"It also wishes to mention that it will be celebrating the Birth of the Buddhists' Revival in India and the founder of the Mahabodhi Society, on the 17th September, 1964, and kindly request all delegations to co-operate and hold this event to commemorate the great Buddhist leader who devoted his life for the cause of Buddhism."

"Again it wishes this conference success by the blessings of the Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha."

The Maharajkumar of Sikkim, the President of the Mahabodhi Society, read the message of his father, H.R.H. the Maharaja of Sikkim. After the reading of the message the morning session closed.

In the afternoon the session began with the administration of Panchasila by the Ven. Sangaraja of Cambodia. The session was devoted to the reading of the messages and reports by the leaders of the regional centres. Later the delegates were divided into four committees, namely, Education, Humanitarian, Dharmaduta and Steering to discuss the draft resolutions on the following way :

On the first morning, the session began with the administration of sermons by the Ven. U. Thillila of Burma, which was followed by a short discussion. In this session the Prime Minister of

Cambodia delivered his message to the delegates and was followed by the readings of reports of the regional centres.

There were many delegates from many countries in this committee. Several Resolutions were adopted together with the Resolution on the Birth Centenary Celebrations of the Ven. Anagarika Dharmapala which was proferred by the leader of the Mahabodhi Delegation, Bhikkhu Aniruddha. It was unanimously passed after initial discussion. The Education Committee was headed by Miss Sett Cheir Hu and the Humanitarian Committee was headed by the Rev. Riri Nakayama. The President U. Chan Htoon headed the Steering Committee with Mr. Inonu.

On the 16th morning, the session began with panchasila administered by the Ven. Nyanaponika Thra which was followed by an illuminating speech. The morning and afternoon sessions were devoted to reading of the reports and the committee meetings were held respective to finalise the resolutions which were to be presented on the closing day.

On the 17th, the closing day, the morning session was devoted to the Steering Committee meetings.

In the afternoon, session began with the administration of Panchasila by the Ven. U Vimala of Germany. The Head of the Committee proposed the resolution of their respective committees. The resolution to celebrate the Anagarika Bhikkhu centenary was passed unanimously. This session closed at 9.30 p.m. On the 18th, the delegates united at the Royal Palace, the Royal Silver Temple and the Museum. In the evening H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk had arranged a party in honour of the delegates and this was followed by a Royal Ballet.

On the 19th and 20th, the delegates were flown to Angkor Wat by Royal Air Force Planes were they visited the world-famous temple built by JAYAVARAM VII about 700 years ago. On the 22nd, the delegates witnessed the boat-festival and the water-floats in the night was an impressive one. At night the delegates were given audience by Her Majesty the Queen. It was followed by a grand dinner party given by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk which closed the Sixth Conference. The delegates thanked and expressed their gratitude to the Royal Cambodian hosts headed by his Royal Highness Prince Norodom.

—*Maha Bodhi Society of India*

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TOURISM—A NEW SOURCE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE

By R. S. KAUSHIK, M.A., M.com., LL.B., Ph.D.

TOURISM, of late, has emerged as a potential source of foreign exchange to Asian countries. At the present juncture, India's economy is striving hard towards achieving a self-generating developmental stage and the part played by all those industries which serve to add to foreign exchange reserves is nothing but praiseworthy. Although a nascent industry, tourism promises to set up an impressive record in India as a redeeming source of foreign exchange. The number of tourists visiting our country has been increasing every year as will be evident from the following figures.

Year	Number of tourists
1953	28,060 „ „
1954	39,333 „ „
1955	43,645 „ „
1956	68,880 excluding Pakistanis
1957	80,544 „ „
1958	92,193 „ „
1959	109,464 excluding Pakistanis & Tibetans
1960	123,045 „ „

In 1959, tourism rose from the seventh position to the sixth position as foreign exchange-earner and in 1960, it achieved the fifth position. If the same tempo is maintained, it might probably rank in the near future as the fourth next only to tea, jute and cotton textiles. In 1958, tourist industry in India earned Rs. 17.15 crores worth of foreign exchange. In 1959, this figure rose to 19.1 crores and in 1960, to Rs. 21 crores. Besides earning foreign exchange for the country, tourism serves yet another important pur-

pose of promoting better understanding between the peoples of the world.

Unfortunately, this important industry is not being paid the necessary attention that it deserves. India is losing millions of dollars because of the inadequate attention paid to this industry. During 1959, a total of 109,464 foreigners visited India, the increase over the previous year's figures being no less than 18.7 per cent. Mr. S. N. Chib, Director General of Tourism, believed that the rate had become stabilised at about 17 per cent but this hope is belied by the official figure of 1,23,045 visiting India in 1960, which is an increase of less than 13 per cent over the previous year. Poor publicity, insufficient facilities and unnecessary restrictions are the major obstacles in the healthy growth of tourism in this country.

It is a well-known fact that the amount of money spent on publicity has a direct bearing on the number of tourists visiting a particular country and thus on the earnings derived from the tourists. Hawaii, for example, with a population of 5,00.000 spent $8,00,000 in 1956 on publicity in U.S.A. and earned $65 million, and Ireland with a population of 29,09,000 spent $3.19,868 on publicity in 1956 and earned $11 million. The Government of India spent Rs. 35 lakhs on tourist publicity in 1956 and earned Rs. 15 crores worth of valuable foreign exchange. In 1958, Rs. 20 lakhs were spent on publicity and the number of tourists visiting India was 92,193; in 1959, the amount spent was 35 lakhs of rupees and the number of tourists went upto 1,09,464 while last year the amount spent on publicity rose to Rs. 46 lakhs with the resulting high number of tourists touching the figure of 1,23,045. Millions of travel-loving people from America and Europe are turning to the East because most Americans regard Europe 'an Old Hat.' American traveller is tired of Europe—which he has visited a dozen times. India lies in the middle of the round-the-world trip. But we have to find an answer to the question why most American tourists come as close to India as Bangkok and Hongkong and then pass us by. In 1955, approximately 43.000 tourists visited India whereas 1,03,000 visited Japan. The foreign exchange earned by India that year was Rs. 10.14 crores as against Rs. 21.45 crores earned by Japan, an Asian country which offers similar attractions of the East. Out of the 1.5 million American tourists, seven lakhs went to Europe, 75,000 to Pacific area and East Asia and only 27,174 came to India in 1960. Americans spent nearly 950 crores of rupees on tourism and it is estimated that the amount will be three times greater in 1965. But according to statistics available, they spent only 1/200th of the total amount in India—a mere begatalle. There is a tremendous potential that can be tapped by stepping up our publicity drive in America. Our efforts in this direction are far from being adequate. In the whole of America, we have only two tourist offices, one in New York and the other in San Francisco. There should be at least twenty. In fact, tourism has become a highly organised industry and requires a special technique for its expansion.

The proportion of tourists entering India was approximately 61 per cent by air, 31 per cent by sea and 6 per cent by land in 1958. The development of fast jet air services is tilting this ratio in favour of air transport. There have been frequent complaints from foreign tourists, visiting this country by air, about the inconvenience that they have to face here. Those who travel must be prepared to face the inconvenience, was and still continues, to be the attitude of officials in India. The realisation of the importance of tourism to the country has helped in improving the situation to some extent but the aims of what IATA calls 'facilitation' have yet to be achieved. A number of countries in Europe and America have reciprocal agreements on the non-requirement of visas. Can the same not be followed by the countries that met at ECAFE Conference at New Delhi recently? Most aircraft operating within Europe no longer have to carry 'Passenger manifest'—this expensive and time-consuming document. The tourist card has certainly done a great deal in relieving the difficulties of travel. As pointed out by IATA's Director General in his report presented to the 14th. Annual General Meeting of IATA, held at New Delhi, in 1958, the facilitation in Asia does not have many bright spots.'

It was brought to the notice of the Lok Sabha Estimates Committee on Air Corporation (1956-57) that custom procedure at the Indian

airports was particularly irritating to foreign passengers. It was a general experience that as compared to custom handling at modern airports abroad, the custom handling at the international ports in India left much to be desired. A particular complaint in this connection is that custom officials at the airports who have to do an unpalatable job, can do it less unpleasantly. The number of immigration, custom and health clearance formalities on arrival at airports in India, in view of the large and slow moving queues, do much to discourage this type of traffic from finding its way to this country. The time gained in speed is offset by the delay in carrying passengers from city offices to airports and in 'processing' through custom, passport and health formalities. A tourist who goes back in the spirit of contentment is virtually a salesman of India's tourist industry. The visitor from abroad has to be welcomed as a guest and a friend and should not be treated as a potential criminal or a nuisance.

Administrative formalities should be cut down to the bone. Paper work should be reduced and the procedure of custom, immigration, public health and other authorities should be streamlined. Acceptance of oral baggage declaration and abolition of tax-clearance certificate may be adopted. The tourist should be 'processed' in the country with minimum delay. Formalities of arrival may be as far as possible be performed in the air before actual landing. Operators may carry in the aircraft all the necessary forms for those disembarking in India so that they may be filled in at leisure during the flight. This will save considerable time on the ground between landing and clearing the passenger to their hotels. Health requirements are more stringent in India than in other countries for no particular reason. The certificates are not generally issued at the place of innoculation which means calling at another official at some other place. Thus the tourist concerned finds that he has lost nearly a whole day of his stay procuring documentation which in other countries. he is not required to do.

It will be interesting to examine the position of hotels as they are today and what facilities and assistance the hotels will require to meet the development of tourist traffic. There are about 11,000 beds in the hotels available in the whole country. While the tourist traffic to India had increased by 500 per cent during the last six years, the total accommodation capacity during the same period had increased only by 30 per cent. At least 100 beds should be added by the end of 1962. There are at present 136 hotels which have been inspected and approved by the Director of Tourism. Of them, not more than five or six are de-luxe hotels and twelve or thirteen first class hotels. Most of the other approved hotels are what in other countries are known as 'three star hotels.' The de-luxe and first class hotels are known as 'five and four star hotels.' Tourists want middle-class hotels which can provide air-conditioning facilities. Incidentally, air-conditioning plants, below seven ton capacity, are manufactured in India. It is true, that the tourists come to India not for living in luxury hotels but they must be provided with a reasonably comfortable accommodation. India needs 'two star hotels' which a charge of Rs. 15 to 17 a day. Incentives in the form of long term loans, building facilities and tax exemption should be granted to attract capital to this industry. The official hotel standards and the Rate Structure Committee (June, 1958) recommended :

> "For the rapid growth of the hotel industry which is essential for the quick development of tourist traffic, adequate financial assistance in the shape of loans, grants and subsidies should be available to the hotel industry. A fund of Rs. 10 crores should be created for advancing loans at low interest and easy terms of repayment to deserving hoteliers since financial assistance is of utmost importance if more hotels are to be constructed and maintained in the country."

There is also a great need of supplementing accommodation like rest houses and dak bungalows. The Government should build medium-class rest houses at small places of tourist interest. It is an investment to enable to earn more foreign exchange.

Another problem is the poor accessibility of some places of interest. Most tourist centres are not linked by adequate air services. Owing to the shortage of time on their disposal, the overseas tourists have perforce to travel by air if they are to cover all the high points in the vast land. Since

they can only visit a few places by air, the itineraries of tourists visiting India have thus a certain amount of monotony. Since it has a direct bearing on earning, it is necessary to continue opening up new areas of interest by extending air services. The tourist department has acted rightly by paying IAC subsidies for air-linking some tourist centres.

While much has been done on a national basis for wooing more tourists, promotional tourism can be better attended to on regional basis because when a tourist comes to the East, he covers in his itinerary not only India but four or five countries. It has been found that tourist promotional activities of one country benefit its neighbour and the potential advantage of Government action by countries geographically close to one another such as India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan is quite obvious. The ECAFE seminar in New Delhi, held in April this year, was the first serious attempt on the part of Asian Governments to pay necessary attention for selling tourism on scientific basis.

Special festivals for tourists should be arranged at big cities by the tourist department. Polo matches, flowers shows, tatoos and other cultural functions should be held. A special calendar of events should be prepared and distributed all over the world. India and other Asian countries have publicised 1961 as 'Visit Orient Year'. Railways, Indian Airlines, Shikar Out Fitter's Association, Hotels and Restaurants Association of India have offered rebates on their scheduled rates. On a conservative estimate we expect about 1,40,000 foreign tourists to visit India this year.

Confusing rules about prohibition add to the bewilderment of the tourist. The sort of incident, involving a well-known film star who was arrested in 1959, must have dissuaded many foreigners from visiting the country in spite of explanations and apologies offered by us. Prohibition rules should not apply to tourists. No form filling should be necessary. A visitor's permit to purchase alcohol which should be made available to him at reasonable price should be automatic. Prohibition affects industry in yet another way. As pointed out by Michael Overman Public Relation Officer of Hotel and Restaurant Association of India, the most decisive factor affecting hotel rates is prohibition. To quote him "Profits from the sale of liquor are so attractive that a reduction in hotel rates resulting in higher occupancy ratio and consequently a greater regular sale of liquor can be and usually more than offset by additional profits from the bar. Where there is no prohibition, it is a good business to lower hotel rates artificially. Since the vast majority of the world's hotels are permitted to sell alcoholic beverages freely, these artifical rates are taken as norm."

Again to call foreign tourists to India and not to allow Indian tourists to travel abroad is not at all a sound policy. Indian tourists should be allowed to travel abroad with more liberal facilities of foreign exchange as this will serve as publicity abroad to some extent. Indian tourists meet foreigners and delight in telling them about India by painting the picture in brightest colours. The human form of personal propaganda is indeed a most effective advertisement.

Stressing the need to improve and expand facilities for tourists, Mr. Brancker, Traffic Director of IATA beautifully summed up the position at the 12th Congress of International Union of Official Travel Organisation held at Washington in these words:

"If you invited a guest to your house and told him when he arrived, that you were very sorry as there was no bed available, you would soon lose your reputation as a host. . . . . If you ran a shop and put a guard on the door and insisted that every customer not only produced a certificate of good conduct but was also disinfected before he came in, you would not get any customer. But some countries still treat their tourists in much that way. Similarly, no one will really believe that you want visitors if you make them spend a day getting visa—something that costs time as well as money."

Better sales and marketing organisation and a fairer deal to clients through avoidance of irksome travel barriers would certainly generate more traffic and earn much-needed dollars for the country.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

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Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia :

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,

instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: THE BRITISH INTERPRETATIONS, 1947-57 : *By Shri Ram Sharma. Gyan Mandir, Gwalior. 1961. Pp. 336. Price Rs. 10/-.*

Public opinion on home as well as on foreign affairs in a modern democratic State is a very composite factor comprising numerous and even contradictory strands of expression, and yet it is one of those imponderables of history shaping the destines of nations for good or for evil. The present monograph, which is the outcome of over two years' hard work by the author as an internal student at the London School of Economics and Politician Science between 1956 and 1958, deals exhaustively and critically with various shades of British public opinion towards India's foreign policy and neutralism (or more correctly non-alignment) during the fateful first decade of her independence. A glance at the short bibliographical note at the end of the work shows that the author has drawn chiefly upon an enormous mass of clippings from British dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies, monthlies, quarterlies and other periodical publications as well as the organs of all the leading British political parties for the above period. To these have to be added a large number of quotations from the utterances of Indian and foreign publicists. This huge material has been utilised by the author into a very thorough and well-digested as well as impartial study of a difficult subject. Some idea of the scope of this work may be formed from an analysis of its six sections. The first section deals with the emergence of the concept of neutralism in the post-war period so as to give an international setting to the Indian policy. The second section consists of two chapters, one elucidating the principle of neutralism from the Indian standpoint and the other giving its various interpretations by the British public. The third section analyses the rationale of Indian neutralism and in particular the Indian principle of co-existence and criticism of the same by the British public. The fourth section explains India's attitude towards regional pacts of both the great power-blocs and India's attitude towards Western aid to other lands. The fifth section describes in great detail British reaction towards India's relations with the two leading nations of each power-bloc, while the sixth and the last section summarises the attitude of some representative sections of the British public towards India's policy of neutralism. It will be seen from the above that the book covers even a wider field than that suggested by its title.

While we have nothing but praise for the high standard of the author's performance, we cannot but regret the poor quality of the paper as well as the want of a list of printing mistakes, of a complete vocabulary, and of an index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HUMANITY AND GOD : *By Sri Ranjit Kumar Bakshi. Published by Alpha-Beta Publications. Price Rs. 5.75 nP. only.*

The book under review comprises nine chapters and such topics as Religion, Language, God, Money and Government have been discussed.

Even a cursory perusal of the book would leave one wondering as to the exact purpose that prompted the author to write this book. He attempts at something great but he lands in the ludicrous. He ventures on great ideas with immature quibblings and the subline is completely lost to him as well as to his readers. His utterances lack logical sequence and his use of a wide range of undefined terms does not help us in any way. In his zeal to tell us something new he gives us all sorts of preposterous propositions in the name of new thinking. Let us quote a few lines :

"None should be blind to the fundamental fact that when one group of people does not come to know about another group of people, there cannot be any cause of friction between them .... conflicts can arise between people who know each other and so the larger the circle of acquaintance, the larger is the scope for conflict." (p. 58). The meaning of the above-quoted extract depends on how do we understand the meaning of the word 'know'. Students of philosophy may well remember that 'knowledge' has been taken at least in three different senses. Moreover, *Upanishads* told us that true knowledge reveals the identity of individual beings as spirit. When we know the 'other' as a monad it would be quite easy to live in universal brotherhood and avoid conflict. Mr. Bakshi harps on a different note without explaining how does he understands the meaning of the word 'know'. Mere knowledge of other people that they exist or they live in a particular way does not inspire any conflict. Conflict must always presuppose a clash of interests, be that ideological, economical, sexual or territorial. We must bear in mind that negation of all knowledge of other people would have made communication difficult. Mr. Bakshi unwittingly commits himself to a position akin to that of Leibnitz, who, under similar conditions of windowless monads, had to seek the intervention of Godhead for communication between the individuals. Of course, the author of the book under review merits no comparison with Leibnitz, as he has neither any metaphysical background to write on such topics as God, Religion and the Individual nor any logical training so essential for writing such books. This observation is based on the empirical evidence so blatantly apparent in his writings.

The author should have taken pains to go through the available standard works on the topics he discussed in the book under review. To be original one must know what his predecessors did before. A mere jumble of some unexamined propositions does not give us a coherent whole and an intellectual discourse should not have been undertaken in this haphazard fashion.

We recommend a rewriting and a thorough revision of the book in the next edition.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

BASOHLI PAINTING : *By M. S. Randhawa, D.Sc., I.C.S., Text 125 pp., 42 Full size Colour Plates. Published by the Publication Division, Government of India, September, 1959. Price Rs. 35/-.*

We must accord a hearty welcome to this sumptuously produced, richly illustrated volume on the Basohli School of Painting, one of the earliest phases of the Hill School of the Punjab Himalayas, first discovered by Ajit Ghose,—the famous collector and connoisseur of Indian Painting. Such an expensive publication at a comparatively cheap price has only been possible by the generosity of the Government of India, as very few private publishers could have undertaken such a costly venture. Our thanks are also due to the author for assembling in this book from various collections, a number of new, or little-known, documents which will greatly help the study of the very interesting branch of Indian Painting. With some exceptions (Plate 33) nearly all the colour reproductions are happily successful—and call for a word of warm praise for the Indian colour printers. A few specimens of Kulu, Nurpur, and Chamba miniatures have been cited to illustrate the influence and extension of the style in neighbouring areas. A very instructive page (26) has cited 18 examples 'Basohli Faces'—and an illustration of the Tankri Characters (used in inscriptions) are very useful aids to scholars for which the author deserves high praise. A great masterpiece, hitherto unknown, 'The Birth of Evil' (Plate 4) presents the School in a surprising style—different from the known manners. Other outstanding examples are offered on Plates 28, 36, 37, 38, and 14. The last from the Treasury-well a collection is a sparkling gem in a subdued melody—which the discriminating connoisseur has to pick out from the crowd of examples in the conventional Basohli manner. Plate 36, 'Love Lady'—is another masterpiece, appropriately printed on the cover. The example from Samar Gupta collection (Plate 21) which was long ago reproduced in the pages of the *Modern Review*, is one of a very few examples of 'Pure Landscape' known in Indian Painting. Of examples of vibrating rhythm and dynamic movements, Plates 13, 15, 19, and 37 are significant specimens. There are a few lapses in attribution : Plate 33 wrongly labelled as 'Nata

Raga' is actually 'Desakh Ragini'. Plate 13, wrongly related to *Bhagavata Purana*, is really an illustration of a stanza of *Gita-Govinda, Dasa-Avatara Stotra* (1.8). It is unfortunate that by unhappy strategy a word of praise has been sought through the back-door by printing Muluk Raj Anand's comments on an 'After Word'. We could have understood Sri Anand as a joint author, but in the present situation, the reviewer must, with great respects, ignore his 'Notes on the Pictorial Situation ?'

The author has been misled by Archer in attributing the Rasa-manjari piece to 1685, ignoring the inscriptional evidence of 1694, cited by Hirananda Sastri.

We earnestly invite our Modernistic Painters to carefully study and derive inspiration from these Basohli Masterpieces, instead of apishly imitating the mannerism of French Moderns. The Indian Models will provide the most educative instructions—in 'Modernity' not to be gleaned from any Moderns of Europe.

We have no hesitation in recommending that Mr. Randhawa's excellent monograph should be in every Library and in the hands of all artists and connoisseurs.

O. C. G.

BENGALI

KALKI GITA: *By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Published by Sri Ramakrishna Dharmachakra, 211A, Girish Ghosh Road, P.O. Belurmath, Dist. Howrah, West Bengal. Pp. 220, Price Rs. 2.50 nP.*

As an author of religious manuals, both in Bengali and English, Swami Jagadiswarananda is well-known throughout Bengal and other parts of India. His Bengali rendering of the *Gita* and the *Chandi* are widely read all over Bengal and his English translations of the *Chandi* and the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* are quite popular in South India. In the book under review, the learned author exhaustively collects all important announcements about *Kalki* in the *Mahabharata, Vishnu Purana, Devi Bhagavatam, Kalki Purana, Srimad Bhagavatam* and other ancient scriptures to show that *Kalki's* advent is imminent and substantiates his logical conclusion by quoting the memorable prediction of Swami Bhairabananda, a Siddha Yogi, still alive. Both of them boldly assert in a prophetic vein that *Kalki*, the only uncome *avatara*, will appear like Krishna in Mathura twentyfour years hence in a pious Brahmin family in 1985 A.D. In this book short lives of Swami Bhairabananda and Mahagouri Saraswati as well as the story of Kala yavan mentioned in the *Bhagavatam* are immensely interesting and informative. The author rightly remarks that Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the world-famed Vice-President of the Indian Republic, was the first in our age to utilise the name of *Kalki* as the significant title of his thought-provoking book published several decades ago in the 'Today and Tomorrow' series of London and insightfully discussed the future of present civilisation. According to all Hindu scriptures, *Kalki*, the last of the *Ten Avatars*, will come at the close of Kaliyuga and establish peace and piety in Indian Society. Even a Jain scripture passingly mentions the advent of *Kalki*. The *Bhagavatam* clearly foretells that when the yellow panic and peril will loom large in the Indian horizon, *Kalki* will be born and riding on a white horse and holding a sword in his hand will destroy irreligion and impiety. Just now when the yellow peril is at the door of India, scriptural forecast does synchronise with the author's prediction. Jayadeva, the immortal poet-saint of Bengal, devoutly sang in his famous Sanskrit hymn to the *Ten Avatars* in the twelfth century A.D., the auspicious advent of *Kalki*.

In the appendix the author who is an accepted authority on the *Gita*, discusses the final ascent of man repeatedly mentioned in the *Gita* with various quotations from all available commentaries on the same. Such a profound and penetrative study of the *Gita* is hardly found nowadays. It throws new light on the philosophy of the *Gita*. For sake of wider circulation, this book should be rendered into Hindi, English and other languages and preserved in Public Libraries.

Indian Periodicals

China

Discussing India's many problems *Vigil* writes in its Dec. 9, 1961 number :

China in her latest notes is not only insulting, but bluntly threatening. If our soldiers dare defend their own borders, she will send hers down to the southern foot-hills of the Himalayas in Assam, repudiating the MacMahon Line and occupying the entire NEFA region. It sounds as though we are entirely at her mercy and holding the Himalayas by her grace in the Eastern region. On the West, she is intriguing with Pakistan and contriving further mischief. Though facts and figures, history and tradition, are all against her, she had armed her officials with bunches of quotations from the loose talks of our Prime Minister whose immaturity in negotiations of this kind and the habit of talking airily on matters of national importance without any knowledge of details have always created problems for our officials. It was the same story of a wrong map in Berubari with the warning boldly printed on its face that it is not to be used officially, ignorance of the recommendations of the S.R.C. Report in Assam that no less than 70 per cent entitles a language to be a state language, refusal to look into details in the Canal Waters Treaty, the fancied picture of not a blade of grass growing in the Himalayas anywhere in Ladakh, and the border between India and Tibet remaining always "somewhat" obscure. Naturally, the Chinese now take what they like, hold what they take and threatens to take what she has not taken and accuses India of agression ! She has the initiative everywhere and everytime. We have the privilege of talking our heads off.

Goa

Portuguese India, or rather, those parts of India which are occupied by Portuguese military forces in order to make several hundred thousand Goans subjects of the Republic of Portugal, has drawn much comment and severe criticism from the Indian Press. The *Chowringhee's* comments on the liberation of Goa, in its 24th December 1961, number are quite typical :

Left to their own devices and assisted by the treacherous Pakistanis and the perfidious British, the Portuguese might have built up a really strong military organisation in Goa, in another couple of months or so; and, if that had come off smoothly, India would have had to fight for 36 months or years instead of as many hours, to liberate the Goans from Portuguese imperialism. Fortunately for India, the Portuguese were foolish enough to be aggressive even before they had built up their forces sufficiently and their acts of aggression drew the attention of the Government of India to what was going on in the heart of India in the name of maintaining *status quo* without reference to the obligations that all governments had, to maintain law and order and to govern the territories entrusted to them humanely, justly and within the limitations created by modern civilisation relating to civil liberties and the fundamental political rights of the people. The Portuguese had an idea that just because their forefathers acquired Goa in 1505 A.D., they could go on as their forefathers had done 450 years ago. They had conveniently forgotten that they themselves had during the last hundred years or so, overthrown their own king and established a republic. They had forgotten too, that a republic in Portugal also automatically created republican governments in the Portuguese territories outside Portugal. Portugal could not accept a certain code of political ethics and yet contradict that code by their behaviour in their so-called overseas territories. The territories of a monarchy, may logically have monarchical forms of government; but the territories of a republic cannot logically have forms of government which are contrary to the principles of republicanism. If the Portuguese thought they could impose a Salazar Type of tyranny every where in the name of the Republic of Portugal, they knew its dangers too. For a dictatorship or fascistic tyranny has no ethical justification nor any political logic to support it; and anybody, at anytime could overthrow it anyhow with the same logic and ethical justification as are found in Salazar's tyrannical excesses. Individual politicians may quail at the sight of truth and justice and fear to take action in the name of all that humanity has called good for reasons of expediency; but that would not grant immortality to a great political evil. Truth and moral excellence will always triumph and weak knees will find strength to stand erect and, deliver those mighty blows to untruth and immorality which

establish *Dharma* in its own place at all times. We congratulate our political leaders, who have been squeamish and hesitant in the past to take up the sword for the defence of the oppressed; but have at last found courage and strength and the light of wisdom to guide them in the path of justice and true chivalry. They have strayed from it again and again and have landed us in utter misery and distress by permitting Britain to create a Pakistan and by tolerating the rape of Kashmir and Tibet by Pakistan and China. And we have suffered and still hoped that the light of true political wisdom will eventually burn brightly in their hearts and show them the true path of universal justice and perfect *Satyagraha*. We are glad that our hope has proved to be justified at least in the case of Goa. We are also very happy that 650,000 Indians will no longer be the slaves of the Portuguese, whose misdeeds in India, Angola, Mozambique and other places are a disgrace to European culture and civilisation. We are not surprised that certain reactionaries in the U.S.A., the U.K. and in certain other countries have found it heart-breaking to see the immoral pride of Portugal reduced t dust by the armed forces of India. To thes aggrieved persons we would say that the India army has done a great service to Wester Civilisation by cleaning up one of their dirtie stables. Portugal has been no credit to the We during recent centuries. If the 4th Indian Divisio had done some good to Western countries b fighting Hitler; the 17th Division should deserv no less credit for uprooting the Salazar regim from Goa. We deeply mourn the death of eigh brave Indian soldiers who laid down their live for the freedom of the people of Goa. We conve our heartfelt sympathy to the family members c the departed heroes and we sincerely hope th Government of India will be lavish in their hel to the dependants of those who have made th supreme sacrifice for freedom and liberty. A glory to the Indian Army, Navy and Air-Forc which have proved their merit and might by th swiftness of their action and by the record achieved in cutting down losses and suffering t the lowest minima.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Bertrand Russell on Khrushchev's Letter

Bertrand Russell writing in the **New Statesman** analyses the mental processes of the two groups of statesmen who are driving the world into a nuclear war. He says: "All friends of peace have been profoundly shocked and discouraged by the Soviet Governments' resumptions of tests culminating in the explosion of the 50-megaton bomb. Mr. Khrushchev maintains that all this is done with a view to preserving peace. This, of course, is nonsense. But it is much to be feared that the West will react by very similar nonsense. On 22nd October, four members of the Committee of 100, of whom I was one, delivered a statement signed by the Rev. Michael Scott and myself at the Soviet embassy protesting against the explosion of the most powerful nuclear weapon ever yet tested. Somewhat to my surprise, I received a long letter from Mr. Khrushchev, very similar to the letter from him to certain Labour M.Ps, which was published on 31st October.

"The statement to me contains the usual mixture of truth and falsehood which we have learnt to expect from statesmen of either side. Its criticism of the West are, to a considerable extent, justified. Its defence of the Soviet Government is almost entirely unjustified.

"Mr. Khrushchev deplores, I think rightly, the West's tardiness is agreeing to negotiations about Berlin. He omits to mention that the Russian proposals for solving the Berlin question would involve so great a gain to the Russian side that the West could not be expected to agree. He omits, also, to emphasise that, from the first, the Russian proposals have been backed by military threats. He points out, I think truly, that in a nuclear war, Britain would suffer more than either America or Russia, but he is wrong in thinking that this sort of argument promotes pacifism in Britain. He says, "We are carrying out experimental blasts and improving our weapons so that mankind may never experience the horrors of nuclear war." Exactly the same sort of thing is being said in America.

"It is scarcely possible to believe that such sentiments are sincere on either side. Each side proceeds on the assumption that itself loves peace. Each side proceeds on the assumption that itself possesses infinite courage. Each side's bluster, in fact, produces bluster on the other side, and brings war nearer. If Mr. Khrushchev really believes that the explosion of his 50-megaton bomb is going to cause a love of peace in the West, he must possess a far smaller knowledge of human nature than it is easy to suppose credible. All those of us in the West who are working to prevent a nuclear war are reduced almost to despair by the recent atrocious actions of the Soviet Government, while, on the contrary, those in the West who desire a nuclear war are encouraged by every crime and folly of which the Soviet Government is guilty.

"Mr. Khrushchev says, 'The source of international tension and the arms race is the policy of the Western powers.' This is only half the truth. When Mr. Khrushchev professes that he wishes to avoid 'the horrors of nuclear war' he is only half sincere. There is something else that he wishes much more, namely, the avoidance of the tiniest concession on the part of the Soviet Government. There is some reason to fear that a correlative feeling exists in the West. It cannot, therefore, be said honestly by either side that it considers nuclear war the worst possible disaster.

"The last paragraph of Mr. Khrushchev's letter advocates general and complete disarmament. The United States Information Service has issued a pamphlet called **Freedom from War** with a foreword by President Kennedy. The proposals contained in this pamphlet are admirable. So, are Mr. Khrushchev's proposals for general and complete disarmament. Since both sides advocate the same thing, it might be thought that it would be brought about, but no one supposes that it will be, because no one supposes that either side sincerely desires it. Certainly the explosion of 50-megaton bombs is not the way to bring it about.

* * * *

"If war to be avoided, both sides will have to cease from finding fault with each other, even when the fault finding is justified, and will have to abandon the language of threats. We shall not be driven to mend our ways by Soviet threats. Nor will Russia be driven to mend her ways by threats from our side. Threat and counter-threat is not the way to peace."

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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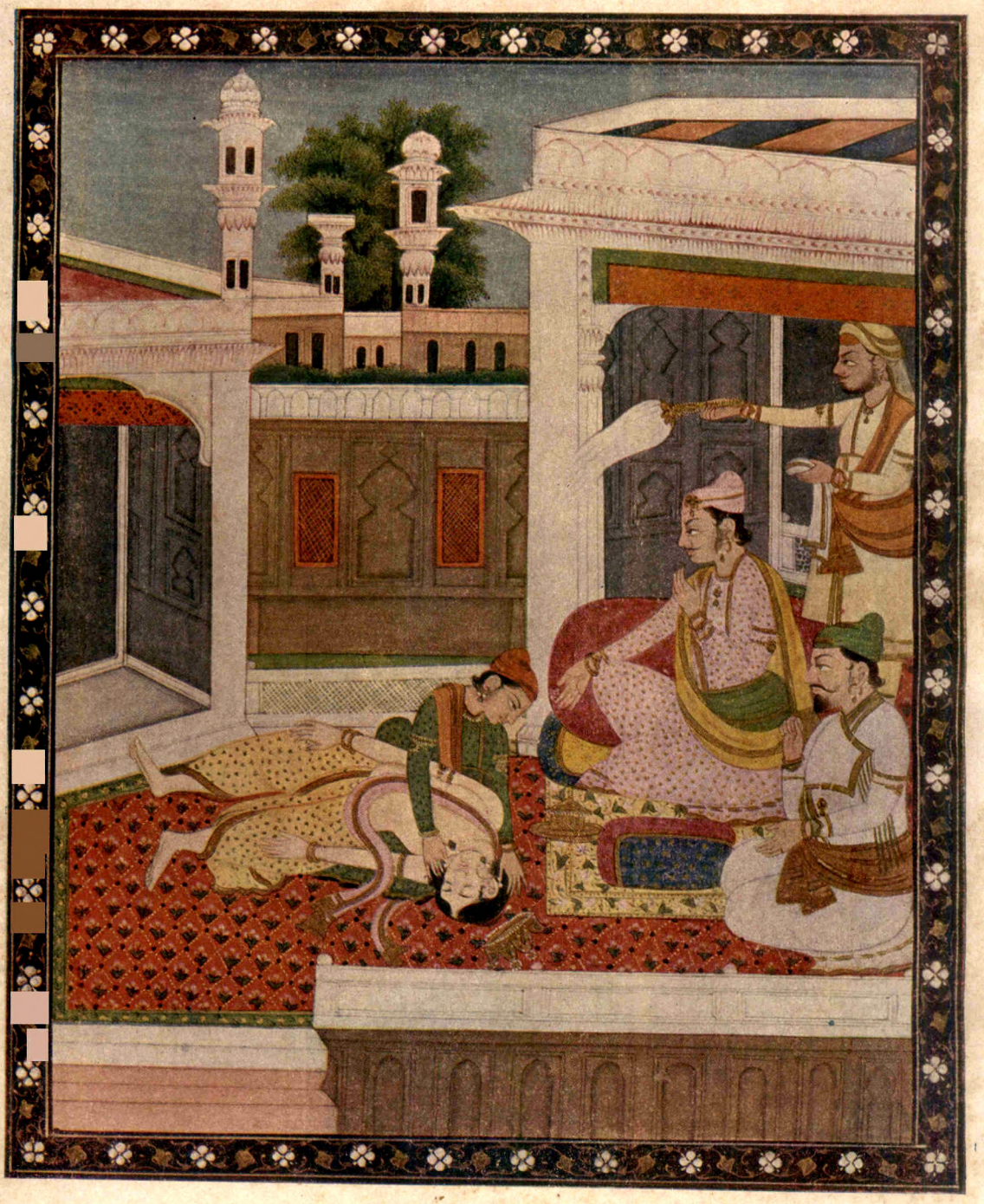

REPENTANCE
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NOTES

The World

At the close of the last year, the points of international tension were at South Viet Nam and Laos in South-East Asia, in Congo and Algeria in Africa. The Goa incident was over and only the echoes of the cries of rage and frustration at the forcible extinction of the last vestiges of colonialism in India raised by the British and the Americans, could be heard. Berlin with its Wall was still a major problem, but the highly critical stage had relaxed somewhat, due to the easing of pressure tactics by Mr. Khrushchev. In the Americas, Cuba was gradually being transformed into a Communist State and the aid to it by the Soviets was being stepped up, in the terms of arms and technical equipment. There was a change-over in the Dominican Republic, where the process of cleaning-up was proceeding, seven months after the assassination of the Dictator Trujillo, who had held the little State in his iron grip for 31 years. The erasing and obliteration of every memorial, or memento of the dead dictator was going on there at the close of the year.

At the beginning of the New Year, there were hopeful signs about the solution of the impasse in Congo, though trouble was freshly started by another rebellious group, this time under a different leadership, that of Gizenga. Mr. Tshombe, on the other hand, seemed much more reasonably inclined. The part played by the "behind the scenes" villains of Big Money, however, was still very much in evidence.

In Algeria, the underground forces of the French terrorists, had stepped up their campaign of violence and intimidation. The O.A.S., the not-so-secret army and colon combination known as the **"Organisation de l' Armee Secrete"**—was gradually spreading its tentacles all over the area, with active aid and co-operation of the civilians and the police. Salan, the Head of the organisation, was supposed to be in hiding, but he was readily available for newspaper and T.V. interviews. Indeed, for all practical purposes, he had taken over the Government of Algeria, through intimidation and active co-operation of all Europeans, civil or in the police.

Salan has not succeeded as yet in carrying out his nefarious plans to transport the movement to France, though over 400 plastic bombs have been exploded in Paris and the provinces. The greater majority of the French people in France itself are against the O.A.S., as a recent opinion poll showed, the working class being overwhelmingly and vehemently against it. But in the balance, the fate of the Algerian question depends on the response of the army at the final show down, which is not very far off, as was announced by Louis Joxe, Minister of Algerian Affairs, in the third week of January. Without active army aid the O.A.S. cannot fight the F.L.N., the moslem nationalist organisation.

There was further relaxation in the Berlin situation—though very slight in extent—due to the pulling back of armour from the crucial position in the Friedrich Strasse passage way, by both the U.S. forces and the Soviets.

In the Congo, 3,000 rebel soldiers were loose with machine-guns and other arms. They were from Gizenga's Central Congolese army. They were moving about murdering innocent people, without any reason whatsoever, excepting that the victims were whites.

The Kashmir Question

At the time of writing these, the news has come from the U.N. headquarters that the U. N. Council is to discuss the Kashmir question on the 31st of January. The actual report is to the following effect:

Sir Patrick Dean, British President of the Security Council, was reported yesterday night to be proposing that the 11-Nation Organ meet on Wednesday morning (15-30 GMT) on the Kashmir Issue.

Informed sources said Sir Patrick was making the proposal to other members of the Council following a request by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistani Resident representative, that the council give "immediate consideration" to the issue.

Sir Zafrulla told reporters that declarations which had been made by Indian leaders caused "grave apprehension" with regard to the maintenance of peace between the two countries.

Asked if Pakistan feared that India would take action in Kashmir, similar to that in the Portuguese enclaves, Sir Zafrulla said he was not making such a charge.

"What I am saying is that the same sentiments are being expressed and that this creates a sense of crisis and foreboding, and this is coupled with the deployment and redeployment of Indian forces which creates this situation."

When a correspondent noted that the Council had not intervened in the episode of the Protuguese enclaves, the Pakistani delegate said that because the Council was unable to take action in one case it should not be concluded that there was no hope of action in another.

"This is a long-standing dispute with which the Security Council had struggled for years, and the matter was adjourned to enable the United Nations representative (Dr. Frank Graham) to make another effort" he said.

"The U.N. representative, at the end of his last report, suggested that the parties might try the way of negotiations, and the parties did try. At any rate, the President of Pakistan tried" Sir Zafrulla said.

Sir Zafrulla Khan has trotted out all the old talk about people's will etcetera, while carefully keeping clear of the facts about Kashmir and Pakistani aggression. Speaking at Bombay on January 30, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Union Defence Minister, put forward the Indian view-point with clarity.

The Union Defence Minister, ruled out plebiscite and mediation as solutions to decide the future of Kashmir.

'As long as there is a Government in the country worth its name, there will be no plebiscite to decide the future of Kashmir,' Mr. Menon said.

The Defence Minister, who was speaking at a meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay-Andhra Mahasabha to observe 'Martyrs Day,' said that talks of plebiscite and mediation were tantamount to equating the aggressor with the victim. Mediation on the issue was impossible because there existed today no country in the world with power to mediate which was also impartial, Mr. Menon added.

Referring to the efforts of Pakistan and her allies to raise the Kashmir issue again at the Security Council, Mr. Menon expressed surprise that Pakistan should have at all gone to the Security Council 'because nothing has taken place in the last four or five years which will show up Pakistan in any better light.'

If at all anything had happened, he said, 'It is that Pakistan has been guilty of violations even of the cease-fire line and violations on some occasions of even the Indian border. Pakistan's story in Kashmir during the last few years is one of loot and pillage and violations and sabotage.'

Mr. Menon who dealt with the dispute at great length said that Sir Zafrulla Khan, the Pakistani representative, had first denied that the Pakistani Army had taken part in the aggression of Kashmir, but later on the U.N. had found out this to be a 'lie.' The same Sir Zafrulla Khan, said Mr. Menon, was then forced to admit the presence of Pakistani Army on Indian territory in Kashmir.

Mr. Menon said that India went to the U.N. because of her anxiety to maintain peace

and it was this anxiety that made us accept a cease-fire line. But now it was being made out that this was some sort of a boundary, a proposition which would be unfair to India.

It was true he said, that "some 13 years ago India had agreed to a plebsicite but those who talk of it today seem to forget that there were other conditions which India had made at that time. Those conditions included the withdrawal of the Pakistani Armies from those parts of Kashmir which Pakistan had invaded and occupied."

In this connection he pointed out that "legally, morally and politically, the U.N. had recognised the fact that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir was Indian territory, *i.e.*, areas included the Pak-occupied areas."

Mr. Menon went on to point out that "India could not agree to plebiscite for a variety of reasons, one of them being that Pakistan had not kept up her part of the bargain—namely withdrawal of her troops from Kashmir."

Pointing out that two elections had already taken place in the Indian side of Kashmir, Mr. Menon stressed "that the people of the Pakistan-occupied areas would have taken part in these elections, if Pakistan had not prevented them from doing so."

Referring to Sir Zafrulla Khan's statement in New York that Pakistan was prepared to negotiate on the 'existing basis,' Mr. Menon observed that India was prepared to honour all her international commitments. But there will be no negotiations on the basis of surrender of our sovereignty. Pakistan has been adjudged an aggressor by the U.N. What is there to negotiate he queried.

It was also being said that in view of Goa and because 'same things are being said in India now' Sir Zafrulla Khan had expressed anxiety.

Mr. Menon asked, 'What have we said about Goa except that we were prepared to negotiate a settlement?'

Mr. Menon said, 'Have we ever violated Pakistan borders or even given succour to anyone who is not friendly to her? Take the case of Afghanistan, with whom we are very friendly and with whom Pakistan is having troubles. Have we ever done anything that would add to her troubles?'

Sabotage by Pakistani agents 'supplied with Pakistani money and carried out by Pakistani-trained personnel' has been taking place at the rate of 90 cases every year, on the Indian territory in Kashmir. 'We have discovered bombs in mosques and temples with Pakistani markings,' obviously placed to inflame communal passions within India. We have taken precautions and thus prevented trouble. But that does not mitigate Pakistan's guilt.

Pakistan has 40 Divisions of her Army in Kashmir and large concentration of troops on the cease-fire line. With this show of force Pakistan talks of plebiscite. If there is a plebiscite there will be free expression of will only on the Indian side and not on the other side, asserted Mr. Menon.

Mr. Menon also referred to the statement of President Ayub Khan recently that Pakistan would not wait to consult her allies to use the arms received by her as aid, against India.

Mr. Menon said, 'all along we have been expressing anxiety on Pakistan being given arms aid by the West. But they (the West) would not hear our plea.'

Mr. Menon was quite right when he said that "there was no country to-day with powers to mediate, which was also impartial." The world has indeed come to this pass, thanks to the Cold War and the mass alignments on both sides. If any illustration were necessary of the world situation, then the reactions to the Goa liberation might be cited as an example. The world was indeed divided in two broad groups, one against colonialism in any shape or guise and the other "our ally, right or wrong"!

It is because of this state of affairs, that the question of Indian sovereignty and the U. N. declaration that Pakistan was an aggressor, are being deliberately overlooked by Pakistan's "half-friends" and "quarter friends"—who are anxious to prove that they are full friends. And it is against this background that India's "unwillingness to accept mediation by a third party in any form" has to be viewed. Pandit Nehru is reported to have replied to that effect to President Kennedy's letter offering the good offices of the World Bank President, Mr. Eugene Black, to settle the 14-year old dispute. Pandit Nehru's letter is said to have been clear on the matter of sovereignty. It is reported that —while appreciating the motive behind Mr.

Kennedy's suggestion, the letter is stated to have given all the basic aspects of the Kashmir dispute and pointed out that Kashmir's sovereignty legally rested with India. This position had also been accepted by the United Nations. It would, therefore, be difficult for India to accept any suggestion for arbitration or mediation in the matter of a territory over which India's sovereignty has been quite clear legally and morally.

Regarding direct negotiations the letter is understood to have made mention of Mr. Nehru's visit to Pakistan in September 1960, his expression of willingness to negotiate all outstanding issues between the two countries and his invitation to President Ayub Khan to visit Delhi to have talks on those issues.

It is becoming increasingly clear to all Afro-Asian nations—with the exception of the two Moslem states linked with the West —that justice, fairplay, and **Truth** have different connotations, according as the interests of the Western group and their Eastern satellites are concerned. This has been made transparently clear in the reactions of the Western group's press, after the Goa liberation.

We, in India, are accustomed, through long experience, to the deliberate distortion of truth in the British press—with a few notable exceptions—in any presentation of a case where the interests of Britain are concerned, directly or indirectly. Indeed, we may say that we are accustomed to the workings of the mind of a certain type of Britisher—the pukka Sahib type—with a suave and polished exterior **but** with black treachery, malevolence and insatiable rapacity for gain at the cost of the weak Asiatic or African at heart. We know that type is now in power in Britain and, therefore, the ebullitions of the conservative press of Britain was treated here with the contempt it deserved. The reaction of a certain section of the European press was also regarded by us in the same light. But the reaction in the U.S. press was a revelation.

We know that there is a certain section of the U. S. press that always presents news from Asiatic and African countries with a very pronounced slant. The weekly news magazine **Time,** for example, dresses and decorates Truth always, like in a strip-tease act, where Eastern and African news are concerned. This behaviour on the part of that section of the U.S. press has been anything but helpful to U.S. foreign affairs missions. We would go further and say that papers like the **Time** have substantially helped the Soviet's propaganda by their blatant distortion of news from Asiatic and African sources. Soviet's propaganda is not very effective by itself, in this part of the world, but when it is substantially helped by the reaction to black untruths in such prejudiced U.S. papers, it becomes far more potent.

We are not concerned, therefore, when the reaction in that section of the U.S. press follows suit to the British exhibition of temper at the foiling of another trap against the Indian cause. But when sober papers like the **New York Times,** start deliberate distortion of truth, we begin to lose faith where the U.S. press is concerned. And because the American peoples are mostly dependant on such newspapers for news about the Orient and Africa, we also begin to doubt the impartiality of the U.S.

To illustrate our point, we quote **in extenso** from the **New York Times,** Weekly Review edition, dated December 24, 1961. Writing on the crisis in the U.N. and U.S. affairs, editorially it says :

This has been an insistent question of U. S. foreign policy : In the effort to achieve world peace, how much reliance shall be put on the United Nations and how much on the strength of the U. S. itself and its North Atlantic Allies ?

Last week the issue was sharply accented because the U. N. had arrived at a moment of deep crisis in three critical areas :

There was **the crisis of the Congo,** where the U. N. effort for peace again hung in the balance, with the secessionist Katanga President Moise Tshombe first professing willingness to yield to the Central Government, then hinting strongly he would renege.

There was **the crisis of Goa,** seized during the week by India along with other Portuguese enclaves on her coast. The U. N. failed to act, and that failure raised the prospect that a combination of Communist and Afro-Asian nations would block any

U. N. action against aggression except from the West.

There was **the crisis of the U. N. treasury,** running deeply into debt because of the Congo operation and the refusal of many nations—Communist, Western and others—to help meet the cost. The U. N. moved to stave off bankruptcy—if only temporarily—by selling bonds.

And in elaborating the crisis over Goa it further says:

One of the major voices of the post-war era has been that of Prime Minister Nehru, seeking to apply to international disputes the Gandhian principle of achieving ends by non-violent means. "My whole soul reacts against the idea of war anywhere," he told the Indian Parliament this month. Yet when the Kashmir dispute flared between India and Pakistan in 1947, Mr. Nehru did not hesitate to use armed force to take half the contested territory.

Last week Mr. Nehru laid himself open to a fresh charge of not practising at home what he preaches abroad. Despite appeals a fortnight ago from President Kennedy and U. N. Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, for continued efforts to solve the Goa dispute by peaceful means, India seized that Portuguese enclave in what appeared to be a well-prepared military operation.

The prize itself was slight, in material terms. Established on India's west coast by Portuguese colonizer Alfonso d'Albuquerque in 1510, Goa and the tiny nearby Portuguese enclaves of Damao and Diu have the area of Rhode Island, a population of 650,000 (half of them Hindus, a third Roman Catholics). The major economic assets are a fine harbor and a small iron mining industry.

Goa's real importance to India has been psychological. The enclaves have been hated reminders of the colonial past, an affront to Indian pride. Over the years India has been demanding that the Portuguese withdraw.

The invasion was announced at 12-30 A.M. on Monday in New Delhi by Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, who is also India's chief delegate to the United Nations. Mr. Menon said, the action was ordered because of Portuguese "provocations" and a breakdown in administration within Goa—charges which had been made during the preceding weeks of border incidents and which Portugal had denied. Indian Army forces drove into Goa from three sides; other troops entered Diu and Damao. The small Portuguese garrisons offered little resistance; casualties were light. Within forty-eight hours it was over; the enclaves had been "returned to the motherland."

The reasons cited by Mr. Menon sounded hollow to Western observers; for the real reasons for the invasion they looked elsewhere. One conjecture was that Mr. Nehru wanted to reassert his leadership with African nationalists who had been left cold by his preaching of non-violence. Another was that he wanted to rob the Indian Communists of the Goa issue in the general elections coming up in February. A corollary to this theory was that he sought to enhance the reputation of his protege, Mr. Menon, who is running for re-election to Parliament.

Still other conjectures were that America's recent refusal to side with Portugal on colonial issues within the U. N. had encouraged the Indian Cabinet to act; and that Mr. Nehru wanted to divert domestic attention from Chinese Communist incursions into northern India.

In the West, the Indian action was generally viewed as a shocking violation of what India stood for, but in Moscow and Peiping and in most Asian and African countries it was hailed as another defeat for colonialism.

The U. N. was, therefore, doomed to inaction. The West proposed a Security Council resolution "deploring" the Indian use of force and calling for a cease-fire and negotiations. This was opposed by Russia (a veto) and the three Afro-Asian members of the Council (United Arab Republic, Ceylon, Liberia). Plans to place the proposal before the General Assembly were abandoned when it became clear that the Afro-Asians—who now form half of the Assembly's membership—would vote against it. India, in the words of a Western delegate, had "got by with it."

It will be seen from the above quotation, how the **New York Times** has tried to build a case against Pandit Nehru—and by implication against the Indian nation, although Pandit Nehru is **not** a dictator like some of the pets of the U.S. Government. It has

deliberately tried to put in the position of an aggressor in the Kashmir affair, although it is known to all who value truth that it was Pandit Nehru who took the case to the U.N.O., and Pakistan was adjudged the aggressor in that case. The U.N.O. is located in New York and the **New York Times** cannot plead ignorance.

Necessary Evil

President Ayub Khan, whose country is a member of both the S.E.A.T.O. and C.E.N.T.O., has termed the other associates of those organizations and the patron and mainstay of both the groups, the U.S.A., as being "half" or "quarter" friends, during the question and answer meeting at Mardan on the 20th January. But, he hastened to add, Pakistan not having any full friends, it must not lose the half or quarter friends. He also said that the allies of Pakistan, in those organizations were a "necessary evil."

The **Statesman** of January 21, carries the following two news items regarding President Ayub's remarks at the Mardan meeting and the meeting at Sukkur held previously :—

Karachi, Jan. 20.—President Ayub Khan said today that Pakistan would not hesitate to use any of the arms now in her possession in case of an emergency, reports PTI. He was speaking at a question-answer meeting at Mardan in the former North-West Frontier Province.

Radio Pakistan quoted President Ayub Khan as saying that Pakistan would not seek anyone's advice, and would take suitable measures in such an event. If someone got angry at that, Pakistan would not care, he is reported to have said.

Sukkur, Jan. 19.—President Ayub Khan said here today that Pakistan did not want to use the U.N. for propaganda purposes as India was doing, reports Reuter. He added that Pakistan's actions on Kashmir would be based on "justice and fairplay."

The President said, India wanted "to grab and devour" Jammu and Kashmir and with that end in view was carrying on "all sorts of false propaganda."

Asked by reporters whether he would permit the raising of volunteers for an emergency, President Ayub said Pakistan's armed forces were strong enough to face any eventuality. He hoped that Pakistan's "unstinted support" of the Arab cause would continue to be reciprocated by the Arab countries.

The remarks made in the Sukkur speech was in reference to the request made by Ayub Khan to the U.N., for the question of Kashmir to be taken up at the Security Council of that body. President Ayub evidently thought that he would be able to cash in on the wave of indignation amongst his allies which followed the liberation of Goa, unfortunately for Ayub's rosy dreams of success in this blatant attempt to use the Security Council as a cat's paw to pull the Kashmir chestnut out for his country, the members of the Security Council refused even to put it on the agenda before the elections in India were over. The majority of the members, outside the Western Bloc, know the truth about the case, although Britain—and lately the U.S.A. press—has persistently tried to confuse the issues, and the Soviets have declared that they would veto any proposal for re-opening the Kashmir question in the Security Council. Hence these outbursts on the part of the Pakistani dictator.

The threats and sabre-rattles of Pakistan, coupled with the moves made by her patrons, seem to have tried even Pandit Nehru's patience too far. There has been the publication of a pamphlet—inadequate and incomplete—regarding the Kashmir question, by the India Government, and statements by Pandit Nehru and the official spokesmen on the antics of Pakistan and her allies. The speech, by Pandit Nehru, at Ferozepore on January 24, was a clear indication that Pandit Nehru's patience and powers of forbearance were badly strained. Pandit Nehru said :—

"It was our misfortune that India was partitioned and Pakistan was made. It could not be helped and we accepted it.

"After this we wanted that friendship and good relations should develop between us. This unfortunately did not happen.

"On our part we tried our best to have friendly relations with Pakistan. But the rulers of Pakistan always talked in terms of conflict and hostility with India. It appears that they

have no other profession except having hostility towards us.

"We are having our five year plans and progress is being made here all round. But in Pakistan you find mostly this talk of conflict with Hindustan. They sometimes bring in Kashmir. They don't seem to calm down or become normal at any time."

Shri Nehru then posed a question: What is our reply to Pakistan?

The Prime Minister himself answered it by saying: "Our reply is that we will not go to war with them. If they (Pakistan) start a war, then we will meet it fully. But that is another thing."

The Prime Minister said that India had to keep an army here because it did not trust the intentions of Pakistan.

"I still hope that a time will come when the rulers of Pakistan will see that they are following a useless course. Sometimes you get fed up of this attitude of perpetual hatred and hostility of Pakistan towards India.

"We have repeatedly said that we do not want war with Pakistan. But at the same time, we will not be cowed down by any threats."

Shri Nehru said in a voice of exasperation, "The rulers of Pakistan have not understood this basic thing."

Nehru said that the Indian communal parties were to blame to some extent for this hostile attitude of Pakistan to India. These Hindu communal parties indulged in tall talk and stated that they wanted 'Akhand Hindustan by merging Pakistan with India.'

Warming up and thumping the railing of the rostrum Shri Nehru said: "This is an impossible thing. It is improper and useless talk. It only gives an opportunity to the rulers of Pakistan to say 'look, India wants to eat us up.'

Shri Nehru firmly declared: "We do not want to take Pakistan. Even if they (people of Pakistan) want to come and join India, we will not take Pakistan."

Condemning communal parties Shri Nehru said that it was very amazing that the communal parties had so little intelligence. They talk irresponsibly all the time. They talk sometimes of attacking China and sending the army there or somewhere else. The people should beware of communal parties and communal propaganda. These parties talked in a manner to incite passions and create disunity among the people. They had no relation with economic affairs or development or planning.

Pandit Nehru might well have said, with a considerable amount of justification, that Pakistan came into existence as a necessary evil—necessary for the complete liberation of India from the clutches of the British "die-hard" politicians. There was a Socialist Government in power in Britain at the time of our Independence, but the permanent cadre of British officialdom was dominated by men of imperialistic ideology and they tried to stall off the day of India's liberation by playing up the Moslem League against the Indian National Congress. The double game was apparent to the leaders of the Congress and they decided to choose the lesser evil—of partitioning India. The story is old and is regarded as an accepted measure of bitter medicine which had to be swallowed in order to save the whole country and the nation from chaos and anarchy.

The events after the partition, particularly the accession of Kashmir to India and the veiled Pakistani incursion—under the guise of a tribal foray into that peaceful area—which later developed into regular war of aggression by Pakistan · are all recorded chapters of the history of that period of transition. Pakistani forces were well on the run before Indian arms when Pandit Nehru had a brain-storm and in a fit of quixotic internationalism decided to place the case of Pakistani aggression before the United Nations organization. Ever since that day the "half-friends" and "quarter-friends" of Pakistan have been trying to double-cross India. Pakistan's—that is Ayub Khan's grievance is that they have not yet succeeded in working the swindle!

Goa, Liberation and After

The following news was in the daily press on the 20th of January. The fullest report was in the **Hindu**:

New Delhi, Jan. 19. Prime Minister Nehru has written a personal letter to President Kennedy reiterating that India's foreign policy had not undergone any change following the Indian action in the erstwhile Portuguese colony of Goa, reliable sources said here today.

Mr. Nehru was understood to have explained

to President Kennedy India's position with respect to Portuguese colonialism in this country. He reportedly made it clear that Goa, which was part of India, was an internal problem and had nothing to do with India's foreign policy.

Mr. Nehru's letter to President Kennedy is understood to be a lengthy one running into nearly ten pages.

The letter supplements Mr. Nehru's talks with the U.S. Ambassador in New Delhi, Mr. J. K. Galbraith, on the issue. Mr. Galbraith had a meeting with Mr. Nehru immediately after the Goa operation and again just before the Prime Minister left for Patna to attend the Congress session.

The Prime Minister's letter to President Kennedy, according to official sources, became necessary in view of strong public and newspaper reaction in America against India's action in Goa. The letter was sent to Washington last week.

Official sources here explained that the letter of the Prime Minister to President Kennedy was on the lines of public statements made by Mr. Nehru at Patna during the annual session of the Congress. Mr. Nehru had repeatedly emphasised that the Government's foreign policy had not undergone any change on account of the action of Goa.

Mr. Nehru said in his letter that the situation would have become very dangerous to the security of India if Portuguese colonialism had been allowed to continue. India had to deal with the situation before it developed into a grave threat to India.

The Prime Minister's letter was also understood to have made it clear that India's policy of peace and friendship would continue and affirmed the Government of India's strong support to the United Nations. He also said India would continue to press for peaceful settlement of all international issues.

The Prime Minister apparently made an impression on President Kennedy who during his Press conference last Tuesday refused to concede to a questioner that India's action in Goa constituted a "double standard." Mr. Kennedy told his questioner that it was not just one issue but a whole variety of things which should determine whether there was a double standard or not.

We hope that the letter did have the effect on the Chief Executive of the U.S.A., as is indicated in the report. Mr. Kennedy was a keen student of Eastern Affairs, prior to his becoming the President of the United States, and he has brought a fresh and still flexible mind to bear on matters concerning friendly but neutral nations.

We do not find in the report any mention of the fact that the Indian people, with all the different shades of political opinion were practically unanimous on the point that fourteen years forbearance was a long enough period in all conscience, and any further delay would have had disastrous consequences, particularly because of reports about Portuguese machinations against the Indians, in and out of Goa.

Nepal and India

At the time of writing these, we find in the **Statesman** a report to the effect that the Government of India has sent a communication to the Government of Nepal, objecting strongly to the anti-Indian speeches being made by Dr. Tulsi Giri, the Nepalese Foreign Minister.

Dr. Tulsi Giri has accused India of trickery and has used undignified language towards Mr. Nehru, according to that report.

Dr. Tulsi Giri previously accused India of supporting the rebels in Nepal. This was categorically denied by India previously. This protest by India is, therefore, the second one amongst the accusations and insinuations by this person.

We do not know what this Dr. Giri imagines he will gain—or his master will gain—by such wild and wooly behaviour. But Nepal has been in a curious state ever since King Mahendra took the administration of his kingdom in his own hands. The **Hindu** of January 21, carries a special article written by Shri K. Rangaswami which is worthy of record in this context. We reproduce it below:

A meeting between King Mahendra of Nepal and Prime Minister Nehru is expected to take place in Delhi soon after the latter is free from his preoccupation with the general elections in India. The initiative for such a meeting has been taken by the Nepalese King who thinks that an exchange of views with Mr. Nehru on problems of mutual interest is overdue.

Ever since the King took over power him-

self after dismissing the Koirala Ministry he has not formally visited Delhi although he has met Mr. Nehru for brief moments when he passed through Delhi. From the King's point of view the immediate problem is to restore the personal friendship with Mr. Nehru and get him at least to agree that the two countries can co-exist despite different political set-ups. If India could welcome co-existence with military and Communist dictators she should not find it very difficult to get along with a monarchy in Nepal particularly when the latter is anxious to maintain friendly relations with her by reason of history, geography, religion and culture. There is also the 1950 treaty by which India has a special responsibility for the military security of Nepal and it is not now the intention of the Nepalese King to seek a revision of this treaty.

Mr. Nehru's sharp comments made at the time the Koirala Ministry was dismissed have been construed by the King as unfriendly and far in excess of what the situation merited. When the King arrested Mr. Koirala and his Cabinet colleagues he was not sure how his people would take it. But he soon found that popular reaction was less strong than he had anticipated. If the threatened hunger-strike by Mr. Koirala had come about immediately after his arrest it was possible that the King might have found himself under pressure from several quarters to retrace his steps at least partially. But Mr. Koirala went on a fast three months after his arrest and then he abandoned it when small things like newspapers and letters were allowed to be received by him. This situation did not reveal Mr. Koirala as a leader of firm determination and strength of purpose.

The democratic movement in Nepal does not have deep roots and slipping back into the kind of regime that prevailed under the Ranas has not led to any serious mass upheaval. Recently there have been incidents in several places in Nepal which could be described as demonstrations against the King's rule. The King seems to be convinced that these incidents are centrally organised and directed from outside Nepal. The Nepalese leaders, Subarna Shumshere and Bharat Shumshere, who are now in India have issued statements giving the impression that mass rebellion has almost broken out against the King. But few in Nepal consider that these incidents have anything more than nuisance value at the moment. Communication is difficult in Nepal and ideas take much longer to spread. All these factors have perhaps filled the King with a certain amount of confidence in himself and the destiny of his dynasty. It is not considered unlikely that in this frame of mind the King might even release Mr. Koirala sooner than most people expect. But observers who have closely watched the King do not get the impression that he is in a hurry to share power with the people's representatives.

How far the agitation by Nepali leaders from India would create serious trouble inside Nepal is difficult to assess. There is no doubt that in the Terai area adjoining the Indian border there will be more excitement than in the Kathmandu valley. The King would like the Government of India to put a stop to the activities of Subarna Shumshere and Bharat Shumshere. But the Nepali Congress leaders have friends in the Indian National Congress from India's pre-Independence days and it would not be easy for the latter to become indifferent suddenly to their friends across the border. India would grant political asylum to anyone and speeches by the latter against the King's regime could not be prevented. But India, as in the case of the Dalai Lama, would not allow Nepali refugees to form an exile Government and organise violent activities from Indian territory.

There are those who advocate that the Government of India should come out openly on the side of popular forces in Nepal. There are at the same time those who urge that the Government of India should extend firm support to the King at least to prevent him from being swayed by Chinese influence. This suggestion promptly provokes irritating comments in official circles. They smell blackmailing tactics in this approach. If the argument is that the King might tend to lean more heavily on the Chinese if India did not co-operate fully with him, then the reply is that the King is free to do what he pleases. It is confidently felt that in the event of any upheaval in Nepal, the King must inevitably take refuge in India where he has vast investments and property. Few would expect the King to seek political asylum in China. Official circles point out

that this attempt to play off India against China is ridiculous and would leave India entirely cold and unmoved. Occasionally the King's Ministers step out to offer their mediation in the settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute. But this has only provoked amusement in Delhi and on one occasion Mr. Nehru made the caustic comment that so many people volunteered to settle India's problems.

There have been some differences between India and Nepal over the latter's agreement with China for the construction of a road from Lhasa to Kathmandu. The Nepalese have explained that the King, during his visit to Peking, was pressured by the Chinese to agree to the proposal. On an earlier occasion when Mr. Koirala, as the Prime Minister, went to Peking he would not commit himself to any Chinese suggestion and gave the reason that he must consult his Cabinet. But no such excuse was available to the King as he was supreme in his country. Then it was explained that the Chinese would not build any motorable road but only improve the mule track on mountain ranges. Why the deal was entered into has never been adequately explained. There was no prior consultation with India. There is no doubt that there is a desire to give pinpricks to India and it was in some ways thought that the road construction would hurt India. Perhaps there is also a desire on the part of the present regime to show that it could achieve spectacular things compared to popular ministries. In any case the agreement is there and it would be implemented as any undue and inexplicable delay would give the Chinese opportunity to say that Nepal was frightened of India's frown. Nepal being an independent country and proud of her rising importance on the international stage must adhere to the agreement. Although the Government of India have conveyed their dissatisfaction with the agreement there is no particular concern from the military or other viewpoint. India's line is that basically the two countries must remain friendly to each other and that nothing should be done by Nepal which would threaten India's security. The 1950 treaty must continue to operate and Mr. Nehru's declaration that an attack on Nepal would be an attack on India would stand. If there is agreement on these basic issues no difficulty will be experienced—few expect any difficuty here—in arriving at mutual understanding and establishing friendly relations.

Prachya Vani Mandir's Achievememts

The celebrated Prachya Vani Mandir Sanskrit-Pali Players' Troupe staged in the South and North of India successfully a new Sanskrit drama called Vimala-Yatindram by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri based on the life of Sri Ramanuja Acharya. In the South the play was staged in Madras "Satyagriha" on the 25th December, and in Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, on the 27th December, under the auspices of All India Vaisnava Conference and Sri Aurobindo Ashram Authorities respectively; in the North, the same Sanskrit drama was staged in Vrindaban Institute of Oriental Philosophy in the East-West Spiritual Values Symposium held under the auspices of UNESCO and Central Government. The lucid Sanskrit style of Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri and excellent acting of Prachya Vani Troupe captivated the hearts of all. After the staging of the play, Sri Patanjali Shastri, President of Central Sanskrit Board, Sri Bhuvaneswar Prasad Sinha, Chief Justice of India, Rev. Father de Smet of Rome, Sri Bon Maharaj, Sri Bhaktivilas Tirtha and other celebrated persons spoke highly of the achievements of the Prachya Vani and the beautiful acting and Sanskrit pronunciation of its Troupe. We wish the Prachya Vani greater success in all its pioneering attempts for the spread of Sanskrit Learning in particular and Indian Learning and Culture in general.

We would also laud the encouragement offered by the UNESCO for such praiseworthy efforts for the revival of interest in our ancient classics.

THE EDITOR

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HOMAGE TO THE MEMORY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By SAINT-JOHN PERSE
(Nobel Laureate for Literature 1960)

To associate French thought in commemoration of Rabindranath Tagore, is to give witness to French fidelity to the highest conceptions of a universal humanism.

The greatness of Tagore for us, lies in the essentially humane preponderance in his spiritualism. His brow is yet alight with twin qualities of nobility; Poet, he has known how to hold aloft his dream—which is his birthright, without allowing himself to be distracted by the Man of his time. His poetry is ageless and unconfined to any abode, burning in the steps of Man's Eternal Search, among familiar streams and earthy slopes where the darkness of Man is shed aside.

He was aided by an infinite Presence all around him; but there also lay the persistent insistance of an infinite desire.

And it was therein where was his noble manner of being and loving, blending youthfulness with age of souls. The glory of the Poet was that he lived in his verse, and that fully with the integrity of himself as Man and Living Being.

To us, men of the West, he came carrying this "Gitanjali" from which "l'offrande lyrique" (the lyrical offering) wafted a freshness and fragrance which seemed to have come from a great tree of Asia. This fragrance seemed still to be permeating the sensitivity of the English of the translator, who was Tagore himself. It was a very pure art which was weilded there, in the ineffable, and which gave the possessions of the soul the highest place in the being; a most gentle modulation of all being, like a mystical breath.

His far away voice was near to us; his song of Asia's man was a song all about us. A similar breath riffled all the leaves of the same Tree, and the summer monsoon, which haunts the native land of the Poet, raised its habitual plaint so far as to reach our ears.

The French ear was prompt in being able to discern from all it heard, to identify what was more precious than exoticism: a new intonation of the Universal soul.

It was thus that, with Tagore, the human sovereignty of the poet blended with his creation.

He sat amidst us like the host in the fables, clad in white raiment and bearing a message. Rarely has a more beautiful face been shaped from human clay. He spoke to us like a musician as well as a philosopher, with that strange softness in his regard, which comes only from souls of the loftiest order. He was surrounded by a legendary aura of grace. And from this legend, we would treasure this . . . . that his poems singing with a spirit eternally young, might anonymously meet again the humble lips of the living . . . .

And so, Tagore, host of a day, appeared to us somewhat like a mythical figure, at the crossroads of two worlds and two ages. Expressing himself, in turn, both within and outside the century, he is for us at the same time, the embodiment of the Poet of ancient times, under the double crowns of Aede and the Sage.

But even though he was concerned about the eternity of Man, he was no less anxious about the Man of his times. His journey to Europe is a proof in the action as well as of the thought. It was also a witness to the ardour of his patriotism; and as well, to the urgency of a message that required all his reasoning to give clarity to events.

* * * *

It was in London, prior to the First World War, that a young French interlocutor, his junior by nearly thirty years, heard him express himself on the future of the Western world.

In a quiet house in South Kensington, we discussed contemporary history in an

amicable manner. An epoch of power and prosperity sunned itself in the warmth of an incomparable summer. Factory blast furnaces were smoking all over Europe; the arts were being united with the sciences in the same lustre of showiness; and on the anvil was being forged the iron of the Western man . . . . Tagore spoke to me of his inquietude.

This haunting was heavy with menacing materialism, from an industrial civilisation on which depended the fate of the world. He warned about the double peril this incurred: by human collectivity in its international cohesion and by man himself, in his integrity.

Whither then to look for the corrective? Towards which recourse to turn, when, for him, the stake was nothing else but the safeguarding of the spiritual in the human complex? The pragmatism of the Anglo-Saxon did not seem to him to offer any succour. His distrust of French intellectualism was no whit less, as he misunderstood it to be comprised of an extreme form of human exigence. But he knew what a long tradition of moralists and humanists had fed the French soul, what form of a natural liberalism had fashioned the social vocation of France, and that a part of the French man always moves in the universal Man. He also appreciated the human mind and open spirit of the great representatives of French Indianism.

He desired to make sure of a premier access to the French literary milieu. I was able to take him over to the friendly aid afforded by Andre Gide, whose role as translator, was able to function, in his favour, like that of a Baudelaire for an Edgar Poe or a Gerard de Nerval for a Goethe. This was to limit his first French audience to the choice of an elite. However, this medium was so restrictive from the point of material and publicity advantages, that Tagore did not wish to have another such. There was nothing then which foretold that in him would be a Nobel Prize winner.

I never saw him again after the war. From China, where I was at the time when he visited Japan, I learnt through friends, of all that radiated from this towering moral personality on his way to the Americas. Travelling again towards the Man of the West, he stepped this time from West to East, in reverse of the great pilgrims of ancient Central Asia. Poet, concerned for the soul and unity of man, he voyaged away, at the same pace, towards the other sphere of the Western civilisation: bearer of the same message of unity, of the same entreaty for Man and for the defense, within man, of the real elements of human greatness.

Behind him, upon the immemorial earth of India, washed by so many storms, and by so many treads of bare feet, where destiny still revealed herself to be grappling with history, many forebodings were coming up, which were not unlinked with the fate of the Universal Man.

* * * *

Long after his death, and upon the ruins accumulated after a second World War, measuring the reach of this prophetic voice, we can take up with Tagore, tacitly, the same interrupted dialogue.

This meeting of Asia which took place with the man of the West, we treasure it. Tagore, poet, remains. France renders her fidelity to him again in all that he loved of her. And the great Pilgrim of India takes up his path amongst us once more.

Of this voice which was his and which we recognized so soon, its cadence makes itself heard as yet within the heights of the Soul of our times.

(*La Nouvelle Reveue Francaise*, 1st November, 1961).

By Courtesy of the French Cultural Centre.

DISARMAMENT AND ATOMIC WEAPONS

By PANNALAL DHAR, M.A.

DISARMAMENT has been the fondest dream of man through centuries of the history of mankind. The ship of Disarmament has sailed through the high tides and low tides of international politics, and as an ideology has actuated men to strive for peace. At one time it was identified with pacifism specially during the period of Hadrian and Antenine Emperors (A.D. 117-192). This did not mean that they had abolished war altogether. On the contrary, according to historian Gibbon, they preserved peace by being "as little disposed to endure as to offer an injury" to the bordering countries. At one time Disarmament meant demolishing the existing fortifications as in the city of Riga in 1304, in the city of Dunkirk in 1713 and in Liege in 1715. In 1774, Turkey was forbidden to maintain fortifications in Crimea. The Great Lakes were demilitarised in 1817, the Canadian-American border in 1818, the Black Sea in 1856, and the Ionian Islands in 1863. The Swedish-Norwegian border was demilitarised in 1905, the Rhine Frontier in 1919, the Gulf of Finland and island of Spitzbergen in 1920.

All these instances cited above were each an imposition by the victors on the vanquished nations or on the weak countries by the strong. In ancient times Rome destroyed the power of Carthage in 146 B.C. by forcing drastic Disarmament. In later times, Napoleon forced Prussia to limit her army to 42,000 men. After the First World War the Allies imposed drastic disarmament on vanquished Germany and it was again repeated after the Second World War. The success of unilateral Disarmament, however, depends on continuous implementation of the terms of the treaty. This in turn requires continuous vigilance against evasions. The victorious nations being more occupied in the internal reconstruction of their countries after each war continuous exercise of vigilance is not practically possible. Sanctions against detected evasions may not also become desirable due to changes in international situations. Thus Germany after the First Great War could secretly resort to evasions when other countries were not looking. And when international situations turned in favour it resorted to open evasions.

Unilateral Disarmament cannot thus be continuously enforced against the vanquished countries. It cannot also be adopted by any country voluntarily without seriously jeopardising its own security. General Disarmament has, therefore, become the crux of international peace organisation in the 20th century. Historians, however, point out that the idea of General Disarmament first occurred to Tzar Alexander I in 1816 and Prince Matternich also wrote on the subject. The Vienna peace system of 1815 succeeded in prevailing upon the major states to reduce their armaments voluntarily. In 1831 Peru and Bolivia concluded a peace treaty limiting their armed strength. The question of Piedmontese Disarmament led to the war of 1859.

The ideology of General Disarmament continued in international politics at times receiving impetus and at other times discouragement. Thus in 1870 Bismarck opposed British proposals for Disarmament on the ground that a continental power needed forces to defend its frontiers though an insular power, meaning Great Britain, could disarm without prejudice to

its security. In 1877, Russia went to war on Turkey's refusal to reduce her armed force. The first Hague Conference of 1899 outlawed aerial bombardment, the use of poison gas and the use of certain types of projectiles. In 1902, Argentina and Chile agreed to limit their naval armaments. The Second Hague Conference of 1907 ended in failure because of Germany's refusal to limit her fleet. The Washington Conference held in 1921-22 succeeded in limiting naval armaments fixing battleship strength among Britain, U.S.A., Japan, France and Italy in the proportion of 5:5:3:1.75:1.75. Agreement was also reached in respect of aircraft carriers and the size of cruisers to be restricted to below 10,000 tons but not on the number of such cruisers. In the Geneva Conference of 1927, the Great Powers failed to come to an agreement on limitations for smaller warships below 10,000 tons. Another Geneva Conference held in 1932-34 floundered on the twin question of international supervision and distinction between the offensive and defensive weapons. Meanwhile, the Fascist powers started arming to the teeth and this led to the Second Great War.

As war is fought with arms, General Disarmament has been hailed as a means of securing lasting peace on the ground that a war between disarmed nations is technically impossible. But this argument is fallacious since the American Civil War was fought between completely disarmed belligerents. Moreover, there are certain types of small and light weapons like machine-guns, the use of which cannot be banned, but with which wars may first start. Lord Robert Cecil's thesis that all offensive weapons should be reduced failed on the ground that in actual practice there cannot be any clear-cut distinction between offensive and defensive weapons. And so long technical and industrial inventions cannot be totally banned secret weapons will always be produced and such civil installations erected which can be switched over from the production of peace goods to that of military equipment at a short notice. Exercise of effective control over armaments requires inspection which is not possible without the employment of a large body of scientists, and without seriously curtailing the sovereignty of nations. Control of such key-industries having war potential like aluminium, steel, ship building and aircraft building will seriously affect the interest of nations in the reconstruction of their own countries.

Thus General Disarmament has not yet been made a practical proposition though as an ideology it has survived the vicissitudes of centuries of international politics. Never before the nations have more steadfastly followed the maxim of Vegetius "SiVis pacem para bellum" that is, if you want peace prepare for war. In their pursuit of this ideal the nations are guided by the historical truth that a strong and well-armed power was never attacked. War, therefore, remains as an ever present danger. The situation has become complicated because of the inventions of nuclear weapons. Never before in history, a tiny atom presaged the doom in store not only for the present but also for the future generations of mankind. The magnitude of nuclear dangers was neither perhaps visualised when Einstine wrote his famous letter to Roosevelt, nor could it perhaps be presumed when the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

The bomb has, however, acted as a double-edged weapon for, on the one hand it served to bring the Great War to close but on the other, it released the dangerous forces of brinkmanship which have produced everything short of war by creating a continuously agonising situation in which mankind has been thrown into hourly expectation of nuclear war. The idea of Disarmament was so long related only to conventional weapons which produced no dangers in peace nor affected the civilians in war. The nuclear weapons have, on the other hand, become a menace to the present as well as to the future generations of mankind whose genetics are affected by radiation in peace as well as in war. In its effects, the nuclear weapons do not make any discrimination between combatants and civilians and affect not only those who are born but also those yet to be born. Mankind is thus faced with a new kind of problem which was never faced before. The question of Disarmament has accordingly assumed a new significance.

The atom bomb is not a poor man's weapon.

For its production a nation needs a large output of electric powers, an industry to produce precision instruments, an advanced chemical and electronics industry, supply of atomic raw materials and above all a large number of atomic scientists assisted by a larger number of skilled men and engineers. Moreover, either heavy bombers are necessary to deliver the atomic missiles on their targets or long range guided missiles will be necessary. Obviously, a poor nation cannot afford to have all these and so only the Big Powers can possess the nuclear weapons.

Every nuclear invention however, involves tests and experiments. These tests are dangerous to mankind not only to its present generation but also to the future. The radiations have both somatic and genetic effects on man. It was, therefore, felt that some sort of a moratorium should be agreed upon in regard to nuclear tests. The three Big Powers, namely, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. agreed on a *de facto* moratorium which prevailed for nearly three years till the end of October, 1961. Within this period no atomic tests were carried out with the exception of four in Sahara staged by France who was, however, not a party to the moratorium.

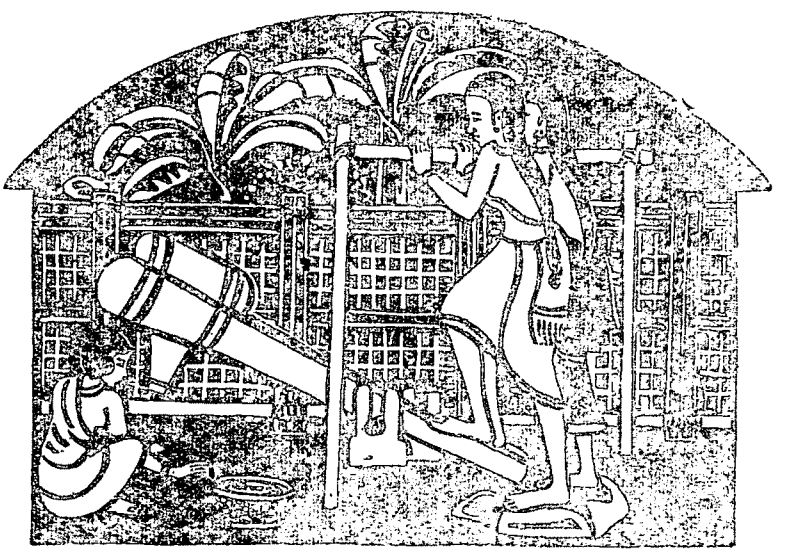
While the U.S.S.R. has exploded the bomb contaminating the atmosphere, the U.S.A. has recently announced her intention not to carry out any tests in the atmosphere unless of course it is forced on them in the interest of national security or world peace. It is a great relief to learn that there will be no race in nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Nevertheless the moratorium having once been violated, there is no guarantee that violations will not be repeated by the U.S.S.R. The question of nuclear tests and Disarmament, therefore, has become all the more important.

The U.N's General Assembly of 1958 urged the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and the U.K. to negotiate a Tests Ban Treaty with international control. The problem which was encountered was first to determine the nature of such treaty and secondly, the details as regards the personnel to be in-charge of control, inspection and executive operations of the proposed treaty. The problem was also whether the treaty should be concluded with or without moratorium. It was agreed, however, that the supreme organ of the treaty would be the Control Commission besides which there will be an executive. According to the Soviet proposal the executive would consist of 3 representatives,—one each from the NATO, the Warsaw Pact and non-aligned countries to act on the basis of unanimity. The Western Powers however proposed that the executive will be a single neutral administrator removable by the decision of any 7 of the 11 members of the proposed Control Commission. The Control Commission in their proposal would consist of 4 representatives from Western Powers, 4 from the Soviet Bloc and 3 from non-aligned countries. The Western Powers also proposed that half of the inspection teams would consist of neutral nations and the oher half to be evenly balanced between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. with the provison that the nationals of a country being inspected could go only as observers without authority to report and nationals of a country could not be at the heat of control posts if such posts are located in their country. The U.S.S.R. was not agreeable to allow non-Soviet nationals to inspect control posts in the U.S.S.R. on the ground that they will be used as instruments of espionage. The U.S.S.R. also held the view that control without General Disarmament will not solve the problem at all. In other words the U.S.S.R. urges a treaty of General Disarmament first to be followed by agreement on control and ban on nuclear tests.

It is, therefore, a moot question as to whether first the tests should be banned to be followed by General Disarmament with controls and inspection or vice-versa. This question apart, enforcement through inspection would be full of difficulties. Nuclear facts admit of elastic interpretetions which may go against reaching unanimous opinions and evaluations. Reliable inspection today will depend on control of Uranium and Thorium mining but while mines can be effectively camouflaged against detection of other materials at a future date could also serve as atomic raw materials without the knowledge

of the inspectorate. Moreover, thorough inspection will mean that nations must handover the results of all nuclear researches to the inspectorate. But this may be resented as incompatible with state-sovereignty. Moreover, inspection to be effective, requires access to all industrial plants and this may not be agreed to by all nations. Inspection would also require information and intelligence which can only be obtained through the co-operation of the native populace. Such co-operation is obviously impossible to get in view of the existing laws of nations of espionage and treason. Moreover, such an inspection can be conducted only by scientists and according to an estimate prepared by the Lienthal Committee, inspection of only one diffusion plant will require as many as 300 inspectors. Nuclear tests and experiments may also be carried out in such a way that the same may be mistaken for earthquakes as the explosion of the Russian Megaton Bomb was originally mistaken for such. Again if manufacture of nuclar weapons is banned by Disarmament and if some countries abide by the ban and the others do not, violators will continue to increase their advantage of advanced knowledge over the non-violators endangering the security of the latter. Inspection will achieve nothing except detecting the violations. For there can be no effective sanction against nuclear violators by non-nuclear non-violators.

One thing is, however, certain. More tests will mean more inventions and more inventions will mean more varieties of nuclear weapons. This will make inspection and control more difficult and so also Disarmament. While the nations will continue to disagree on methods of control, inspection and the composition of the control Commission and the Inspectorate, there is no disagreement over the danger of nuclear explosions to mankind. That is why India has always urged the powers to agree to a moratorium on atomic tests. For after all first thing should come first.



NATIONAL INTEGRATION

A Study of Its Administrative Aspects

By SUBHASH CHANDRA MEHTA, M.A., M.D.P.A.

I

We have been accustomed, of late, to hear the slogan "national integration" side by side with "economic and social planning" and "non-involvement" in foreign policy. National integration is nothing less than the unification of a people divided from one another by innumerable castes, three or four major religions, by at least three cultures, and by about 15 languages—not to speak of centuries old mutual suspicion, distrust, animosities, even hatred. The problem is to make the peoples, so diverse and divided, one people, politically united, patriotic, living and working for the country as a whole, subordinating the interests of class, community or culture to the interests of the country. "My country," and "the interests of my country above smaller interests of my family, or caste or community" must become the basis of conduct of every citizen. We have to make Indians out of Malayalis, Punjabis, Bengalis, Assamese, Hindustanis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Gujeratis, Maharashtrians and Kashmiris so that freedom and independence of the country may not be lost.

It is no easy task, but even with the dividing influences and tendencies in our country, which it is no use crying over, for they are hard facts, we must try to strengthen the forces that unite the people. As the best way of dealing with wasting diseases is to strengthen the body, the best way of curing India of the consequences of fissiparous tendencies is to strengthen the body-politic by fostering the forces that unite. The administration has an important role to play in this matter and it is to this administrative aspect of national integration that we propose concentrating our attention in the present study.

II

Strong Central Government

The precious legacy from the British of a strong Central Government should not only be cherished but also strengthened. But if it is to be strong, all superfluous departments like those of Education, Health, Agriculture and Industry which, under the constitution are primarily and principally the concern of the State Governments should be lopped off, and these subjects commited to the care of a single department of National Welfare, as in the U.S.A., to administer the grants and subsidies from the Central Government to the States and the work of research, co-ordination and stimulation on these subjects of administration.

If the Central Government were restricted to the administration of the truly central subjects like Defence, Foreign Affairs, Internal Security, Trade and Commerce, National Communications, it would be a really strong Central Government. Restraint is the secret of strength in Governments as in individuals.

The All-India Services

The Constitution provides for two All-India Services, the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service. The Parliament is empowered under Art. 312(1) to create new All-India Services common to the Union and the States on a resolution of the Rajya Sabha supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting declaring that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest to do so. The *raison d'etre* of creating All-India Services, is that officers, on whom the brunt of the responsibility for administration will inevitably fall, may develop a wide All-India outlook.

The States Reorganisation Commission recommended that in the interests of 'correcting particularist trends and also in securing greater inter-State co-ordination for the efficient implementations of All-India policies,' about 50 per cent of the new direct entrants in any cadre of All-India Services should be from outside the

State. This recommendation has been accepted by the Government of India in principle and though no rigid rules have been framed, it is kept in view in making allottments to the State cadres of the I.A.S. and I.P.S. The Government has also accepted in principle the S. R. C.'s recommendation concerning the requirement of one-third of the number of High Court Judges from outside the State.

The S. R. C. had also recommended that the Chairman and members of the Public Service Commissions in the States should be appointed by the President. Unfortunately this suggestion was rejected by the State Governments. Should this be accepted, it would become difficult for the Ministers to push members of their caste and community into posts for which they are not fit, to the frustration and discontent of members of minority communities, who may not have any god-fathers in the Government.

Another important recommendation of the S.R.C., related to the creation of All-India Engineering, Forests and Health Services on the plea that the Central and State Governments have to work in very close co-operation in executing important development projects, which necessitates that technical personnel should be recruited and trained on a common basis and that they should have uniform standards of efficiency and also the feeling of belonging to common and important cadres. It is a happy sign that very recently Parliament has, though after a period of about six years when this recommendation was made, approved of a resolution of the Government for the creation of these three All-India Services. These services should be constituted without any further delay.

At the recent National Integration Conference views were expressed strongly that in the interest of greater uniformity and cohesion of policy, education should be made a concurrent subject, or at least for administrative purposes, an All-India Educational Service, should be constituted. The desirability of creating this service is a matter deserving immediate attention.

The S. R. C. had also emphasised that unless the system of rotation to and from the Centre was observed on a regular basis, the advantage in the matter of developing an All-India outlook will become illusory. It is deplored that at the present there is a marked tendency among the public servants, particularly to at the senior level, to get themselves posted at the Centre and then to 'stick on' to it. Every effort is made to foil any attempt of posting them back to the States. This trend needs to be checked at the earliest.

Equality of Opportunity in Matters of Public Employment

The Constitution guarantees equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters of public employment except that the State may provide for reservation of posts in favour of Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 16 of the Constitution provides; (1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State; (2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment of office under the State.

The Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957, bans all domicile restrictions, which had previously existed in some States for purposes of recruitment except in certain specified areas.

Unfortunately domicile restrictions on public employment of an indirect form have been placed in some States by insistence upon a degree or diploma conferred by educational institutions located within the State or recognised by it or by providing that the candidate must possess an adequate knowledge of or take a competitive test in the regional language. The Punjab Public Service Commission, for instance, requires every candidate for the Provincial Civil Service to take examination in two papers of Hindi and Punjabi of the degree standard which in effect means debarring all non-Punjabi candidates from competing. Even a large number of Punjabi candidates belonging to the Hindi region of the State find themselves in an extremely disadvantageous position. Likewise many other States have made Hindi a compulsory subject for competitive examinations which amounts to the complete exclusion of non-Hindi speaking candidates.

The S. R. C., found that in one State domicile rules were applied not only to determine eligibility for appointment to the public services but also to regulate the awards of contracts and rights in respect of fisheries, ferries, toll-bridges and excise shops. The State Governments and Local Bodies have generally shown a marked preference for residents of their States in the matter of employment and this has at times created considerable resentment among non-residents.

Recently with the rapid expansion of public sector enterprises, the question of recruitment of personnel for them has become a matter of great importance. The Central Government formulated in mid-1960 a policy for recruitment to public undertakings after consultation with the managing directors and general managers of the major projects, keeping in view the issue of reconciling the claims to employment of the people of the State or region where the undertaking is located with the undertaking's needs of technical and managerial skill to run it efficiently and effectively. Under this new scheme, local people are recruited almost as a matter of fact in the labour force and to clerical and administrative posts carrying a salary of less than Rs. 350 per month. For posts with salaries ranging from Rs. 350 to Rs. 650 per month, candidates from all parts of the country are eligible and these posts are advertised nationally but other things being equal local people are preferred. For the higher managerial and technical jobs, recruitment is through an All-India competition and solely on merit. A representative of the Government of the State in which the central undertaking is located is associated with all selections made by the undertaking. This naturally results in a certain amount of bias in favour of the local candidates. Steps should, therefore, be taken to discourage considerations other than merit.

Preferential Treatment to the Weaker Sections in Public Services

The Constitution provides for reservations in appointments in the public services for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward classes. The Government of India's policy in the matter has been to reserve for Scheduled Castes 12½ per cent of all vacancies filled by direct recruitment in the case of posts and services recruitment to which is made on an All-India basis by open competition; 16 1|3 per cent in the case of similar vacancies filled directly or otherwise; and for Scheduled Tribes 5 per cent of all the vacancies filled by direct recruitment. by open competition or otherwise. The Central Government, however, does not make any reservations, in the services for the 'other Backward classes'. Similar policies have been evolved by the State Governments in the matter of reservation and they have made provisions for 'other Backward classes' also. In some departments of the Centre as well as the States, the reservation has been extended even to promotions. The Railway Ministry has been reserving 15 per cent of promotions to the Scheduled Castes.

The reservation of appointments and promotions in the services for Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backward classes, which is intended to provide for their rightful share in administration, contains within itself a basic contradiction; it tends to create vested interest in backwardness and aggravates class and caste consciousness as these groups are classified on the basis of castes. Reservations in matters of promotion is very often responsible for extensive heart-burning and discontent. It is evident that for everyone who is promoted purely on a caste basis, there may be ten or more who feel that their merit had been unjustly ignored. If a number of such cases of preferential treatment takes place, it is conceivable that the consequence will be the creation of a very considerable army of disgruntled and demoralized officials who can be a serious liability to the administration. In recent years, there has been a growing recognition that backwardness should be defined in terms of economic and cultural criteria. The Estimates Committee has recommended that weaker sections of the society should be determined on the basis of economic status and educational and social backwardness. The Study Group on the welfare of the weaker sections of the village community has, in its recent report, defined the weaker sections as families whose annual income is less than Rs. 1.000. Priority assistance has been recommended to those families whose income is less than Rs. 250 per year. Families whose income is less than Rs. 250 per year are classified as 'destitutes'. It

is time that a more rational criteria of backwardness be evolved. However, till the present policy of reservation on the basis of caste is continued. it is necessary to fix the percentage of reservation differently for different services and posts. In regard to Class I and Technical posts, candidates from the backward classes with the requisite qualifications may not be available. If the present quota is to be made up, the percentage of reservation in Class III and Class IV services should be proportionately increased.

Official Language

To try to make Hindi emotionally acceptable to all before it becomes a springboard for upward mobility is to put the cart before the horse. Once Hindi joins English at the pinnacle of preeminence, the non-Hindi-speaking people will learn it with increased enthusiasm. Gradually a basic knowledge of Hindi may be made compulsory for the Central Services and as a factor in promotion from regional to central services. But a non-Hindi-speaking person must not be at a disadvantage as against a Hindi-speaking person.

A beginning has been made in the Government of India towards the use of Hindi in addition to English for the various official purposes. All ministries have been requested to make arrangements for :—(i) issuing government resolutions hereafter in Hindi also; (ii) for ensuring, as far as possible (a) that by the end of 1961-62, all Hindi letters are replied to in Hindi and (b) that by the end of 1963-64, Hindi is used in addition to English, generally for correspondence with States which have adopted Hindi as their official language; (iii) for headings of forms, registers, etc.; (iv) for noting on files as an experimental measure in selected sections in the Secretariat where the bulk of staff has a working knowledge of Hindi; (v) for noting, on files, where feasible, also in the local offices of Central Government Departments which are situated in Hindi speaking areas.

The Presidential Order of April 27, 1960 also provides that :

An optional Hindi language paper may be introduced in competitive examinations for recruitment to All-India Services and Higher Central Services. Candidates selected on the results of the competition who qualify in this paper may be exempted from appearing and passing at the Hindi departmental test after recruitment. In recruitment to public services under the State Government also language should not be a bar. Besides the official language of the State, option should be given of using English or Hindi as the medium of examination. A test of proficiency in the official language of the State may be held after selection and before the end of probation. Moreover, degrees or diplomas granted by all universities or institutions recognised by the U.G.C. should be accepted in all States for purposes of recruitment.

Inter-State Relations

Two main causes of tensions in inter-state relations have been disputes about state boundaries and about the use of river waters or the execution of river projects in one State for the benefit of the other. The Zonal Councils provide a useful agency for inter-state co-operation. They can discuss and make recommendations with regard to any matter of common interest in the field of economic and social planning or questions like border disputes, linguistic minorities. inter-state transport, etc. Provision also exists for the holding of joint meetings of two or more Zonal Councils. Some of them have in recent years taken decisions in matters of raising common police forces and their training, and coordination in the matter of development of power. It would be, perhaps, useful to set up an inter-state Council under Article 263 of the Constitution for :

(i) Inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between States;

(ii) Investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the States, or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest; and

(iii) making recommendations upon any such subject.

Economic Planning

Planning has created some new tensions, resentment and dissatisfaction among the States in

the matter of allocation of Plan resources, location of training institutes, priorities about new industrial projects, etc. The competing claims of the different States, particularly economically backward States, are creating great tension. The National Integration Conference held recently recognised, the importance of regional balance in economic development as a positive factor for promoting national integration. The conference felt that a rapid development of the economically backward States and regions in any State should be given priority in national and the State plans at least to the extent that a minimum level of development is reached for all States within a stated period. This suggestion needs effective implementation.

These are, in short, some of the administrative aspects of national integration which need serious consideration. The move to shift some of the offices of the Central Government from New Delhi to other parts of the country, whose location is not so essential in the capital, if encouraged, could be another step in the same direction. High degree of integrity of civil servants with an unbiased approach to every problem on its merits is no less important.

NATIONALISM AND PROSPECT OF CIVILISATION

Prof. C. L. CHAKRABORTTY, M.A.

It is well-known that the 15th Century Renaissance hurled Europe into the throes of a series of religious, social and economic revolutions. The intellectual movement led human minds to be critical of existing religious practice and profession. For, religion being the dominating factor, and change in the social set up in the light of new thoughts necessarily encountered opposition from the supporters of the existing institutions, leading to the great schism between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. In the course of the struggle, the religious questions receded into the background while the social and economic questions assumed greater importance. As a matter of fact, the feudal economic structure of Europe had been changing slowly long before the outbreak of the religious quarrel. Small factories were appearing and assuming greater importance in the economy of various European countries since the middle ages showing thereby signs of rift in the prevailing economic system. Merchant middle class began to extend their trade and commerce first internally and, after the geographical discoveries, internationally. They were beginning to amass great wealth and hence sought power by controlling the state apparatus while the feudal lords wasted their wealth and energy by quarreling among themselves. The Catholic religion frowned upon these new developments and got determined to stamp them out while Protestantism became the refuge of the emergent forces. These phenomena would explain why the religious quarrel was ultimately transformed into a struggle for economic and political supremacy of the middle class. Thus Europe took a step towards the development of Capitalism over the disintegration of feudalism.

In the social and political spheres these struggles ushered in unprecedented developments in that the European society freed itself from religious obsessions and medieval obsolencence. Scientific inventions and speculations developed with concomitant effects on technological progress; realism became the predominant feature of arts and literature.

Politically, the medieval concept of universal empire was beginning to be replaced by the formation of nation states. After the conclusion of the Hundred Years War between England and France a faint glimmer of nationalism was discernible in both the countries. This process was further accelerated in England by Wycliff and his followers in their attempt to free the English

religious institutions from the domination of Rome. The translation of the Bible into English intensified the process. Through subsequent phases of the history of the country nationalism continued to gather momentum till it became a dominant force with the defeat of the Armada in the reign of Elizabeth. Another commercial state of Europe, Holland, also made headway towards forging a nation state as a result of their long drawn struggle and ultimate victory over the tyranny of Philip II of Spain. France also was marching forward to power and statehood through the struggle for national unification by reducing the power of the feudal lords since the reign of Louis XI. It is clear, therefore, that European nationalism emerged out of religious conflicts, deriving its main support from the middle class who favoured it as they could realise that strong national states would be helpful to their commercial aspirations. They also supported strong centralised monarchies that would lay the foundation of national unity on a solid basis. Such was at least the state of affairs upto the 17th Century. But there was no fixed principle and whenever in the subsequent period the middle class thought that the monarchs were not acting to augment their interests, they stood against them by invoking the ideal of democracy and clamoured for representative governments. And in this attempt they unconsciously strengthened nationalism by carrying its ideals amongst the masses, thereby broadening its sphere and making the people articulate and relatively conscious participants in every urgent social issue. Prof. MacIver aptly commented that "The sense of nationality could not develop until men learned their participation in a common life, in the service of which authority was maintained and justified."[1]

II

"Nationalism as we understand it is not older than the second half of the 18th Century. Its first great manifestation was the French Revolution, which gave the new movement an increased dynamic force."[2] French Revolution which was initially a liberal movement for social, economic and political reforms and for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, took a violent turn due to the inflexibility of the reactionary ruling class. The whole movement thus came to be dominated by the extremists who were determined to overhaul the entire system. When the 'emigres' began to conspire with the European monarchs to overthrow the Revolution the passion of the third estate rose to a fever heat resulting in the ascendancy of Jacobinism. No longer the Revolution remained an internal affair of France but assumed a European character in that the Jacobins got determined to carry the idea of the Revolution across the frontier at the point of bayonet partially out of zeal and partially for their very survival. The sense of a supreme national danger bound the French people closely inbibing a sense of extreme nationalism which is termed by Prof. Hayes as Jacobin or militant nationalism. It was intolerant of any dissent and fanatical in its zeal.

The common men of Europe who were oppressed by the feudal lords and feudal kings were not as yet animated by nationalism and patriotism. Hence to them the Revolutionary armies under Napoleon appeared as liberators, rather than as conquerors or oppressors. But paradoxically enough with the change of situation the same force generated nationalism in the minds of the people who subsequently grew conscious of a sense of national humiliation; now Napoleon appeared not as a liberator but as a tyrant. The hide-bound reactionary monarchs of Europe began to realise their hopeless condition and, willy-nilly, had to introduce various reforms and share power, though in a very restricted manner, with the third estate. When Napoleon introduced the continental system thereby ruining the economy of Europe and rode roughshod over the sentiments of the people of Spain and Portugal, nationalism asserted itself and roused the people of every rank to make it a common cause so as to reassert their national

1. *Modern State*, p. 123.

2. Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, p. 3.

dignity. And the ultimate defeat of Napoleon was crystallized into nationalism throughout Europe.

It should be noted that modern nationalism was accompanied with democratic ideas which gradually animated the people of every section in shaping the destiny of respective nations. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries since the leadership of the government and society was the prerogative of a particular class nationalism and patriotism were confined within a narrow circle while the masses were merely the beasts of burden. The French Revolution caused a great change. But by the peace settlement of Vienna the powers sought to put Europe back to this condition again denying the people of the rights for which they had so stubbornly fought. In spite of initial success in suppressing democratic revolutions in Germany, Eastern Europe, Italy, Hungary and so on, the reactionary powers of Europe had to conpitulate before the rising tide of patriotism of different nationalities of Europe. The ideal of nationalism and the principle of nation states triumphed in most of the European countries. Nationalism thus became a moving and creative force which penetrated into every sphere of human society : politics, economics, arts and literature. In fact, in many respects it also became a religion that roused the passion of the people ; later on interested circles fanned this passion and drove Europe gradually towards a fearful destiny.

As we have already noticed, the idea of nationalism, followed in the wake of economic and political revolutions, heralded the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie were in the vanguard of the democratic movements that continued unabated roughly from the latter part of the 18th Century, because of the fact that up to a particular stage democratic slogans, rights and privileges coalesced with their economic interest, i.e., expansion of capitalism. But as soon as they were secure in power and privilege they forgot the ideal of liberal nationalism of Bentham, Guizot and Mazzini. The nationalist sentiment came to be exploited to their economic ends which ultimately gave it an aggressive character. The newly industrialised countries such as Germany and Italy started looking around for colonies, so also England and France, the old colonial powers, came forward to share in the loot. This led to imperialistic rivalries resulting in partition of Africa and Asia. The European nations, nonetheless, knew no satisfaction and in their bid to get bigger and bigger shares ultimately got involved in what was called the first global war. Thus nationalism which was a vehicle of human progress up to a stage, now became a tool in the hands of the reactionary war-mongers and chauvinists ; the plea of economic crises and national emergency made their in-roads into the democratic rights of the people.

While tracing the emergence of aggressive nationalism it must also be noted that a few advanced thinkers, like Grotius, Bentham, etc., tried to impress upon the politicians the necessity of international codes of behaviour and understanding. But all these had no major or immediate effects in an atmosphere surcharged with greed and hatred. In spite of the realisation of the fact from time to time that international cooperation was necessary for the preservation of human civilisation the idea did not percolate either to the scheming politicians or the masses who were being fed by the chauvinistic glorification of nation states. So the people of different states continued to slaughter one another in the name of patriotism.

III.

History moves independent of the will of any individual or group and this was borne out by the fact that the aftermath of the First World War brought forth such unprecedented and unimaginable forces on the surface as was least expected by the imperialist powers. One was the Socialist Revolution in Russia and the other was the rise of nationalism in Asia—the former holding a threat to the capitalist system by encouraging the working people to launch revolutionary struggle for the establishment of their democratic and economic rights, while the latter animated the people of Asia to emulate the progressive movements of the West which enthused them to end the imperialist domination by waging

relentless struggles against it. And in the course of such struggles, as Sardar Panikkar has pointed out, "the development of nationalism in Asia as an overriding loyalty to the state embodying a continuous tradition and supposed to represent a single people .... arose out of resistance to foreign rule."[3]

The period intervening between the two World Wars was a period of shrinking of democratic rights and the growth of what Prof. Hayes called an "integral nationalism" that was intolerant of all opposition and criticism and intensely militant in its fervour and thoroughness. The Western democracy was in mortal fear of communism which provided them with a handle to crush the democratic rights of their own people. Similarly, Communist Russia was afraid of capitalist encirclement and conspiracy to inspire counter-revolution which made their proletarian dictatorship very rigid at the cost of the freedom of the people. The result was that everywhere the 'Leviathan' raised its head ominously. The Western democracies in their dread for communism encouraged fascist dictatorship in Germany, Italy, Spain and reaction everywhere. This proved that they were not so much worried about the preservation of the democratic ideal as the maintenance of the system which ensured their privileges at any cost. The League of Nations to which the weaker nations were looking for justice was soon turned into a platform of power-politics and international rivalry. Yet nothing could save them, for the second global war, like the previous one, drove imperialism to fight rear-guard battles. So far as Asia was concerned, the Second World War helped its freedom movement further as the hold of the imperialist powers over their colonies slackened and in many cases they had to made compromises with Asian nationalism in order to enlist the support of the people of these countries in their war efforts. On the other hand, a vast area of Europe and the Far East went over to the communists. All these happenings have their concomitant effect on the state which to-day, has grown authoritarian encouraging thereby the aggressive nationalism further. Everywhere the totalitarian tendency is manifest under various pretexts. While scientific and technological progress point to the necessity of political and economic fusion of the world, the age-old traditions are pulling it backward. And in effect, "modern nationalism signifies a more or less purposeful effort to revive primitive tribalism on an enlarged and more artificial scale."[4]

IV.

The basic idea of nationalism,—the love of one's country and preparedness to make supreme sacrifice for it at the time of great crisis, dates long back into the past. When different tribes fought among themselves to retain what they considered to be their traditional rights they fought with no less exemplary patriotism than the modern man. When Greece was threatened by the Persians, the same spirit bound the Greek states together to save their Hellenic culture from the barbarians. Nationalism arose, therefore, from the natural fact of one's love of one's country and environment and from this narrow beginning it started its tortuous march forward until it became a great force of history and civilisation by the eighteenth century. At different phases of history different elements helped its development, such as, race, religion, language, the fear of foreign invasion or domination by a foreign power—each in its turn helped expand the sweep of nationalism. To-day, of course, it is difficult to attribute nationalism exclusively to these factors including the possession of sovereign state as an indispensable pre-requisite. The concept has come to assume a dynamic import in that even the Jews, who have neither a homeland nor a state of their own, form a nation because of the very feeling of nationalism that has been moving them towards a cherished goal. Prof. Laski, therefore, says that it, "is essentially spiritual in character."[5] Spenglar also shares

3. *Asia and Western Dominance*, p. 320.

4. Hayes, *Evolution of Modern Nationalism.*

5. *Grammar of Politics*, pp. 219-20.

somewhat similar views. Therefore, the idea today cuts through the affinities of race, language, narrow tradition and so on. The modern states like the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., India, Pakistan, justify the present trend.

Nationalism, as we have examined it, helped broaden and enshrine human rights, liberated the people from thraldom, vindicated human dignity and encouraged their cultures. On the other hand, it has also created great internal and international problems.

It has already been noted that modern nationalism was accompanied with industrialism and democracy which upto a stage worked well towards the integration of different European nationalities. But later on it created various problems; since the existing democratic institutions were chiefly the preserve of the dominant class, it could not cope with the economic demands and political aspirations of the majority of the people who now became immensely conscious of their rightful place in the life of the nation. And as a result society was divided against itself; labour trouble started and the vast army of unemployed filled these countries with dangerous possibilities. Industrial capitalism could not solve these, while socialism held out the beacon of hope to the people which taught them to think in terms of two nations in every country—'haves' and 'have nots'. This introduced a definite breach in the hitherto monolithic character of the modern nation states. Socialism rejected nationalism as such but championed the cause of proletarian internationalism even though it remained chiefly in the realm of an ideal.

The Western democracies were inextricably involved in the system, hence they had to stop the progress of socialism, which held out a threat to their domination, by embarking on international wars thereby diverting the attention of the people from social maladies.[6] War exercises human passion to a fever heat, creates narrowness in human mind and gradually dehumanises them. War, similarly, encourages the baser elements of nationalism to such an extent as to make all progressive movements, temporarily at least, inadequate to tackle it and this is borne out by the fact that the socialists who were opposed to the First World War in the initial stage, became its rabid supporters in the course of its progress. How strong has been the influence of nationalism will be clear when we look at the fact "that such originally non-nationalist doctrines as economic liberalism and Marxian socialism have been altered in practice until they have come to partake of nationalist character."[7]

"Industrialism", wrote B. Russell, "has in various ways contributed to the growth of nationalism, while it has for the first time in history produced the technical possibility of a supra-national government for the whole world."[8] But the vested interests everywhere are putting hindrances in the way of evolution of nationalism to internationalism by exciting national pride and prejudice. Even though at critical moments nations often sit together to solve outstanding international problems, yet such attempts have failed to produce any lasting effect. "So long as the majority of civilised mankind continue to feel that their only social obligation is to their own country, and that for its own advancement they are justified in inflicting any degree of damage upon people of other countries, so long no diplomatic arrangements or political reforms can produce a tolerable world."[9]

The problems posed by nationalism, therefore, must not be viewed in isolation but as a world problem, hence to be tackled in their totality. Mere granting of national independence to the subjugated countries as the solvent of international conflicts, as some suggest, also holds no truth when we recall the instances of freed nationalities coveting the territories of other people and

6. Vide, B. Russel, *Selected Papers*, (Modern Library), pp. 261-62.

7. Hayes, *Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, pp. 296-97.

8. B. Russell, *Selected Papers*, (Modern Library), pp. 261-62.

9. *Ibid*, p. 260.

persecuting them on that score. Poland bears testimony to this contention, for, after the attainment of her own freedom, she launched attacks upon Soviet Russia, taking advantage of its weakness, for some territorial gain. Therefore, so long nations move with the ideal of Frederik the Great, "Take whatever you can if you are not obliged to give back," so long there can be no end of bickerings.

If it is agreed that human civilisation is worthwhile saving from complete disintegration, a rearrangement, to begin with, of the entire economic postulates of the modernnation states is necessary, for, with "economic nationalism" is inextricably bound up all questions of political nationalism which "under the present condition with the main trend of human affairs, which is away from isolation towards interdependence . . . . Democracy and industrialism, the two forces which rose simultaneously with nationalism and spread with it over the world, have both today outgrown the national connection."[10]

All these facts nations may ignore at the peril of human civilisation especially when the destructive potentialities of modern warfare have grown so alarmingly vast. Nations either must live together or destroy one another. That the willingness to live together is still there is evident from the occasional diplomatic conferences and meetings of the Heads of States and the presence of the U.N.O. to hold the ring in the strife. Whatever might have been the limitations, an organisation like the U.N.O. is in perfect tune with modern developments. Even though it may sound like metaphysical speculation at this stage, the future of humanity seems to depend upon the merging of nations. But that would be a far cry until the problems of economic exploitation, both internal and external, by the industrially advanced countries could be solved on an egalitarian principle. Similarly, the recognition of the right of national self-determination of all oppressed nationalities is also a necessity of the greatest magnitude so as to lesson the international tension and fuse human community into a harmonious whole.[11] If human affairs would be thus properly arranged and narrow elements of passion, prejudice and selfish economic motives could be banished from the relations of international communities, it could then be conceivable that nationalism and internationalism would no longer remain antagonistic, but would rather evolve out to be complementary to each other. And as a first step towards that, a workable hypothesis of world government, based on the principle of federalism, should be arranged, otherwise the problems posed by nationalism will engulf the entire edifice of human civilisation built with the toils and tears of centuries.

Such then being the desired ideal, the advanced-minded people of every country must work untiringly for its achievement. But the actual condition is quite different. Admittedly, when international relations, are examined in the light of the present rivalries amongst the nations, all probabilities of amity fade away. Like individuals, nations also seem to suffer from narrow selfishness and greed; it appears as if the basic instincts make nations hostile to one another. As such all talks of merging of nations or organisation of a world government are ostensibly shorn of realities. In fact, there is no getting out of this rut and even a great historian like Toyenbee has to look, perhaps out of desperation, for the advent of another Christ for the salvation of humanity.[12]

Yet, however, this is a superficial view. History furnishes us with enough evidence that more than once human spirit asserted itself when different civilisations at different times were going to be overwhelmed by the deluge of barbarism. Since the beginning of the disintegration of the Roman Empire down to the wars of the present century we find, over and over again, ample evidence in support of this contention. Nobody, it is true, can correctly visualise what lies in the womb of the future; it is past experience that helps us to construct a plan of hope and promise, for

10. Hans Kohn, *The Ideal of Nationalism*, pp. 22-23.

11. See, Lenin, *Selected works*, pp. 270-71.

12. See, *Civilisation on Trial.*

despondency will only spell disaster. Keeping this in mind it may be expected that the nations will feel the urge from within for coming together being impelled by the very instinct for self-preservation and sink all their outstanding differences as soon as they would feel how insignificant and helpless they are today amidst their own creation of destructive forces. This very consciousness introduces a new element which would probably inspire the spirit of man with the desire to live and let live. And in this way a new world may emerge in which even if nations continue to exist as categories of variegated culture, they are likely to merge all their exclusive interests with a view to enriching the common interests of human civilisation through a common international organisation. Man must, of necessity, fulfil his destiny by properly organising his affairs by his own initiative and resolve the contradiction between the scientific and technological progress and the inertia of obsolete traditions, instead of looking on helplessly for the intercession of a prophet or a messiah for his salvation.

SYRIA AFTER THE SEPARATION

By CHANAKYA SEN

THE political life of Syria has always been marked by torpid restlessness. In this respect Syria has had much in common with pre-De Gaulle France. Between 1948 and 1955, Syria had fifteen Cabinets, five *coup d'etats*—three of them in a single year, between March and December, 1949. There were three Cabinet changes in 1948—on August 19, August 23, and December 1; three again in 1949, in May, August and December; once in 1950, in the month of March; thrice again in 1951, in August, November and December; once in 1952, in June; and thrice once again in 1954, in June, on October 14 and October 31; and twice in 1955, in February and September.

All the five *coup d'etats* between 1948 and 1955, were engineered by the Army. The *coup d'etat* of March 30, 1949, was followed by two more in the same year, on August 14 and December 19. There was another *coup d'etat* on November 28. 1951 and still one more on February 25, 1954. The leaders of these army movements were General Husni Zaim, Colonel Hinawi and Colonel Shishaklv.

In the 1955 elections Shukri el-Kouatly was elected President. He had gone in self-chosen exile to Cairo and had witnessed the 1952 Egyptian revolution and how it was trying to work out a new society. In the 1955 elections the Baath Socialists had acquired a position of vantage and they had joined coalition government with other liberal parties. It is this coalition which gave Syria political stability for a fairly long period of more than three years. During the Suez crisis the Syrian Government stood firmly by Egypt. Not only did it give total moral support to Egypt, the Syrian pipeline through which oil from Iraq flows to the Mediterranean ports was cut at several places and completely immobilized, even at considerable loss to the Syrian exchequer. And it was during and after the Suez crisis that the idea to join Egypt in a bigger Arab State took shape in Syria.

The United Arab Republic project was born not in Cairo but in Damascus. Many explanations have been offered for this sudden change in the Syrian outlook. One common explanation is that the Syrian Communist Party, numerically the largest in the Arab world and the best organized, was emerging as a formidable force and the Nationalist and Baath Socialist leaders thought that the only way to curb the Communist influence was to join hands with President Nasser. This, however, appears to be only a partial explanation. There is no reason to doubt that in Syria there was a high tide of Arab nationalism in 1957 and 1958. A highly emotional people always ready to fight for a cause, volatile in character and restless in spirit, the Syrian people were suddenly fired with a dream of a United Arab Nation and they determined to be the first Arab country to merge its entity into a bigger Arab entity. The dream of a United Arab land

has run through the history of the Arabs for many centuries. Even under the Ottoman Empire the geographical unity of the Arab world has been maintained. It was only after the First World War that Britain and France joined together to carve the Arab homeland into several separate political states. The history of Arab division, therefore, is not more than fortyfive years old. And yet the nation-states had taken such strong roots that all Arab endeavour to merge national frontiers ended in failure. The Syrians in a moment of emotional exuberance decided to give the lead.

The movement for the merger began in Syria in 1957. There were physical as well as other difficulties for the merger; but the Syrians were ready to surmount them. There are no land frontiers between Egypt and Syria; they are separated by a hostile Israel and can communicate only by sea or air. The economy of the two countries is substantially different. Egypt with a larger population and a smaller cultivable area is more industrialized; Syria was more or less an agricultural country, its economy largely controlled by a small number of rich families. Agriculture was to a large extent mechanized but economic power was concentrated in a small coterie of landed capitalists. Politically also Syria was much less stable than Egypt. Unlike Egypt, Syria had a powerful middle-class, politically conscious but almost always dissatisfied with the existing state of things. It is these factors and also the widespread Western propaganda that Egypt under Nesser was out to grab the other Arab countries, that President Nasser was hesitant about the merger proposal when it was brought to him in Cairo by a powerful Syrian delegation in 1957. The issue was debated for several days. President Nasser insisted on a full democratic process—adoption of a merger resolution by the Syrian Parliament, its ratification by a joint session of the Parliaments of Syria and Egypt and the final approval of the merger plan by a plebiscite throughout Syria. All these points were readily agreed upon. The Syrian Army gave its full support to the merger and after it had been approved by the Syrian Parliament, the proposal was ratified at a joint session of the two Parliaments in Damascus on November 18, 1957. Within three months the United Arab Republic was formally inaugurated.

It lasted nearly three years. For the Arab world this period was momentous and eventful. Civil war broke out in the Lebanon, a revolution overtook Iraq, and political tension in Jordan and Saudi Arabia heightened. The Arab kaleidoscope underwent startling and momentous changes. The sum-total of these changes was resurgence of nationalist forces. Even in the backward kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the King had to introduce, for the first time, certain financial and political reforms. In the Lebanon, a new nationalist regime came into power after the withdrawal of the American troops. In Jordan, however, King Hussein was able to maintain his regime with British help, but there were deep layers of political unrest under the placid surface.

In any historical assessment of this period, the constructive role of what has come to be termed as Nasserism has to be acknowledged. The philosophy of President Nasser spread throughout the Arab world. Contrary to what Western propaganda would have the world believe, the movement proved a positive force lending its weight in favour of stability in one of the most restless areas on the earth. Relations between the U.A.R. and Iraq were not, of course, happy and this did prevent the realization of greater and more substantial Arab unity. But the most outstanding achievement of this period was two-fold: In the political sphere, it was marked by a decisive retreat of Western imperial influences in the Arab world and by a general Arab opposition to indigenous Communism; in the economic field, new conceptions of planned reconstruction with a certain socialistic bias took shape in the major Arab countries. For historical and other reasons all the new Governments in the Arab countries had a military character; it was the Army that acted as the spearhead of the great changes in these countries. Democracy of the Western type or of the type that is known in India was not introduced either in the United Arab Republic or in Iraq, although in the latter country political parties were allowed to function. But within the limitations of one-party rule and what was basically an enlightened military dictatorship, far-reaching reforms were introduced in economy

covering both industry and agriculture, in the political structure and also in the administrative machinery. For three years the Arab scene was free from crises arising out of external influences. Arab strength and influence in the international community went up.

The conception of Arab unity, however, failed to register further progress. It should be noted that the need for Arab unity had been felt not only by the Arabs themselves but also by the British in the later 'Thirties and during the Second World War.' It was the British who had conceived of and brought into being the Arab League. The idea of the Fertile Crescent—a kind of federal union of Iraq, Syria and Jordan—also originated in London. The British had realized that the division of West Asia into a number of rival Arab countries was detrimental to the security and stability of a vitally strategic region. Nuri es-Said of Iraq, who was during his lifetime the staunchest friend of the West in the Arab world, had worked tirelessly, although in vain, for the realization of the Fertile Crescent.

The merger of Egypt and Syria, it should be understood, was not at all in the line of the Fertile Crescent unity conception. For one thing, Egypt, belonging geographically to the continent of Africa, has not historically been like any other West Asian Arab country. Unlike Syria, Iraq, Jordan and the Lebanon, Egypt has a deep African consciousness. It has always been proud of its ancient civilization, a synthesis of Roman, Greek, Islamic and many other influences. For a period of eighty years, the British had kept Egypt isolated from the Arab community. Even during the Ottoman Empire, Egypt had been more or less a sovereign community where the writ of the Governor ruled.

The merger of Syria and Egypt was the result of a popular upsurge: the Fertile Crescent concept sought to unite the ruling dynasties and cliques of two Arab kingdoms and an Arab Republic. The dissolution of the United Arab Republic showed that even the Syrian-Egyptian merger did not have a strong enough popular base; that middle-class and military rivalries were still rampant and that the Arab had to go a long way before national frontiers could be liquidated. Some sober thinking in Egypt has followed Syria's secession. The Egyptian Press taking its cue from President Nasser's refreshingly candid broadcasts following Syria's defection has been discussing the problem of unity from an altogether new angle. There are two trends of Arab unity, it is now admitted; one tries to unite the reactionaries, the defenders of privileges and profits, and the other, the people. The merger broke down because the Government of the United Arab Republic had failed to consolidate the Syrian people's support in its behalf. President Nasser in one of his broadcasts listed several errors committed by the Government while building the structure of the U.A.R. The first error, he said, was the compromise made with the reactionaries. This point has to be better understood. As already stated, one of the compelling factors for the merger was the fear of the Syrian nationalists and Baath Socialists of the rising influence of the Syrian Communist Party. President Nasser had already suppressed the Communist Party in Egypt and had reduced its influence to practically nothing. He had even more than one public quarrels with Mr. Khrushchev about his handling of the Egyptian Communist Party and he had bluntly told the Soviet Prime Minister not to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs. One of the first actions taken by President Nasser after the merger was the suppression of the Syrian Communist Party. This made the Communists an enemy of the U.A.R. from the very beginning. The Syrian Communist Party with a membership of 8,000 is considered to be the most well-organized in the Arab world; it counts on the sympathies and indirect of a fairly large segment of Syrian intellectuals. The offensive taken against the Communists encouraged the rightist leaders of Syria who thought the merger would safeguard their interests. With his characteristic liberalism President Nasser not only allowed the rightist elements to function freely in Syria as well as in Egypt, he appointed several of them to Cabinet posts in Damascus and Cairo. When the U.A.R. Government started introducing agrarian and other economic reforms in Syria it began to meet with opposition from these rightist elements. Ultimately the opposition grew into hostility. The agrarian reforms were introduced rather mildly soon after the merger. Some 300,000

families received cultivable lands from the Government. But no attempt was made to break the huge land estates. When Nasser tried to break up these in 1960, he met with surprisingly strong opposition from many Syrian political leaders whom he had considered to be men of progressive outlook. A political crisis was engineered in Damascus by the big landlords in the spring of 1960 and there was clandestine propaganda that Nasser was exploiting the Syrian economy for the benefit of Egypt. This propaganda demoralized large sections of the Syrian middle-class who were psychologically unprepared to accept the leadership of Egypt in the practical running of government. Nasser sent his Army Commander-in-Chief and most trusted colleague, Field-Marshal Amr, to Damascus to personally supervise the reforms and to gear up the administration. Field-Marshal Amr in his report to Nasser disclosed that a great many of the land deeds transferring land to peasants had been faked, that in practice the land reforms had bogged down because of corruption and hostility of the implementing officers. On the other hand, whatever reforms had been genuinely introduced had created a new spirit among the Syrian peasants. Nasser's industrial development plan for Syria also created problems. He wanted to develop the new industries in the public sector whereas Syrian businessmen and capitalists preferred to have the new industries in the private sector. A real crisis developed last July when the U.A.R. nationalization law was extended to Syria. Syrian banks and insurance companies were nationalized along with similar institutions in Egypt. This was too much for the conservative sections in Syria. Nasser also made certain administrative mistakes. To give only one instance, he allowed Col. Seraj, Syria's Minister of the Interior, to grow into a small tyrant. Seraj was in charge of the police and intelligence apparatus in Syria and in the name of hunting down the Communists he had built for himself the status of a little Nasser in Syria and had become extremely unpopular. When this was found out Seraj was transferred to Cairo, made a Deputy Prime Minister and given no portfolio. He became a bitter opponent of Nasser. The same Seraj had only three years ago refused a bribe of two million dollars from the King of Saudi Arabia to assassinate Nasser. Seraj had informed Nasser previously of the plot and the disclosure of it was one of the most sensational episodes in the Middle-East for many years.

The army *coup d'etat* of October 28, came as a complete surprise. The fact that it could be hatched and executed in total secrecy showed to what extent Nasser and other Egyptian Government leaders had been isolated from their erstwhile Syrian colleagues and friends. The man who was appointed by Field-Marshal Amr as his most trusted assistant was himself one of the prime authors of the plot. When the rebellion broke out and Amr found himself "arrested" in his office in Damascus he was taken completely by surprise. The *coup d'etat* was led by the army. But the army preferred to act from behind the scene. It was able to count upon a large number of conservative political leaders, the most prominent of whom were Ali Sabri, who was Prime Minister before the merger and Mamoun Kuzbari, a reputed lawyer, who became the Prime Minister of the new Syrian regime.

Rising in revolt the Army took over its own headquarters, the radio station, the telegraph buildings and a few other public offices. In that it was following the traditional pattern of Syrian *coup d'etats*. When Nasser received the news in Cairo he was more surprised than shocked. He had reason to believe that large sections of the Syrian people were against the coup; in fact, there were demonstrations in several Syrian towns, especially at Aleppo which was a strong pro-Nasser centre. In Damascus, however, things were comparatively quiet and the Army had the situation more or less under control. In response to an S.O.S. from Field-Marshal Amr, Nasser sent a contingent of paratroops to Latakia port. There was a brief skirmish. It did not, however, take Nasser more than a couple of days to realize that he could not put down the coup without serious military engagements with the Syrian army. The loss of Syria was a terrible blow not only to the cause which he held dear, the cause of Arab unity and strength, but also to his personal position and prestige in Egypt and in the Arab world. But in that moment of agony he took a decision which was hailed all over the

world as an act of true and great statesmanship. He refused to be drawn into a military conflict with Syria. With his shrewd political sense Nasser at once realized that an outbreak of war between Egypt and Syria would not only alter the entire political situation in the Middle East, it would also offer the external powers the opportunity they had been seeking for three years to return to the Middle East in a position to intervene effectively in Arab affairs.

The first countries to recognize the new Syrian regime were Turkey, Jordan, Iran and the Kuomintang regime in Formosa. They were followed by Saudi Arabia and some more small nations allied to the Western powers. As soon as the regime was able to take over without bloodshed the Communist countries also rushed with recognition. They were followed by the Western powers. President Nasser decided not to oppose Syria's admission to the Arab League as well as to the United Nations, but he withheld his own recognition of the new regime unless it was approved by the people of Syria in a plebiscite. He took the position that since the merger had the overwhelming support of the Syrian masses, it was the people of Syria who had to register in a free vote their disapproval of the merger.

The leaders of the Syrian *coup d'etat* were officers of the army. But they set up a civilian facade and as already stated were able to get the active support of the majority of the rich landlords and the passive blessing of the Baath Socialist and Nationalist party leaders. The first few days of the new regime were marked with considerable political and ideological confusion. Prime Minister Dr. Kuzbari made no secret of his opposition to the social and economic reforms introduced by President Nasser. But his first statements met with such immediate popular opposition that he reversed his stand and said that the major reforms would be left undisturbed. The nationalization of banks and insurance companies was, however, reversed. On the political front Dr. Kuzbari announced that he was in favour of Arab unity on the basis of a Federation of the different Arab States and this was immediately welcomed by the King of Jordan. The Lebanon as well as Iraq maintained a correct attitude towards the new regime. It took the Prime Minister of Iraq about eight weeks to sign an economic agreement with Dr. Kuzbari's Government.

Soon, however, differences broke out in the Army junta which had engineered the *coup d'etat*. The junta consisted of six right-wing officers. The first differences broke out over elections. The leaders of the coup had promised free and unfettered elections in the shortest possible time in order to secure popular approval of the separation. In the army a fairly large number of young officers were, however, followers of Nasser. About a week before the elections the leader of the coup, Colonel Haidar Kuzbari, a nephew of the Prime Minister, was put under arrest and the junta was expanded to twenty-eight including all area commanders who wear every colour in the political spectrum. The pro-Nasser elements organized a boycott of the elections and they were supported in radio broadcasts from Cairo. The elections were held in comparative quiet. Each voter was asked to vote on two counts; first for the candidate of his choice for the National Assembly and secondly, to record his approval or disapproval of the separation. Political parties were not permitted to put up candidates but were to stand as independents, but their political labels were known to everybody and the election campaign very soon acquired a party-political content so characteristic of Syrian politics. One of the most enthusiastic supporters of the separation was the Communist leader, Khaled Bagdash, who was, however, refused permission to return to Syria from his exile. But several Communist candidates contested as independents.

The result of the elections was an indirect victory for President Nasser. The exact number of votes cast was not disclosed. But it was conceded that less than fifty per cent of the people of Syria had turned up to vote for the new regime. Thus the majority of the Syrian people stayed away from the polls. The overall results were almost similar to those of the last parliamentary elections in 1954. Left-wing parties and their allies secured about ten per cent of the seats; the National and People's parties about thirty per cent; and the remaining sixty per cent were captured by independents and

smaller groups. It was neither an outright victory for the Right, nor a victory for the Left. The rightists won a comfortable majority in Parliament which they held in 1954. And yet they became so paralyzed and frightened in the years following 1954 and that in 1957, the Syrian Parliament voted unanimously for its own dissolution and Syria's total merger with Egypt. The political scene became all the more confused. Whoever is elected Prime Minister—the formation of a stable government will not be an easy task —Syria is in for another period of political instability. One considerable gain for President Nasser is that socialist ideas have become so popular in Syria that even reactionary politicians now call themselves socialists. It is unlikely that the major agrarian reforms introduced by Nasser will now be reversed. The industrialization plans taken up during the merger will also have to be carried through because the majority of the Syrian people no longer want to remain captives of a feudal economy.

For the larger cause of Arab unity, Syria's defection from the U.A.R. is an event of sombre significance. But the setback is a challenge, which properly met, will create new forces of unity. These will be stronger forces. The challenge and the response to it will determine the future progress of the Arab people. In the United Arab Republic, President Nasser interpreted the challenge in the light of his philosophy of the revolution. He realized that compromise with the reactionary elements of society had exposed his policies to subversion from within. He decided to carry the revolution further, not to slow it down. The only way to make the revolution stronger was to strengthen its social and economic content. In the two months following Syria's secession a series of measures have been taken in the U.A.R. towards more rapid progress in social and economic reforms. The cost-of-living has been brought down by sweeping government decrees cutting rents, prices and profits. Large segments of the student community have been given exemption from payment of fees; university education, for example, has been made completely free. The policy of nationalization, far from being halted, has been carried forward. People with fabulously big incomes have been deprived of their property and several major business houses have been brought under state control. The public sector in the economy is being expanded swiftly together with huge land reclamation projects, the agrarian reforms are being pushed through, reducing ceilings on holdings and bringing the entire community of small farm-owning peasants within the network of a nationwide co-operative system. The administrative machinery is now under a thorough process of reorganization. In his recent speeches and statements the administration has come under heavy criticism by Nasser himself and by members of the U.A.R. Parliament. The bureaucracy in the U.A.R. as in most countries suffers from corruption, inefficiency and a general lack of faith in the revolutionary policies and reforms undertaken by the government. These defects are being amended and the success of the effort will be watched with interest far beyond the frontiers of the U.A.R. The National Union which is the only political party allowed to function in the U.A.R. is being drastically reorganized to weed out elements which do not believe in the objectives of the revolution. A new Constitution is to be written for the U.A.R. which will ensure some fundamental economic rights of the people and pave the way for a secular democracy. President Nasser continues to be firmly against Communism and his conception of democracy differs basically from the system of parliamentary democracy as we know in our country. He is not yet in a mood to allow political parties to function because he thinks that they unite a nation instead of uniting it and he also knows that the experience of the Arab experiment with parliamentary democracy has been totally disappointing. But he has an open mind about the future. He is inclined to believe that a time will come when it will be possible to give more political freedom to the people to organize and express their views. For the present, however, the State must exercise an overall control on people's energies, the country's resources and the total national endeavour, directing them into a constructive process of building a new Arab society.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

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Agriculture in Great Britain enjoys Natures sympathy and man's best attention. The geography and climate of the country is very helpful to agriculture and soil management. Monthly rainfall in the U.K., lies generally between 2″-3¼″ and the mean annual temperature varies between 35-65°F. Hence, total rainfall here substantially exceeds total evaporation and this is very favourable for agricultural development. There are few problems of irrigation, soil conservation, floods or droughts in Great Britain and the soils here do not need any special attention except liming and fertilization and, in some cases, drainage.

Luckily, the Britons like agricultural life very much and have a long tradition of systematic and progressive farming behind them. They have led the world in the uses of fertilizers and various machines in agriculture, and also in plant and animal breeding. Due to over population,—the average distribution of farmland *per capita* being just over half an acre,—the country has, since long been dependent on industry and only one man in 50 here works in the field. Yet, even in the hey-days of his imperial and industrial existence, the Englishman has never neglected his soils or forgotten his farm life. It has, in fact, been observed that whereas a farm worker in France produces enough food in a year to feed five people, a German produces for seven, a Belgian nine, and an American thirteen, a British worker produces enough to feed seventeen people. Or, in other words, something over a million people working on British farms are feeding 20-25 million Britons—half the total population of the country.

Of the one million workers in agriculture and horticulture about 400,000 are farmers and the rest, their relatives and hired hands. Out of this 400,000 farmers again, about one-third farm on their own lands and the two-thirds are tenants. The tenants also are quite happy here as they cannot be turned out of their farms by the landlords so long as they farm efficiently and they can invest most of their resources in farming. Many farmers work with their wives and grown-up children, but many, particularly the big agricultural farms and horticultural ones supplying fruits and vegetables to big cities, engage a lot of hired labour during their busy periods. The average size of a British farm is about 100 acres, but there are some big ones with over 300 or even 1,000 acres. The farmers get fair-price and market for their produces through State help.

Wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, sugar-beet, fodder crops, fruits, vegetables and flowers occupy the major acreage of arable land, and the rest goes to temporary grassland. In fact, grasslands, both temporary and permanent, are very important features of farming in the U.K., as they are not casual or circumstantial like those in other countries, but mostly artificial or man-made and receive all the attention and care the arable plots do. This is because livestock, particularly dairying, is the backbone of British farming, and about 75 per cent of the farmers' income comes from the sale of livestock and milk is given the top priority in food production. A major achievement on the farm front in the U.K., is the great increase in total output of the important items like wheat, barley, sugar-beet, etc., without appreciable enhancement of acreage and a general rise in yield per acre for most of the items. This has, of course, been possible through introduction of new varieties of seeds and efficient use of fertilizers.

Grasslands. The plains and valleys of the West and North are the best grass sections, but reclaimed marshes and river valleys of the South also yield excellent crops of rye-grass and white clover. These evergreen pastures of rye-grass, orchard, timothy and white clover quickly fatten the livestock and increase their weights and output of milk, thereby adding to the health and wealth of the nation. A major part of the country's total acreage has been permanently set apart for grass and as mentioned before, temporary grassland also enjoys a good share of the total acreage. One remarkable agricultural achievement of this century has been the move for the elimination of distinction between temporary and permanent grasslands on the one hand and rotation of crops, ideally with grass,

(*i.e.*, alternate fallowing of arable plots) on the other. It has been found that, (i) temporary grasslands are more profitable (in yield and the increase in weight of livestocks rendered per acre), (ii) rotation of crops (cereals following beans and/or potatoes) gives greater yields for each of them than does any one of them when repeated all through, and (iii) the rotation can ideally be done with grass as well. This is the principle of "taking the plow round the farm" as introduced by Sir George Stapledon in the 1930's to improve soil fertility. The thick carpet of grass spread over the plains, valleys and hills of England in May, together with the herds of healthy cattle grazing on them is a pleasant feast to the eyes of everybody, and an object of invitation to foreigners.

Milk. A necessity for mothers, children and invalids, milk has always been accorded the top priority, and as a cow is the most efficient converter of coarse fodder into this ideal human food, dairy herds here have been kept in tact and even increased. No milk is imported into U.K. and the supply of liquid milk *per capita* has gradually been on the increase (312.7 lbs, in 1946 and 330.7 in 1956). The significance of all these achievements can be best appreciated if one knows the *per capita* distribution of land and the fact that 20 per cent of the population of U.K. is urban. Farmers here are ever encouraged to produce as much milk as possible and the industry has undergone remarkable mechanisation—automatic recording plants here milch cows and weighs each animals's yield.

Fertilizers. The great utility of nitrogenous fertilizers and superphosphates in agriculture was demonstrated before the world from the Rothamsted Experimental Station of England in the 19th Century and since then investigations of outstanding importance are going on in the different agricultural experimental stations of U.K. regarding efficient and economic uses of fertilizers for plant growth. Various techniques for applying fertilizers (*e.g.*, broadcasting, combined drilling, placement, leaf spraying, etc.) are being carefully examined and improved upon and suitable mechanical devices constructed for the purpose. The pioneering work of Dr. G. W. Cooke and his collaborators in progress for over a decade at the Rothamsted Experimental Station on efficient application of fertilizers perhaps needs special mention in this connection. U.K. is an exporter of nitrogenous fertilizers but she imports all her potash and almost all phosphate. Yet the country had led the world in superphosphate in the last century and still does a lot of export trade on this item. U.K. now stands 4th in the world in crop yield and fertilizer consumption per acre.

Mechanisation. Jethro Tull, an English landlord, had invented the drill in the 18th Century and a Scottish village-mechanic had invented the threshing machine or grain separator. Thus Great Britain has always been in the vanguard in applying machinery to agriculture. But it is only in the last two or three decades, however, that the real revolution in farm mechanisation has occurred. There were about 502,000 tractors in the farms of the U.K. in 1956, more than ten times as many in 1939. Besides different types of tractors, various other machines, like disc-harrows, corn-drills, mowers, potato diggers, threshing machines, combine harvesters and milking machines are also used. Great Britain has the largest tractor factory in the world and she runs a good export trade on agricultural machinery. Thirty-eight new implements, designed to help the farmer solve his autumn labour problem, were entered for the Silver Medal of the Royal Agricultural Society's Show in 1948. Prohibitive cost of labour is at the root of this rapid mechanisation,—the wage of an adult labourer in the U.K. is about £8.0.0 per week and this is a very high amount compared to the process of agricultural products. Hence human labour has to be replaced by machines as far as possible, and on like economic grounds horses are also being displaced from farms. The horse population of the U.K. has gone down from 0.75 million to 0.25 million during 1946-56 mainly as a result of this mechanisation.

Livestock. Livestock is an important item of British farming and the country has contributed remarkably towards the development of modern farm livestock. The Englishman, Robert Bakewell, in the 18th Century, had workd out the principles of breeding now followed, and had also "invented" beef cattle and mutton sheep. Of the twenty breeds of cattle, sheep, pigs and

farm horses of worldwide reputation at least 14 or 15 originated in Britain. The most popular beef cattle Herefored, beef Shorthorn, and Aberdeen Angus, and the popular breeds of dairy cattle Guernsey, Jersey and Ayrhsire, all originated in Great Britain. The Shorthorn has proved its adaptability in most parts of the world and has been in great demand since the war. One Shorthorn bull was sold for £3,780 at the Perth Auction Market in 1948. U.K. is fortunate in consisting of islands, so that serious epidemic diseases of cattle are excluded on most occasions. Rare outbreaks of cattle diseases are promptly stamped out by drastic measures. To improve livestock population, Government requires that all young bulls be inspected by Government Livestock Husbandry Officers and only superior animals licensed, the rest being slaughtered or castrated. Large areas of the country are already free from bovine T.B. and, according to plans in progress, the whole country eventually will be rid of this cattle disease. Cow testing is controlled by Milk Marketing Board, a consumers organisation which is also developing artificial breeding. There were 19 main insemination centres and 20 sub-centres in mid-1948 and over 90,000 cows were inseminated artificially by the Board in 1947-48. British sheep, the aristocrats of the sheep world, declined terribly during the war and in the severe winter of 1946-47. Yet the country had 18 million sheep and lambs in 1948 and 23.6 in 1956. The number of pigs and poultry also had declined very much during the war, but the situation has greatly improved since then. Mild climate and abundant grass here permit many poultry-men to use "poultry folds," a kind of portable hen-house and yard that has space for 25 birds. It is moved each day providing fresh ground for the hens to feed on, fertilizing the soil and keeping down diseases to a very low level. One man can operate the pen, with the help of the wheeled gear. Yorkshire, Berkshire and Hampshire, the British breeds of pigs enjoy international reputation and demand.

External Aids. The farmers receive outside assistance in finance, equipment, farm labour and technical information. Economic aid is rendered by the Government in the form of price stabilization, guaranteed markets and direct grant for farm development. Prices of crops and livestock are fixed sufficiently before time in consultation with the National Farmers' Union and this helps farmers plan their production beforehand.

Research and Technical Help. World's first (and still now the most famous) agricultural experimental station is Rothamsted started in 1843 by J. B. Lawes, who had "invented" superphosphate. At Rothamsted the foundations of modern fertilizer practice were laid, the importance of soil micro-organisms first emphasized, and possibilities of soil sterilization first exploited. Research work on soil science and agronomics are still in progress here, some of them on the oldest continuously-maintained test fields of the world. Research on farm problems are being conducted by various other public and private bodies in the U.K. under the patronage and help of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Agricultural Research Council. The work on trace elements requirements of crops at the Long Ashton Research Station (Bristol), on mineral requirements of animals at Rowett Institute (Aberdeen), on meat and milk production at Cambridge. on fruit grafting at East Malling Research Station and on plant genetics at John Innes Horticultural Research Institute (North London) deserve special reference in this connection.

Penicillin, a number-one cure for some cow diseases was isolated at Oxford and the method of weed-destruction by hormones and the epoch-making insecticide gammexane was discovered in the U.K.

Conclusion. Self-sufficiency in food requirements seems to be a far cry for this over-populated country,—she will ever have to import food materials against her industrial produces, and the homeland of Robert Malthus will perhaps ever work as the test field of his "Law of Population." Yet is is quite heartening to find that throughout her glorious history, Britain has always paid her best attention and endeavour to the farm, and village, so far as agricultural life is concerned, has never here been deserted indeed.

ISRAEL TODAY

The Changing Face of the Kibbutz

By GEORGE A. FLORIS

THE Israeli co-operative farms, the *kibbutzim*, and their members, the *kibbutzniks*, are widely admired and widely misunderstood. Often they are credited with a quasi-religious zeal which is supposed to make them accept their rugged existence, at times they are associated with various extremist political principles.

In actual fact they are nothing but hard-headed, determined realists seeking to make the best of their opportunities. No doubt, kibbutz life was harsh and austere 50 or 40 years ago. However, that was the age of the pioneers. For those, who escaped from Czarist Russia even such an existence was better than the pogroms and the humiliations.

Even in the early 1920's, life in the new co-operative farms and collective settlements was not necessarily worse than that of many poor Jews in the Bronx district of New York, the East End of London, or the dark Jewish streets of Prague, Warsaw and Budapest. Later still, from 1933 onwards, Central and Eastern European Jews with some foresight could appreciate that even the dreariest kibbutz would offer better hope for them than the ghettoes and concentration camps in Hitler's realm.

For the early Jewish settlers in Palestine co-operation was a dire necessity. The desert sand and the rocky land, each square inch of which had to be bought for hard cash at an inflated price, did not afford any scope for American-style individualistic cowboys or Australian buccaneers. The work of several men and women had to be invested to reclaim the soil and for good many years these early settlers had to content themselves with the smallest returns : bare survival.

However, unlike the poverty-stricken Jews in Europe and America, the rugged Jewish pioneers in Israel were among themselves, free of religious and racial discrimination. When the fights broke out—first against the Turks, then against the Arabs, finally against the British—they could resist and counter-attack, unlike their brethren in Czarist Russia or Hitler's Germany.

There came, indeed, a time when the kibbutzniks were objects of envy in the country. That was during the early post-independence years when it was generally felt that the kibbutz membership had an all too high standard of living compared to the urban population. They had the food at their door-step, while the cities had to put up with a strict rationing.

With the rising prosperity of the last decade the privileged position of the kibbutzniks gradually faded. Indeed, many of the more enterprising members left their kibbutz and established themselves in the steadily expanding Israeli free economy. Today only those are in the kibbutzim who feel that they could not do so well elsewhere and those who have a particular attachment to that way of life. In other words, it is not a kind of romantic idealism that keeps them there.

Of course, the Israeli prosperity during the recent years was not confined to the cities. The countryside also greatly benefited from it, including the kibbutzim. While the urban areas are now better supplied with food, the kibbutzim have more industrial products these days. The members are better dressed, use more machinery at work, in their sparetime they indulge in photography, cigarettes, drinks and radio. Television is just now being introduced to Israel; the few owners of sets have so far been confined to viewing the broadcasts from the neighbouring Arab countries.

A young woman told this writer : "I am in the kibbutz, because I can't bear the thought of being poor. Here I feel myself the owner of 6,000 dunam of land."

Another young woman put her case : "I am staying here for the sake of my daughter. In the kibbutz she gets a better education than in the most expensive Swiss boarding school."

The kibbutz schools should be good, indeed. The children are under constant expert supervision, yet—at the same time—near to their parents. So, they have the best of two worlds : the boarding school system and the home education.

However, the motive that makes many kibbutzniks, also individuals with exceptional abilities, stick to the kibbutz and miss the opportunities that wait in the hustle and the bustle of the free economy outside, is security. They do their work and get everything they want—even some spending money—in exchange. They have not to hunt for jobs or chase customers,—unpleasant things they had to do before their arrival in Israel. The work is laid on for them and most of their produce is taken over by the *Tnuva*, the semi-official co-operative distributing organisation.

While the kibbutz provides the coveted security for its members with young and old dependents, it gives constant companionship to the bachelors, the spinsters and the lonely old folks. Admittedly, the wives of the members have to share the work, too. The working hours for men are 9 per day, for the woman 8,—for six day a week. The women enjoy the one hour remission on account of their domestic preoccupations which accompany the fair sex even into the kibbutz. However, even this is not a real hardship: most married women work in Israel outside the kibbutz as well.

Nor is there necessarily a lack of variety in the activities. Many kibbutzim go beyond their original function of land cultivation and operate hotels, rest-homes, bakeries and factories.

The general assumption that life in the countryside brings about large families is not borne out by the kibbutzniks. Admittedly, during the early stages, children were simply out of the question. The conditions were extremely trying in those days and there was neither food, nor time for the offspring. Amorous young boys and girls —even married couples for that matter—had to seek out discreetly the kibbutz secretary and ask him for contraceptive appliances.

However, the situation is different today. Food is abundant, creches, nurseries and near-boarding schools within the kibbutz take off all the burdens connected with children from the shoulders of the parents. Indeed, the gifted youngsters may even go to university at the expense of the kibbutz. Yet, in spite of this—and the government's cash reward to large families —families in the kibbutzim have remained small. There are usually one or two children and four on the outside.

The low-rate of reproduction is partly responsible for the permanent shortage of manpower in the kibbutzim these days. With the capitalist boom in the cities, a Zionist can nowadays settle in Israel without being compelled to join a co-operative farm, and a disgruntled former kibbutznik can also easily earn his livelihood elsewhere. As it happens, often the young boys and girls do not return to the kibbutz after having served their time in the army.

In the existing circumstances the kibbutz managements have often to shelve their erstwhile principles and employ outside labour by paying wages. At times they even use non-organised Arab workers for half of the money that a Jew would receive.

Nevertheless, among themselves the kibbutzniks have retained their time-honoured egalitarian principles. Everybody gets the same type of accommodation, the same food and the same amount of cash, whatever his ability, function or responsibility. Apart from principles, this arrangement has also a practical reason. It is supposed to make the members think not in terms of individual benefits, but in terms of the entire kibbutz community. With everything shared out equally everybody is enabled to look at the common property as at his own, but he is also obliged to remember that he can only improve himself by improving the overall lot of the kibbutz.

What may at times be painful is that the kibbutznik must not have any private property even if it originates outside the kibbutz. If he inherits, either he hands over to the kibbutz his entire inheritance or ceases to be a member. This type of loyalty has been put to test recently, when many kibbutzniks received cash payments from Germany in way of compensation. Members were supposed to give such sums to the kibbutz community, receiving only a small pocket money out of it for their personal use. It is, however, whispered that several kibbutzniks concealed such windfalls and retained the money for themselves.

When, not long ago, the comparatively modest sum of 648 Israeli Pounds—cca 1,300

rupees—were stolen from a member in a kibbutz, the investigation that followed was two-fold. It sought to discover, who had taken the money, but it inquired also into the circumstances of a kibbutznik having come to such an amount.

All in all, the kibbutznik, just like anybody else, has to take the rough with the smooth: in exchange for a congenial home and material security he has to trade in much of his individual sovereignty.

Would the kibbutz form of existence help to solve agricultural and food problems in India, —as some think it might? It is more than doubtful. The kibbutz is such a peculiarly Israeli institution—born out of specific circumstances and a particular national mentality—that it could hardly be transplanted anywhere. Even the Indian Jews who had emigrated to Israeli usually chose the *moshav*—village of independent farmers where only the selling of the crop and the use of the machinery is done on a community basis—rather than the kibbutz as their type of settlement.

Nevertheless, some of the experiences gained in collective farming by the kibbutzim might one day be utilised in India for setting up family co-operatives, particularly in those regions where the ties of the ancient "joint families" are still strong.

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NOTES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN PHYSICS

By Prof. VISVAPRIYA MUKHERJI

Introduction

Before I actually proceed with the present discussion, I hope that the reader will not be repelled by the very first word: "philosophy," which is often considered, by not a few, as nothing but some mystic and scholastic speculations on all that is unreal and useless. But, philosophy, to be very precise, ultimately aims at discovering and coordinating the most general causes and principles of things and events around us. Each science is discovering and generalizing its own laws, theories or principles. But man cannot remain content with an unsatisfactory state of knowledge, in which groups of general principles belonging to different sciences, are left unrelated and uncoordinated. He must try to find an ultimate unity between all the apparently unrelated groups of general principles. A great scientist Max Planck, once put this idea in a simple way: "As long as natural philosophy exists, its ultimate highest aim will be the correlation of various physical observations into a unified system and where possible into a single formula." This basic attitude of aiming at such an ultimate generalization is characteristic of philosophy.

Now, once the purpose of philosophy has been defined, it is necessary to explain firstly, what "modern physics" is, and secondly, why has "philosophy" been associated with "modern physics" in preference to biological sciences and other physical sciences, such as chemistry, etc.

Let us consider the first question:— "Modern physics" is definable as the **first** modern and finished form that the science of physics was given by the genius of Newton about three centuries ago. Before Galileo and the great Newton, 'physics' had been no "science" at all, being a medley of uncritical Aristotelian and Roman Catholic dogmas.

Newton's well-known **laws of motion** and **gravitation**, already established by 1687, brilliantly explained and interpreted **all** kinds of **motion**, whether heavenly or terrestrial. Since that historic moment Newtonian dynamics or science of motion has become the basic foundation of the huge superstructure of the most advanced and refined physics.

As regards the reason of preferentially associating philosophy with physics it can be justifiably said that: Since physics deals with matter, energy and their various interactions, which are, **ultimately, at the very roots** of all natural diversities, whether physical or biological—, it is quite reasonable to assume that advances in physics are pregnant with great philosophical implications. And, actually, no other scientific advances have given rise to so much philosophical discussions, rational or irrational, as new advances in physics.

§ 1. Newtonian Philosophy

Newton's great achievement lies in the fact that he **broke away definitely from** the old naive **(Aristotelian)** commonsense view that: force was needed to maintain motion, i.e., motion would **cease,** if **force is withdrawn.** He postulated that uniform motion in a straight line does not need any continuously acting force, i.e., force **cannot** be any **cause** of a uniform rectilinear motion. Force is necessary only to change the direction of, or to accelerate, or to slow down a body in uniform motion. **Even without a force motion can be maintained.** Thus Newton established once and for all, the **dynamic** view of the world instead of the **static** one (referred to above) that had satisfied the Aristotelians. In Newton's work we find the first indication of mechanistic philosophy, i.e., a standpoint which holds that all natural phenomena admit of mechanical explanations. He wrote:—"Man's mind is localized in brain, to which motions are conveyed from external objects by the nerves and from which motions are transmitted to the muscles." But Newton, while adhering to a strictly mechanistic attitude in his scientific researches, attributed the "very first cause" of setting the world in motion, to something "certainly ..not mechanical" i.e., **divine.** This evasive attitude of ascribing the unknown (i.e., the hitherto unexplained) to something **mystic,** is chraacteristic of all periods of scientific enquiry, the reason of such evasions being rooted generally in the structure of the contemporary society itself. A positive contribution of Newtonian philosophy is its much-discussed **determinism.**

To expplain it in a simple manner:—

If one exactly knows the position and speed of a moving body at any moment, he can accurately predict its position and speed at a future moment. That is, the future course of a moving system can be accurately **determined without any uncertainty.** This deterministic philosophy created among the physicists and mathematicians following Newton, a great confidence and optimism regarding the ability of science to predict the future of all natural events if only a few data were available. At the same time this philosophy reassured scientists, and non-scientists alike that the universe was regulated by simple inviolable laws. An important thing to be pointed out is that in Newtonian dynamics **no** individual body or system can have an isolated fate, i.e., an individual system coming in proximity to others either collides or interacts with them in some way thus disturbing the initial conditions of all the individuals.

Another point remians to be discussed in this connexion. The ancient Greek atomic hypothesis of matter (i.e., discontinuous, or 'grained' nature of matter) remained buried and forgotten till the 17th century, when the emergent Newtonian dynamics of moving rigid bodies made it easier to picture the universe as consisting in the motions of **small point-like particles, than** impulsions acting in an all-pervading **subtle homogeneous** and **continuous** (i.e., "ungrained") matter filling the universe. The second view had been prevalent. But just before Newton, the ancient atomic hypothesis was resurrected, and the **atoms** were imagined as massive particles moving in the vacuum. Newton converted this hypothesis into a scientific theory. As a result of a combination of this atomic theory and the Newtonian determinism, the latter was firmly esablished as an essential feature of matter, in other words, **even the tiniest material particle was considered to be guided by strict determinism. No uncertainty or chance would cloud the knowledge of a particle's future.**

§ 2. Mechanistic View of Nature

The Newtonian ideas were to contribute to the emergence of a bold **materialism** of

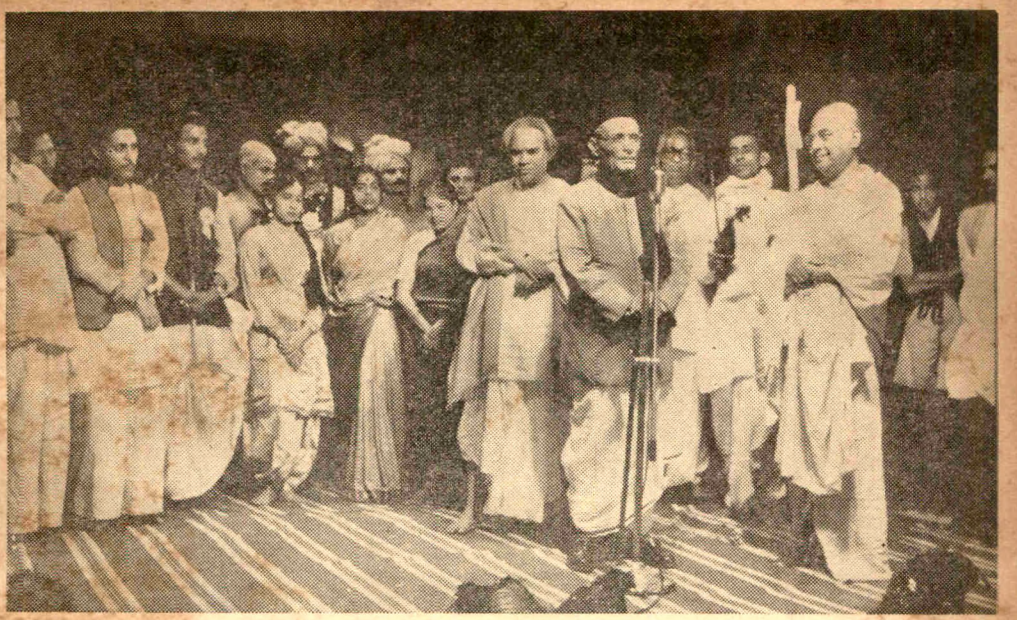
the well-known French Encyclopaedists of the 18th century, among whom there were great mathematicians. Materialism asserted that: matter, composed of solid impenetrable Newtonian particles, **was the sole reality of the universe; thought and consciousness** were by products of matter. The atomic concept of matter with its associated determinism made the new materialism profound. Lavoisier's epochal discovery of the **conservation** or indestructibility **of matter** added a new criterion for characterizing matter. Matter, with the important attribute, indestructibility or **permanence in time,** was considered as the sole reality, and the forces between them as their only mode of action. This philosophical view that—all physical phenomena are ultimately mechanical in their nature, and all observable processes may be analyzed into elementary attractions and repulsions between small material particles obeying dynamical laws—is known as the **mechanistic theory** of the universe. Of course, there was no lack of opponents to such a trend of thought even towards the end of the last century. Mach, the philosopher, tried to escape from the materialistic determinism of the atomic theory and considered this theory as merely transitory. To him, physical entities were mental constructs or complexes of sensations. "A body is a relatively constant sum of touch and sight-sensations." This is an example of idealism which experienced at least a temporary debacle in the face of new experimental facts. The atomic concept of matter was made still more invincible as a result of the discovery of **electrons** by Thomson at the end of the last century.

§ 3. Conservation Principles

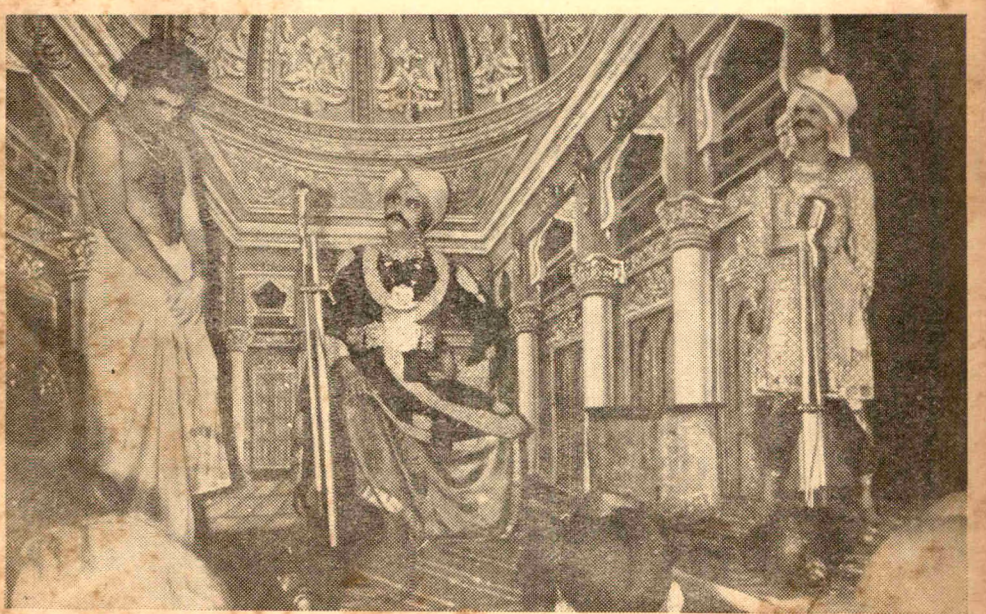
An important conceptual requirement of science is the **Conservation of Energy,** which was established in only mid-19th century. In course of past researches mechanical motion of matter had been thoroughly dealt with. Just before the beginning of the last century a simple relation between mechanical motion and heat was set up :—Heat is only a kind of motion; when heat disappears, it reappears as motion and **vice versa.** To generalize :—The total energy of the universe is constant, although conversions may take place between different kinds of energy. Another important conceptual requirement is the already-mentioned conservation of Matter. That is, matter may change characters, but the total quantity of matter in the universe remains constant. These two conservation principles were further generalized into a single conservation principle by Einstein in 1905, when he introduced a new conception that matter could disappear, being transformed into energy, energy too could be transformed into matter. (As was later confirmed in a series of nuclear physical experiments). Thus the hard and fast antithesis between "matter" and "energy" has collapsed and these two basic physical realities appear to be different manifestations of a still more fundamental reality.

§.4. Emergence of Statistical Point of View

In the sixties of the last century Maxwell applied the idea of equivalence of heat and mechanical motion to explain the properties of gases. The basic assumptions were: Gases consist of small **randomly** moving particles or molecules, and the heat content of the gases was the molecular motion. In this theory it is impossible to determine the motion of each **individual** molecule, so one is to study the laws governing the motion of **large assemblies** of particles, by introducing certain new quantities, (e.g., temperature) which cannot be defined in terms of the dynamics of a small number of bodies. Thus the necessity of a **statistical treatment** of **large assemblies** of particles was felt in dealing with their **random motions.** The very expression **'random'** motion, signifies that the strict mechanistic **determinism** of dynamical laws has already given way to **chance** or **uncertainty factors.** Determinism received a great shock when the mode of **radioactive** disintegration was discovered. It would be unreasonable to suppose (see § 1.) that, of a number of atoms in close proximity, each could have an isolated fate. But in the case of radioactivity, each atom violently explodes after it has existed for a definite length of time, leaving its



Sri M. Patanjali, Chairman, Central Sanskrit Board, blessing the Prachya Vani Troupe of Sanskrit Pali players at Madras "Satyagriha"



Colaraj ordering the plucking out of the eyes of Kuresa, one of the most outstanding disciples of Ramanuja, a scene from the Sanskrit Drama, "Vimala-Yatindram"

Indian soldiers marched into Goa to put an end to the tyrannical rule of the Portuguese Goans

Vast sandy areas turned into fertile land in the Rajasthan Canal area

neighbour undisturbed which in its turn succumbs to the same fate after an equal length of time. The life of the radioactive atoms appears to be regulated only by **chance** or **probability.** This is no final argument against the mechanistic view; there may be dynamical laws underlying such phenomena, but an assembly, such as the disintegrating atoms, do not yet reveal the exact nature of those hidden laws. With our present state of knowledge of such physical processes, we can describe the regularities in behaviour of the assembly **more precisely and simply** in terms of **probabilities.** The theory of probability enables us to give an exact specification of the inexact knowledge.

§ 5. Quantum Mechanics and Uncertainty Principle

The mechanistic concept (the so-called "classical mechanics") received a harder blow from the new "quantum mechanics," introduced by Heisenberg and Schroedinger in the early 1920's, in extension of Planck's well-known quantum theory. We presume, of course, that the readers know the basic postulate of Planck's quantum theory:— Energy is given out and taken in, not continuously like waves, but in "packets." New crises in physics arose because classical mechanics seriously failed to explain processes on the atomic scale and to interpret certain behaviours of light, which indicated that light was composed of small "packets" or **particles,** "photons," unlike certain other behaviours indicating wave properties of light. Experiments showed that this anomalous behaviour was not peculiar to light, but was quite general. All material particles, e.g., electrons, have also wave-like properties, which can be experimentally exhibited. We have here a very striking and general example of the breakdown of classical mechanics, because, classically, a **particle,** which is a discontinuous thing, cannot be associated, in any way, with **waves,** which are continuous. Natural phenomena on the atomic scale are classed as small-scale or "microscopic," and phenomena explained by classical laws of motion as big-scale or "macroscopic." In order to bring order into the chaos in the realm of microscopic phenomena involving small things, photons, electrons, etc., a group of physicists came forward with a new mathematical formalism, "quantum mechanics," in which a hard and fast contrast between particles and waves was eliminated. And actually quantum mechanics has proved to be a powerful theoretical instrument in the hands of modern physicists. But in its very **formalism** based on the **wave-particle duality,** there was the seed of Heisenberg's 'uncertainty principle" relating the position and speed of particles. The principle signifies that the more exactly the position of a moving particle is specified, the less exactly can its speed be specified, i.e., the more exactly we can locate where it is now, the less exactly can we say where it will go next. This represents obviously a breakdown of classical determinism. This "uncertainty principle" has created many philosophical speculations beyond the technical field. Many scientists said that the uncertainty principle implies a fundamental and inescapable limit to the accuracy with which we can measure simultaneously the position and speed, i.e., **there is a imit to the fineness of our powers of observation,— a limit which is inherent in the nature of things and can never be surpassed by improved technique** or **increased skill on the part of the experimenter.** If this be so, then it follows that we can never know anything more about physical systems than we already know! With the present form of quantum physics, we should have reached the limits of all possible knowledge! Along with the "uncertainty principle," goes the "complementarity principle," in which Bohr says that it is impossible (!) to attain the knowledge of a more fundamental reality which will explain why things in some phenomena move like waves and in other phenomena like particles. These two "principles" have their roots in the **formalism based on the wave-particle duality.** The interesting point to be noted is that the **formalism itself has been upheld as an objective feature of the physical world.**

An important feature underlying the formalism is that the state of a physical system can only be expressed in terms of probabilities, i.e., we cannot deduce what

its exact future state will be, but can only make a statement about the probabilities of its future state, as if probabilities are actually the real physical entities—the elemental stuff of the physical world. Thus surreptitiously classical **determinism** has been undermined and it has been interpreted to mean that a **fundamental indeterminism exists in nature.** But Einstein commented: "I could not respect a God who spent His whole time in **games of chance.**" Einstein insisted that if we cannot express exactly the state of physical systems, this is due to inadequacy of our present knowledge **and not to an inherent indeterminism** in the physical universe.

The problem of wave-particle duality has not yet shown any sign of a satisfactory solution. This uneasy compromise still persists. Attempts are always being made to reinterpret or reformulate the probabilistic quantum mechanics which has explained and still explains successfully varieties of microscopic phenomena. But a deeper knowledge of reality is yet to be attained.

§.6. Matter and Antimatter

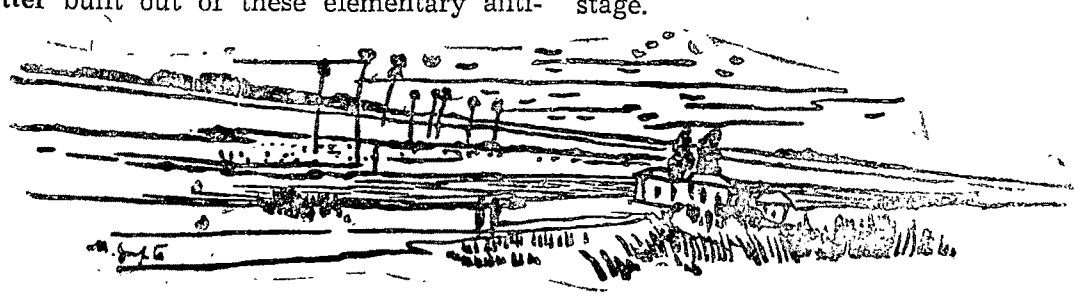
A new speculation has arisen on the nature of matter. Ordinary matter has been resolved into a number of constituent elementary particles. Nuclear physics has discovered a large variety of elementary particles. In consequence of such discoveries and theoretical analyses a new conceptual requirement has definitely emerged. This requires that each kind of elementary particle must have an **oppositely** charged counterpart and if an elementary particle combines with its so-called **antiparticle,** they destroy each other releasing energy. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that one can have, just like ordinary matter, **antimatter** built out of these elementary antiparticles. Speculations are made as to whether antimatter can exist somewhere in the universe; but the hypothetical antimatter cannot exist in the neighbourhood of ordinary matter, because they would then destroy each other. Thus a new physical reality has been hypothetized.

§ 7. Parity Principle

The principle of parity was until recently believed to be a general principle of nature. The principle is:—Any process which occurs in nature can also occur as it is seen reflected in a mirror. Thus nature is mirror-symmetric. The mirror image of any object is also a possible object in nature. But recently the results of a few nuclear physical experiments have forced upon us a change in this fundamental principle. Thus the mirror image of a process in nature sometimes may not be a possible process (mirror asymmetry). But Landau has created a "Combined Parity Principle," which postulates that the mirror-symmetry of nature would be re-established if the 'matter' taking part in a mirror-asymmetric process is replaced by 'antimatter.' Thus a **higher symmetry** may be attained by combining the matter-antimatter asymmetry and the mirror asymmetry.

Conclusion

From the present review, I hope, the readers may form some idea regarding the evolution of new philosophical frames of thought along with new advances in physics. But the time is not yet ripe for setting up a unified philosophy capable of discovering an ultimate unity among the apparently incompatible physical processes. Therefore, further comments are unnecessary at this stage.



INDIAN MINORITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

II

Malaya and Singapore

Distance has made Indo-Malayan ties more attenuated than the Indo-Burmese. India and Malaya (the Straits Settlements), however, constituted one administrative unit till 1867 when they were separated and the latter was transferred to the Colonial Office. (British authority over the whole of Malaya was not yet established). Indian immigration to Malaya was regulated after 1867 by agreements between the two governments.

As of June, 1951, Indians in Malaya numbered 744,000 or 13.4 per cent of the total Malayan population. More than 85 per cent of the immigrants were Tamils from Madras, Telugus from Andhra, Malayalees from Kerala, Hindus and Sikhs from the Punjab and a sprinkling of Bengalees accounted for the rest. More or less 466,000 of these immigrants lived in the Federated Malaya States[23], about 130,000 in the unfederated Malaya States[24] and about 150,000 in the Straits Settlements[25]. Indians were mainly concentrated in the states of Perak and Selangor (both in the Federated Malaya States) where they formed 20 and 28 per cent, respectively, of the total population. About 25 per cent of Malayan Indians in 1941 were Malaya-born. The proportion of women to men was 1:2.

Indian immigrants would usually return to India after being 7/8 years in Malaya. Some would return to Malaya after a short stay at home. Some would not. Migrants to Malaya would generally leave their families in India. During the decade 1931-1941, Malayan plantation managers encouraged the migrants to take their families to Malaya, without much result, however. During the great trade slump in the late twenties and early thirties, surplus Indian labourers in Malaya were shipped back to India. Those were lean years for India too. Repatriated labour created a problem, which almost defied a satisfactory solution. Nationalist India raised its voice of protest against the policy of the Government of Malaya and demanded that unless Indians were accorded complete equality with other communities in Malaya, recruitment of Indian labourers for Malaya should be stopped. The Government of India yielded and banned the export of unskilled Indian labour in 1938.

Indian immigrants, generally speaking, have not struck roots in the Malayan soil. The discriminatory policy of the Government of Malaya is not a little responsible for this rootlessness. For one thing, Britain's pro-Malayan policy "ruled out the possibility of granting security of tenure to Indians wishing to settle on the land and this was believed to be one of the principal reasons why all pre-war attempts to create Indian agricultural colonies in Malaya were unsuccessful."[26] The strong sentiment binding overseas Indians to the homeland, sufferings during Japanese occupation, birth and growth of militant Malayan nationalism and the steadily rising international prestige of free India have also influenced the migrants' attitude to Malaya.

The Japanese occupation of Malaya in early 1942 marked the beginning of a crisis in the life of the Indian community there. Cut off from export markets, Malayan rubber industry went into eclipse. Rubber tappers, who formed the bulk of Malaya's Indian population, were victims, first of unemployment and shortage, and later,

23. Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Negri Sembilan.

24. Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Johore.

25. Singapore, Province Wellesley and Malacca (including Naning).

26. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

of forced labour for the Japanese occupation authorities. In 1943, thousands of Indian labourers were employed on the construction of the notorious "Death Railway" which Japan sought to build to link up the Thai capital, Bangkok, with Lower Burma Via Kanburi. Of the 73,502 labourers recruited in Malaya for the "Death Railway," 62,477, *i.e.*, 85 per cent of the total were South Indians and an estimated 20,825 of them died of overwork and inhumane treatment.[27]

Many Malayan Indians were eager to return to India after the war. 18,000 were repatriated in 1946 with financial aid from the Government of India.[28] The 1947 Malaya census returns showed a sharp fall in the number of Indians. Whereas in 1931 they numbered more than 700,000, *i.e.*, 13.4 per cent of the total Malayan population, in 1947 they numbered less than 600,000, *i.e.*, not more than 10 per cent of the total population of Malaya. The fall in the number of Indians is mainly attributable to the policies of the Governments of India and Malaya. The former were reluctant to permit the export of unskilled labour from India. The latter were opposed to unrestricted immigration—Indian and otherwise—into Malaya. Indian public opinion, too, raised its voice of protest against unrestricted emigration from India. 7,274 Indians applied for permits to enter the colony in 1948. About-one-half, *i.e.*, 3,555 applications were rejected on the ground that the applicants would not prove beneficial to the economic life of Malaya.[29] In all, 7,128 Indian and other foreigners were granted entry permits in 1948, and only 1,427 in 1949. No foreigner without sufficient proof of "an assured livelihood" in Malaya has been permitted to enter that country after May, 1949.

Malaya was placed under Emergency Regulations in July, 1948, after the outbreak of the Communist revolt earlier in the year. Very few Indians joined the revolt. Some Indians were, however, interned under the provisions of the Emergency Regulations. But they were all permitted to return to India after a time. Upto February 15, 1949, 56 Indian suspects had come back to India of their own accord. No Indian was forced out of Malaya under the Emergency Regulations. 30 Indian bankers, arrested on June 30, 1949, for allegedly having given "protection money" to the Communist terrorists, were permitted to return to India on condition that they would not re-enter Malaya so long as the emergency lasted.[30] Another batch of 20 Indians were permitted to leave Malaya voluntarily in November, 1952.

The pre-war Federal Council of the Federated Malaya States, the Straits Settlements Legislative Council and the Johore State Council had each a nominated, unofficial Indian member. A few newspapers in various Indian languages were published in Malaya before the war. But Malaya had no central Indian organisation for many years. There were, however, quite a few communal, sectional, professional and other Indian organisations. At last, the C.I.A.M. (Central Indian Association of Malaya) was founded in 1936. The Association started an agitation for better condition for Indian labour and provisions for education and political rights for Malay Indians. The activities of the C.I.A.M. made it a *bete noire* with the local English community and also with a small section of Malay Indians. Successful "in awakening an interst in politics and in the poor of the Community on the part of some prosperous Indians," the Association sowed the seeds of discord and dissension among Malay Indians.[31] The C.I.A.M. became involved in course of time in the politics of the Indian National Congress and in the Communist-inspired labour strikes in Malayan plantations. It thus lost caste in the estimate of the government and the capitalists and went out of existence almost immediately after Japan's declaration of war against the Western Allies. After the occupation of Malaya by Japan, the conqueror placed Messrs N. Raghavan and S. C. Goho, President and Vice-President, respectively, of the C.I.A.M., in charge of organising the Indian Independence League (I.I.L.) in Malaya.

After the fall of Singapore (February 15, 1942), Japan sponsored a central committee to

27. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
28. *The Straits Times*, Singapore, January 17, 1947.
29. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
30. *Ibid*, p. 239.
31. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

launch and lead the struggle for the liberation of India. Messrs Raghavan and Goho discovered before long that Japan's motive was far from altruistic and sharp differences of opinion arose between them on the one hand and Japan on the other. Mr. Raghavan was also involved at the same time in a financial scandal over the use of the League funds. It was only after the arrival of the magnetic Netajee Subhas Chandra Bose in Singapore in July, 1943, that the movement got under way. He injected new life into it. He assumed supreme command of the I.N.A. (Indian National Army) within four days of his arrival in Singapore. He founded the Azad Hind Provisional Government three months later. Three Divisions of the I.N.A. were raised in Malaya. One of these Divisions was sent to Burma to fight in the Manipur offensive. A large part of another Malayan Division of the I.N.A. fought in the later stages of the Burma campaign. Some foreign students of contemporary South-East Asian history belittle, quite erroneously, we believe,—The I.N.A. and the Azad Hind Provisional Government as Japanese puppets.[32] Facts that come to light during the historic trial of the I.N.A. prisoners in the Red Fort (Delhi) knock the bottom out of their contention.

Malaya recruits for the I.N.A. came mostly from the ranks of unemployed Indian estate labourers. Besides the headquarters at Singapore, the I.I.L. had eight branches in Malaya in June, 1945. Some Indians were opposed to the Azad Hind movement in Malaya and there was at least one camp for the dissidents called an Agricultural Settlement. A few Indians are known to have joined the Chinese-led anti-Japanese guerillas. The Azad Hind movement profoundly affected Malaya Indians. Netajee's policy and activities awakened their political consciousness and inspired them with the ideal of nationalism. They felt for the first time "that they were playing a dramatic role in the history of their motherland." Malaya Indians are also indebted to the Azad Hind movement for their knowledge of the use of fire-arms, political organisation and some technique of collective bargaining.

The British army re-occupied Malaya in 1945. One of the first acts of British Military Administration was to blow up the cenotaph of the I.N.A. martyrs at Singapore. The Administration, however, did not object to the placing of flowers on the site by local Indians on Azad Hind anniversaries. 54 Indians were arrested for alleged collaboration with the enemy. India sent 5 lawyers for their defence. The accused were all released after a few months in jail. The release may be due to lack of sufficient and satisfactory evidence against them. The anti-Indian attitude of the authorities very soon manifested itself in another way. Malaya Indians were not represented in the same way as the other communities on the various advisory boards set up by the civil administration after it had taken charge of the administration from the military authorities in April, 1946.

Communalism in contemporary Indian political life had its repercussions on Malaya Indians. Communalism in the context of Indian politics, the reader will please note, "was not the name of a religious conflict carried on under a political label or of an economic conflict under the garb of religion. It was the result simply of confused thinking, common to many classes, which those who were playing for political power distorted and exploited for their own ends."[33] Vivisection of India is the fruit of the upas tree, which sprouted from communalism. That it was sedulously fostered by British imperialism admits of no doubt. To quote Tagore, "In India the misfortune of being governed by a foreign race is daily brought home to us not only in the callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life as adequate provision for food, clothing, educational and medical facilities for the people, but in an even unhappier form in the way the people have been divided among themselves. The pity of it is that the blame is laid at the door of our own society. So frightful a culmination of the history of our people would never have been

32. Cf. "However, even after Bose re-established his headquarters at Singapore following the failure of his 'March on Delhi,' he retained the facade of an independent command . . . ." Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

33. Pyarelal—*Mahatma Gandhi : Last phase*, Vol. I, p. 72.

possible but for the encouragement it has received from secret influences emanating from high places.[34] Singapore and Penang witnessed ugly Hindu-Muslim skirmishes and Malaya had her first taste of communal riots. The Malayan C.I.D. and many Indians were of opinion that these riots were not really communal in nature.[35] It cannot be denied, however, that the inter-communal harmony among Malaya Indians in pre-war days is totally absent today. Indian Hindus, Muslims and Christians have founded separate communal organisations as the spokesmen and protectors of their respective communal interests.

Indian trade union movement in post-war Malaya came more and more under Communist control. The Malayan Communist Party, it should be noted, is mainly Chinese in composition. The firm hold of the Communist Party on Malaya Indian labour coupled with the offer of citizenship to Malaya Indians aggravated internal dissensions and reduced the social and political importance of the community. A meeting of Indians at Ipoh in September, 1945, discussed eight proposals of the Malayan Communist Party on the future administrative set-up of Malaya. The Communist-inspired Indian Democratic League was founded in Singapore in the following month. Not a few believe that the Malayan Communist Party helped the Indian Democratic League with money and arms. Mahadev Singh later on founded the Indian Communist Party in Singapore. The party publicised its policy and activities through its organ, *the Voice of the People*. The Party, believed to be affiliated to the Chinese Communist Party through the Malayan Communist Party, tried hard to rally under its banner the ex-members of the I. I. L. and some Sikhs living in Kelantan (Malaya) and Southern Thailand, joined it. Nehru's visit to Malaya in 1946 encouraged the Malaya Indians to build an organisation on the lines of the Indian National Congress and the Malaya India Congress (M. I. C.) was ushered into existence in August, 1946. To counter-act the steadily growing Communist influence on the Malaya Indians was one of its objectives. It also sought to unite all Indians for a united stand on the Malayan citizenship proposals which were a burning issue throughout 1946. A large majority of the members of the M. I. C. were ex-members of I. I. L., which had collapsed with the discomfiture of Japan in 1945. Nehru told the Malaya Indians point-blank that they must not claim both Indian and Malayan nationality at one and the same time. They could have one only if they renounced all claims to the other. He, however, assured them that free India would safeguard all legitimate interests of her children overseas and would also do her best to liberate the peoples in bondage all over the world. He advised Indians to live in harmonious co-operation with all sections of Malaya's plural society.

The inaugural session of the M.I.C. was attended by 600 delegates. It expressed sympathy with Indians at home, condemned the anti-Indian policy of the Union of South Africa (now the Republic of South Africa) and placed on record its approval of the national struggles in Burma, Vietnam and Indonesia. The Government of India were requested not to withdraw the ban on the export of unskilled Indian labour "until conditions should become settled in Malaya and to support the Malaya Indians' right of free speech, free assembly and free organisation. Resolutions for the propagation of Hindi and for national education in Malaya were adopted. Another resolution supported the Malaya Indians' right to their due share in Malaya's national wealth."

The second session of the M.I.C. held six months later, decided to join the Council for Joint Action (C. J. A.) "for the purpose of boycotting the new Federal Constitution". The C. J. A.'s proposal supported by the M. I. C. "envisaged a democratic and self-governing Malaya that included Singapore and in which universal suffrage would be enjoyed by all Chinese and Indians who had lived in the country for eight years or more and who would pledge their exclusive loyalty to Malaya."[36] Many Indians felt unhappy over the second condition noted above,

34. Tagore—*The Crisis in Civilization*, pp. 12-13.

35. *The Straits Times*, June 23, 1949.

36. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

viz., the pledging of an *exclusive loyalty to alaya.* The M. I. C., by joining the C. J. A., ienated a large number of its members and symthisers. Far more serious was that the M. I. C. ter found itself aligned with leftist groups hich were more and more dominated by the lalayan Communist Party.

Indian Muslims in Malaya too bestirred ıemselves and organised the Pan-Malayan Musm Indian League (P. M. M. I. L.) to safeguard ıeir communal interests. The League held its irst session at Penang in January, 1947. But it ɤent into political eclipse before long. Another ſuslim organisation called the Malayan Pakisani League was founded later on in 1953. The ſ. I. C. and the P. M. M. I. L. were both opposed o the Malayan Federation. But many Indians liffered with them and two Indian members[37] vorked on the Cheeseman Committee.[38]

The nominated Federal Legislative Council of Malaya which met in 1948 had five seats reserved for Indians. Some of the Indian members made brilliant contributions to the Council's deliberations. The growing Communist influence on Malaya Indian trade unions and the C. J. A. made many Indians nervous and they decided to co-operate with the government. Important elements within the M. I. C. itself began to oppose its increasingly radical trends. The M. I. C., it is evident, failed to give an effective lead to Malaya Indians.

After the outbreak of the Communist revolt, the M. I. C. decided in July, 1948, to suspend all political activities till the return of normalcy. It condemned Communist terrorism in no uncertain terms and called upon all Indians to refrain from lawlessness and subversive activities. The directive of the M. I. C., the apathy of Malaya Indians themselves and their over-cautious attitude had a restraining effect on the latter. They did not take an active part in Malaya's Communist revolt.

The M. I. C's inherent dynamism came to the fore within a year and from 1949 it again became politically active. The renewed political activities of the M. I. C., created dissensions within the Indian community. In March, 1949, the M.I.C. and the newly-founded Malayan Chinese Association (M. C. A.) jointly demanded a revision of the citizenship clauses of the proposed federal constitution. The clauses were modified in September, 1952, and the second generation of Indians in Malaya (excluding Singapore) about 30 per cent of all Indians living there—"became eligible for a citizenship that was now to be tantamount to Malayan nationality."[39] According to Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha, 200,000 Malaya Indians had acquired Malayan citizenship by the end of 1952.

Attempts were made in 1951 to unify the three Indian organisations in Malaya (including Singapore).[40] Like similar attempts made earlier, they ended in a failure. The action of the M. I. C., in joining the Independence of Malaya Party (I. M. P.) in September, 1951, was a direct cause of the failure of the unity move. Mr. P. Ramani, an Indian labour leader, was offered a Ministership in the Malayan Cabinet in 1951, which he refused to accept for personal reasons. The Cabinet, re-constituted in 1953, had no Indian minister. Five out of six of the Indian Legislative Councillors resigned in protest against the exclusion of Indians. Their joint letter of resignation said, *inter alia*, "This attitude of the government is bound to create the feeling here and elsewhere that the Indian community is no longer regarded by the government as of any political significance, now or in future. We have no alternative but to step back to the side of our countrymen and to share with them the burden of their economic and political unimportance". Many Malayans regarded the resignation as an instance of "overriding communal loyalty" on the part of at least two of the Councillors who had been nominated to represent the inter-racial Malayan trade unions. The British authorities of Malaya sought to appease the Indian community in late January, 1954, when they appointed an Indian to a newly-created ministerial post in the Federation of Malaya Government. A month earlier, in December, 1953, R. Jumabhoy, an Indian member of

37. Messrs Doraisamy Ayer and C. P. Menon.

38. Appointed late in 1946, the Cheeseman Committee heard and evaluated all criticisms of the new constitutional proposals for Malaya.

39. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

40. The Malayan Indian Congress, The Malayan Indian Association and The Federation of Indian Organisations.

the Legislative Council of Singapore, characterised Singapore's new immigration laws as anti-Indian and demanded equal rights for all communities after the introduction of self-government in Singapore.

Chettyars from South India and Sikhs from the Punjab are Malaya's principal money-lenders. Singapore alone had about fifty Chettyar-owned firms in 1940 with a total capital investment estimated at 30-40 million Straits Dollars (1 Straits Dollars = 1.56 Indian rupees). There were besides thousands of Sikh money-lenders operating in Malaya and Singapore. Most of the Chettyars fled to India during the war. Their agents, left behind, took care of their interests during their absence. Settlement of the transactions made on their behalf, while they were away, was the principal pre-occupation of the Chettyars after the war. When money was scarce in 1942-43, Chettyars' agents had forced debtors, mostly Malayans, to pay off. Defaulters had been dragged to the court. Indian-Malayan relations had become considerably embittered in consequence. The Chettyars on their return contended that unable to meet the Azad Hind Government demands for contribution, their agents had been forced by circumstances to press the debtors for re-payment. After the war, the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya declared that no Indian Community in Malaya had been so severely hit by the war as the Chettyars.[41] We are not in a position to vouchsafe the truth or otherwise of this assertion. It may, however, be noted that even in 1946, 175,000 acres of rubber estates and property worth 200,000,000 Straits dollars in Malaya were owned by the Chettyars. Malaya and Singapore have Chettyar money-lenders even today. But the great days of money-lending are gone for ever.

Indian traders in Malaya and Singapore were victims of the discriminatory policy of the Government of Malaya in the early post-war years. The increased Indo-Malayan and Singapore-Indian trade since 1949 has, however, countered the policy to a great extent. The Government of Malaya complained in 1952, that Indians in large numbers were leaving the country for fear of conscription. The Secretary to the Penang Indian Chamber of Commerce rejoined in course of a statement "more Indian firms have been established in Malaya in recent years, and local traders are likely to adopt Malaya as their second home."[42] In fact, the growing prosperity of Malaya in recent years has been rooting Indian merchants more firmly in that country.

Malaya employed in all about 375,000 Indians in 1937. Of these, 244,000 were employed in rubber estates, and 44,000 in government offices. More than 40,000 were traders. More than 25,000 were employed in transport and communications services, 87,000 worked in mines, 9,000 in factories and 4,000 in the police department The number of Indians in other occupations cannot be ascertained. Plantation workers were mostly Tamils and Telugus from South India. Northern Indians, on the other hand, predominated in business and professions.

Malaya's Indian labour began to be organised in the late thirties on the eve of World War II. The C. I. A. M. (The Central Indian Association of Malaya) organised by the middle-class Indian intelligentsia in 1936 took the initiative. Favourable conditions for a vigorous labour movement in Malaya had been created by the time the war came to an end in 1945. Scarcity of rice and price inflation confronted the Malayan labour with a crisis of stupendous magnitude. Malaya's 2,400 rubber estates employed a total of 150,093 Indian workers in 1946. In the same year, 4,613 and 3,497 Indians worked in Malayan mines and factories, respectively. Indians constituted more than 50 per cent of Malaya's pre-war labour force. The proportion, however, had fallen below 50 per cent in 1946. Wages of Indian labourers have been always lower than those of the Chinese.

Time and again, after the war, have the former protested in vain against this disparity. Low wages and high prices of rice have forced many Indian estate-workers to take to cultivation as their principal occupation. Work on the estates became a secondary and spare-time occupation to them. The Communists exploited the Indian labourers' discontent to strengthen their own hold on them. Communist leadership of labour in

41. Vide, *The Staits Times*, Singapore, June 5, 1948.

42. Vide, *Ibid*, June 29, 1952. (Quoted)

Malaya—Indian and otherwise—became a *fait accompli* in course of time. Ganapathy, an ex-President of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, was hanged in May, 1949. His successor Veeranasan was shot-down by the police. Another Indian labour leader Sambasivan was sentenced to death. About 800 Indians were detained on suspicion and no formal charge was brought against the majority of them till September, 1949. Indian labourers, in general, kept aloof from the Malayan Communist rebellion and it has been "officially admitted that the number of Indians participating in terrorist activities is less than 1 per cent."[43]

The Malayan labour movement, which lay low for a time after the outbreak of the Communist rebellion early in 1948, showed signs of renewed vigour from mid-1949. Indian labour and labour leaders came to limelight. As of July, 1949, 62.5 per cent of the total membership of the Malayan Trade Unions was Indian. More than 50 per cent of the members of the 43,000-member Malayan Trade Unions Council inaugurated at Kuala Lumpur in March, 1950, were South Indians. So also were most of its leaders. Mr. P. P. Narayanam, the first President of the Council, was a South Indian himself.

Indonesia

Indonesia never had—nor has she today—a large Indian population. According to the latest available census returns, *viz.*, those of 1931, (Indonesia had her latest census early in 1961. But its report is yet to be published), there were 27,684 Indians in Indonesia. 12,654 of them were Indonesia-born. There was one woman to every two men. The Indian immigrants were concentrated mostly in Java and Sumatra, which, between them, accounted for 25,638 Indians. The rest were scattered in the outlying islands. Most of the Indians in Java were retail traders. Those in the Deli area in Sumatra, on the other hand, were estate-workers, chauffeurs, cattlemen and night watchmen. The immigrants were, by and large, Muslims from Coromondol and Malabar coasts.

After the capitulation of Japan in August, 1945, the British army was sent to Indonesia to disarm the Japanese army of occupation. The British army, which included some Indian regiments, had to fight occasionally against the Indonesian nationalists. Nationalist India raised a hue and cry against the employment of Indian troops against the Indonesian nationalists. The British army left Indonesia in November, 1946. Some Indian Muslim troops were left behind—how it is not known. Complaints were later on received against some Pakistani Muslim elements of the Indonesian Republican Army. Hindus were the principal targets of their attack. But "as the Pakistanis were good soldiers and good Muslims, the Republicans (found) it hard to deal with them."[44] Twenty-five Pakistani soldiers of the International Brigade of the Indonesian Republican Army were repatriated with thanks in August, 1953.

The number of Indians in Indonesia has been steadily declining since 1945 when Indonesia became independent. Harassed by bandits, about 3,000 Indians living in Medan (Sumatra) were eager to return home immediately after the war. They were aided by the Government of India to come back to India.

The majority of Indians in pre-war Java and Sumatra were, as noted above, retail merchants and skilled and unskilled labourers, respectively. The situation remains much the same today.

Thailand

Before World War II, Thailand had an Indian population of about 5,000. Of these, more or less 3,000 lived in Bangkok. Almost all of them were businessmen. A few Indians had permanently settled down in Thailand long before the war. Thailand's present Indian population is estimated at about 5,000, *i.e.*, the same as before the war. Registration as foreigners is compulsory for the Indian residents of Thailand.

There were two non-political organisations in Thailand before the war. These were the Indian Association and the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge founded in 1928 and 1940, respectively. Gyani P. Singh and Aman Singh organised the

43. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

44. *Ibid*, p. 348.

Thai Branch of the I.I.L. during the war. Some of its members were sent to Malaya in 1941 for propaganda among the British Indian troops there. About this time, Swami Satyananda Puri, the founder of the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, came to limelight in Thailand. Requested by the Thai royal family, Tagore had sent him to Thailand in 1932. He founded the Indian National Council for the Freedom of India in 1941. Gyani P. Singh went to Malaya after the fall of Singapore and played an important part in organising branches of the I.I.L. there. Both he and Swami Satyananda died in plane crash during a flight to Tokyo towards the end of March, 1942. Two months later, the Indian National Council for the Freedom of India was merged in the I.I.L. The I.I.L. pressed Indian residents for contribution to its funds. Many Indians, it is alleged, registered themselves as Thai nationals at the time to avoid payment of contributions. Shame !

The "Balak Sena" (The Indian Youth Movement) was organised at Bangkok in 1943. It sought to inculcate self-help, national spirit and good civic principles among the Indian youths in Thailand. "Down with communal splits and tensions" was its war-cry. The "Balak Sena" was the only Indian organisation in Thailand to survive the war. It had 200 Hindu, Sikh and Muslim members in 1946.

A philanthropic, social welfare organisation in the beginning, the "Balak Sena" developed a political outlook in the long run. Indians in Thailand gave up all political activities after the attainment of independence by India in 1947.

VIETNAM

The exact number of Indians in Vietnam is unknown. An estimated 6,000 Indians lived in that country before World War II concentrated mostly in Cochin-China and, to a lesser extent, in Cambodia. Perhaps 50 per cent of them were from erstwhile French colonies in India (Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahe Karikal and Yenam). Mohammedans from Northern India, Chettyars from Madras and Parsis from Bombay, among others, accounted for the rest.

According to Kondapi, there were more or less 1,000 Indians in Vietnam in 1949. Some, however, think it to be an understatement.[45] Vietnam Indians were left undisturbed during the war and there were no restrictions on their movements.[46]

After the war, in 1948, the French authorities insisted that each Indian resident must be finger-printed and pay a poll-tax. The Government of India having protested against the tax, it was withdrawn.

Indian immigration to Vietnam and Cambodia followed closely in the wake of the French conquest. 50 per cent of the Indian migrants were perhaps, as noted above, from the former French colonies in India. As French citizens, they were eligible for government jobs not available to the children of the soil for many years. The latter, naturally enough, were jealous of the former. The activities of the Chettyar money-lenders did not a little to create and accentuate anti-Indian bitterness. The French authorities held the Chettyars responsible for political disturbances in Vietnam and actually ordered the externment of five of them. The order was subsequently rescinded. But it aroused considerable Chettyar resentment and apprehension.

Before the war there were 120 Chettyar firms in Vietnam and Cambodia and a sizeable proportion of Indo-China's export trade was in Chettyar hands. There was a time when they owned a quarter of the rice-lands in Cambodia and Indo-China. Later on, the government arranged cheap agricultural credit facilities and ordered the externment of a few Chettyars. The latter saw the handwriting on the wall and before the outbreak of the war in 1939 had transferred 65 per cent of their capital out of Vietnam and Cambodia. Even after transfer, Chettyar capital in these countries amounted to Rs. 21.4 millions.[47]

It was around the dissident and disgruntled elements that the I.I.L. in Vietnam was organised

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45. Vide, Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
46. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 203.
47. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *op. cit.*, p. 130 (quoted).

during the war. Because of the small number and comparative poverty of Indians in that country the Azad Hind movement was never very powerful in Vietnam. The Republic of Vietnam, from its inception in 1945, courted the Indian community. In October, 1945, the Fighting Committee of the Revolutionary Peoples of Southern Indo-China appealed to the Indian soldiers in the British army—"Your fellow-countrymen are fighting for liberty as we are; our ideals are the same and we must love each other. We must not be divided by anyone."[48]

After the outbreak of war in Tongkin, in December, 1946, the Vietmin Radio broadcast that some Indians had voluntarily joined the Vietmin army and that the Indian residents of Saigon-Cholon region had sent monetary help to the rebel leader Ho Chi Min. A Reuter despatch from Hanoi under date July 27, 1947, said that at least some of the 400 Indian residents of Hanoi were reluctant to be evacuated "because the Vietnamese had shown no hostility to them. Prime Minister Nehru's statement published in February 16, 1947 issue, of the Burmese (Rangoon) said that three lives had been lost in the December (1946) outbreak in Tongkin and that "no Indians are fighting in Indo-China so far as the Indian government is aware."

48. C. Kondapi, *op. cit.*, p. 348. (quoted).

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EXPLORATION OF THE HIDDEN WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY

THE rich deposits of coal found at Bokaro in Bihar, of oil at Ankleshwar in Gujarat and lignite at Neyveli in Madras are only a few instances where the minerals have been won on the basis of discovery first made by the Geological Survey of India.

The Geological Survey of India is one of the oldest organisations of its kind in the world, having been set up as early as 1845. But geological survey as an essential requisite for industrial ventures is a recent development. The emphasis on material strategy in the Second World War brought home the necessity for more data on the mineral resources of the country and geological advice was frequently sought both for civil and military purposes. Later, with the advent of Independence, a national mineral policy had to be formulated and put into action. This entailed rapid expansion of the Geological Survey of India.

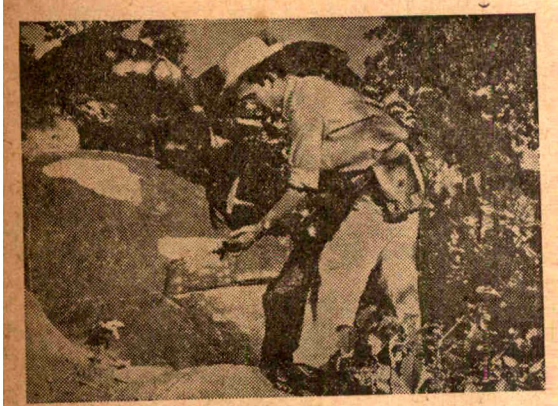
During the last decade, significant progress has been made in the survey of the country's mineral resources and good use has been made of the results obtained. But the rapidly increasing demand for minerals, raw materials requires that such surveys and investigations should be further intensified.

Expansion of steel production has particularly focussed attention on the need to locate fresh reserves of flux grade limestone and of dolomite and other refractory materials. Likewise, there is an urgent need to locate further workable reserves of non-ferrous metals like copper, lead and zinc which are at present largely imported, and of bauxite, the demand of which will increase with the expansion of the aluminium industry.

Transformation of Physical Data into a map by a Geologist

Reorganisation

To meet the demand for rapid survey of the ountry's mineral resources, it is proposed to eorganise the Geological Survey of India. Under his scheme, besides the Northern Regional ffice at Lucknow, which was set up in October, 961, two more regional offices—eastern and outhern—are to be set up with their head-uarters at Calcutta and Hyderabad, respectively. Circle offices, under the regional offices, are to e set up in almost all the States. This process f decentralisation has been initiated to ensure oncentrated and speedy survey of the country's ninerals. With workshops, laboratories and well-tocked libraries at the regional centres, it will e easier to undertake investigation quickly.



A Geologist collecting rock samples in his quest for oil-bearing rock strata

Geological survey is a protracted process. The geologist scans the countryside in three ways—by undertaking aerial surveys, by sending out geological ground parties and by organising some 'information drilling.'

In the first stage, a plane fitted with a special wide-angle camera flies over by strips, taking photographs. These photographs help in quick mapping of a large area at lesser costs. After the photographs have been studied and places of interest located, the ground parties move into map in detail the various types of rock formation. The rocks, the fossils and plants are subjected to close study and then different studies are correlated to find the clue to the period in which the particular object was formed. This helps in determining where minerals are likely to occur in a particular place.

Fascinating Results of Research

To complete preliminary studies, sometimes 'information drilling' is undertaken.

Research has brought forth some very fascinating discoveries. The study of geological aspects of sedimentation of deposits containing coal or of the formation of lodes and veins in various types of rocks helped in bringing to light the glacial conditions which preceded the formation of coal deposits leading to the postulation of the existence of a former great Southern continent called Gondwanaland. It has revealed the complicated history and structure of the Himalayas and given out valuable data on the evolution of various groups of animals whose remains are found in different geological formations. Further, it helped in determining areas most liable to earthquakes and in guiding search for minerals which are invariably associated with certain types of rocks.

The importance of Geological survey has been manifest in other fields also. The organisaiton now advises the Government on suitability of dams, tunnels, bridges and other foundations and reservoir sites; on areas which are unstable and liable to landslips; on building of roads and railways. Besides, appraisal of ground water resources, their distribution, characteristics and suitability for various purposes are profitably undertaken on the basis of geological studies.

The story of geology is a series of adventures and the Geological Survey of India, through systematic exploration and improved techniques, is continuously exposing the hidden wealth of the country for the greater good of the common man.—*P.I.B.*

IMPROVED APPLIANCES AND DESIGNS IN HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

The handloom industry occupies a very important place in the country today. It accounts for about 30 per cent of the actual requirements of cloth, and its employment potential is immense. The improved appliances now used have helped in improving traditional designs and introducing new features in handloom industry.

A lady visitor examining the Indian Handloom products at Handicrafts show

Under the Third Five-Year Plan, the production of cloth in the handloom sector is envisaged at 2,800 million yards out of the total target of 9,300 million yards for all the sectors of the cotton textile industry. For the development of the industry during this period an outlay of Rs. 34 crores has been provided.

In the old days, the handloom weaver plied his primitive throw shuttle loom. It takes a long time to save a fabric, the maximum being 3 yards a day after hard and continuous labour. This loom suited those who had leisure to weave complicated designs for the wardrobe of the Royalty and rich nobles and landed gentry.

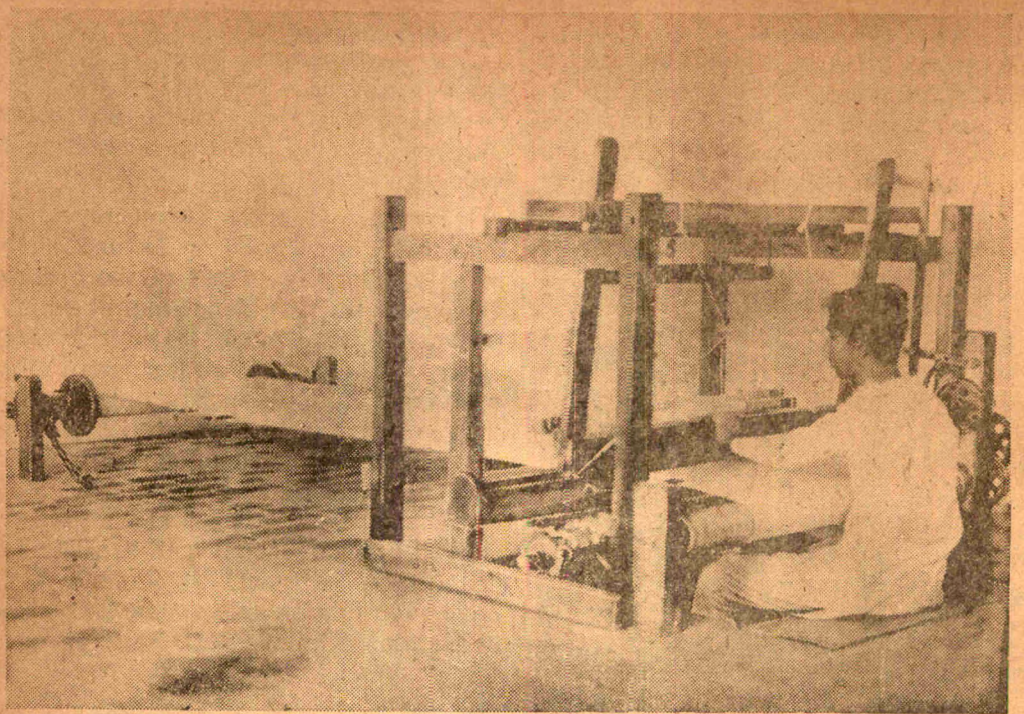
With the advent of the spinning and weaving machines, which ushered in the industrial revolution in England, the old handloom could not stand the competition of the new inventions. Many weavers had been thrown out of employment. The number of handlooms which were said to be 60 lakhs at one time with crores of spinning wheels to feed these looms with yarn have dwindled in number to such an extent that when Mahatma Gandhi had to search for spinning wheels, which were safely stored in the lumber rooms in order to resuscitate the cottage spinning industry to provide employment to the poverty-stricken dumb millions of India, who were residing in the villages.

The then Madras Government was the first in India to have an Industries Department against the wishes of the overlords in England. In this department, several experiments were made to improve the efficiency of the loom as an instrument for hand weaving. And ultimately the present fly shuttle looms were found to be the best and inexpensive for handloom weavers.

The Basil Mission of Germany, which established itself in Kerala, also invented several types of looms such as frame looms, pedal looms, jacquard attachments, etc. They have even now their weaving establishments in Kerala. Their efforts to improve loom, weaving patterns and designs have given great fillip to the hand weaving industry in Kerala.

Trainees working at the Handloom Section of the Industrial Training Centre for women

The Madras Government have appointed peripatetic demonstration parties to propagate the newly invented fly shuttle looms,



Improved Banarasi loom for weaving Banarasi traditional silk goods

its technicalities and to give training to handloom weavers on the spot for weaving.

The weavers were sceptical at first of learning to weave on the fly shuttle, but gradually they adopted this loom. Now in Andhra and Madras States almost all the looms are fly shuttle looms. It was once thoughtout that intricate designs cannot be woven on fly shuttle looms, but with the invention of dobbies, jacquards, chain dobbies, etc., it has become easy to weave most complicated designs. Yet, for weaving costly Banaras sarees, the throw shuttle loom is being used.

In spite of the invention of the fly shuttle loom, the weaver is not able to produce more cloth per day and consequently the wages he earns are meagre and the production cost of the cloth has become more, compared to that of cloth woven on the machine. Experiments were, therefore, made to improve the weaving capacity of the loom. Semi-automatic and pedal looms modelled on the pattern of powerlooms came into being.

The semi-automatic loom is an improvement on the fly shuttle loom. The weaver has to use only one hand instead of both hands as in the case of fly shuttle loom for weaving cloth. The loom is heavy and the drag on the hand gives pain to the weaver and it affects his heart also. Hence these semi-automatic looms have not become popular.

The pedal looms are modelled on the pattern of the powerloom. They have all the mechanism of the powerlooms minus power to operate. This loom is very heavy. It has to be moved by pedal motion using the legs as in the case of a bicycle. These looms are in use to a large extent in Bombay State. It is possible to weave only certain types of cloth on these looms. Sizing of warps for use on these looms is felt difficult, because there are no machines capable of sizing long warps. If sizing difficulty is solved, these looms can be used in large number for weaving particular types of cloth. It is also possible to compete with mill cloth, because the production capacity of a weaver on this loom is more, compared to fly shuttle loom.

The Handloom Board, which is charged with the task of framing development schemes for the handloom and their implementation, has to take steps to conduct research to improve the handloom especially with regard to its mobility in weaving.

Warping and sizing are major preparatory processes for weaving. With regard to warping, the peg type of warping has changed to the wheel type. This is further improved. Now the horizontal and vertical type of warping machines are in use; on these improved warping machines, it is now possible to have lengthy warps within short time.

There is no improvement in sizing of the warps. The street sizing, i.e., stretching of the warps in the streets for sizing is still there. There are many handicaps with regard to street sizing. It requires large space for spreading of the warp and it is not also possible to size lengthy warps, say warps of 100 yards length or more. The process of street sizing is also tedious and laborious requiring at least 2 people to work on the warp for nearly 3 hours. In rainy days the sizing operation cannot be done.

Attempt were made to invest a hand-operated sizing machine in the Textile Institute, Madras. This machine was called Amalsad Het Air sizing machine. It has not become popular. Afterwards, no attempt was made to invent a sizing machine suitable for handloom weaving industry.

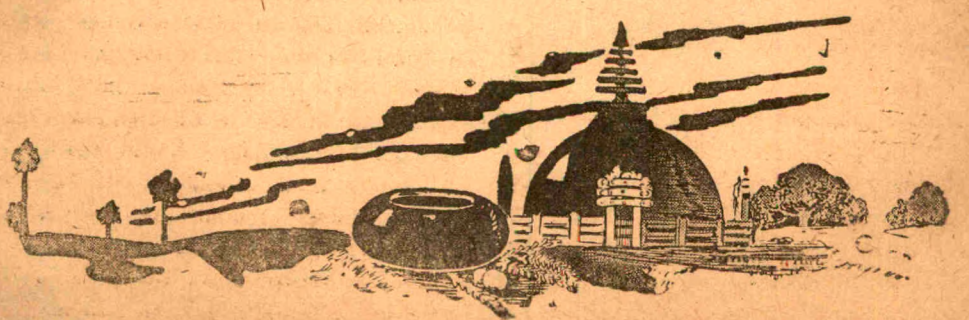
The sizing materials for sizing of warps are not standardised. In different parts of India, different sizing materials are used. The purpose of the sizing materials is to give strength and shining to the yarn at a cheaper cost. Experts have to go into this question and find out a suitable sizing material.

Exhibition of Khaddar Saris of Exquisite designs at New Delhi

The weaver is now employing the traditional designs in weaving the fabric. Though there are changes in the designs now and then, the weaver requires training in the art of design and its adoption.

The future of the industry would be assured if improved types of looms, improved method of sizing and designing are adopted in the weaving of handloom fabrics.

—P.I.B.



THE CERAMICS EXHIBITION OF MISS BEATRICE WOOD

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Exhibition of CERAMICS executed by Miss Beatrice Wood—exhibited under the auspices of the All India Handicrafts Board is a stimulating show, full of useful lessons for Indian Craftsmen, —particularly, in Bengal which has had a long tradition of clay Pottery for domestic use—in the daily life of our people. Miss Wood's beautiful examples of Pottery—do indeed open up a new way of experiments in this craft and should inspire—our modern Indian Craftsmen—to work on the path in this branch of Artware in which very little has been done in recent times.

The most outstanding phases of Miss Wood's products are their beautiful Forms, their captivating Textures and attractive Colours. There are quite a number of fascinating shapes and patterns—in a variety of designs—applied to the making of—Bowls, Dishes, and narrow-necked Vessels—with bulging bottoms, for which she has a special partiality. We noticed at least five different patterns—in shaping vessels with long narrow necks—of striking originality. There is no doubt that Miss Wood has intimate knowledge of old Greek pottery—but she has not apishly imitated—any old models—and her designs and patterns are entirely her own,—without following the shapes and forms of any well-known masterpieces of Classical or Mediaeval examples. Some pieces remind one of Greek Lakonian Kylix or early ATTIC OINOCHOE—but they are echoes, rather than conscious imitations.

Her works are based on sound traditions of potting and carry the charm of correct Line and Form. What strikes us most—is the simplicity and directness of Form and astonishing economy of design. They are absolutely free from any attempt at contortion, all making for beauty and harmony and marked by a fitness for a definite purpose.

The next outstanding feature of these beautiful pieces—is their wonderful Texture—their tactile quality. It is difficult to say from what source the artist has derived this striking quality of texture. The obvious sources of texture are the masterpieces of Chinese Pottery which for ages have furnished models for glaze, lustre and texture of fine quality. But one cannot detect in these pieces any direct derivation from Chinese models.

But the best quality of the exhibits lies in their captivating colours,—illusive, fragile, and almost mystic and mysterious in their brooding appeal. The rich range of her colour varies from Cobalt and Turquoise Blue to Raspberry Pink, deep Purple and Burnt Black. She happily avoids —loud or shrieking colours,—the cheap stunts for popularity. The artist seems, much to our regrets, to avoid the tones of Yellow and Red—the traditional paths of our Indian Folk-Art. But colour is a matter of personal temparament, and we have no right to complain of any artist's preferences for any particular nouances of colours and tints. But we have to remark that the artists' colours are, not, by any means, gay or joyous—but sombre, reflective, and brooding. The next feature of the exhibits—is the attempt to decorate —a few with Pictorial Designs. But this is a very provocative and challenging feature. In India we

have no continuous tradition of pottery—painted with pictorial patterns. Our prehistoric models from Harappa in Sind and Nal in Beluchistan, are very rich in animal and plant motives, of wonderful skill and dexterity. But these early examples have not left any continuous tradition. And the only link in the missing chain is the well-known Bowl with Heads of Cherabim in Ajantan style, which is an unique piece from the Heeramanek collection now in an American Museum. And our late attempts at pictorial pottery—are the well-known Multan Pottery mostly mediocre in quality. But many of us have been demoralized and spoilt by the moving beauty of the Rhages and Sultanabad pottery, fine examples of which have gone to enrich the collections of the Museums of the United States. It is said that the masterpieces of Persian Pottery of the 12th and 13th centuries were produced by the collaboration of the Pictorial Artists with the potters of Persia. Any how,—the Persian Platters and Dishes painted with charming 'Human figures'—have pitched our expectations to heights which it is difficult for a modern potter to reach, without the active collaboration of the Pictorial Artist. Yet Miss Beatrice Wood —has several pieces to her credit with pictorial motifs—which cannot but extort high praise. Her little bowl with the picture of a 'Madonna' motif, glowing with religious fervour,—undoubtedly recalls the quality of several masterpieces—lately in the Parish Watson collection. But a fine masterpiece—with pictorial motif is a dish—wonderfully painted with the portrait of a Cat with a spotted coat—which pathetically stares at us—with a pair of large appealing eyes This skilful realistic study of a domestic animal is set off with fascinating foliages of leaves—which run round the border. This unique piece —luckily establishes—the range and versatility of this talented potter.

It is a matter of some consideration if these beautiful models could be presented in some permanent and less fragile material,—so that they could be used with utilitarian purposes to provide furnitures for our daily domestic use, so that we could chase out of our life those ugly enamel wares and aluminium products—which symbolize our poverty and mean slovenly standard of our daily existence,—emphasized by our ugly utensils, for our dinner, devoid of all beauty and decorum.

As it is, we could only use these fine examples of pottery of exquisite shape and colour, to decorate our Drawing Rooms and parlours, and worship them as objects of aesthetic contemplation, situated on a level far higher than the sordid needs of our daily life. But the Greek Vases were made for daily domestic use, *not* as show-pieces for our Museums, or as decorations of our Drawing Rooms.*

By the courtesy of All India Radio, Calcutta.

"SYMBOLISM OF THE SUN-TEMPLE AT KONARAK"

By AMAL SARKAR

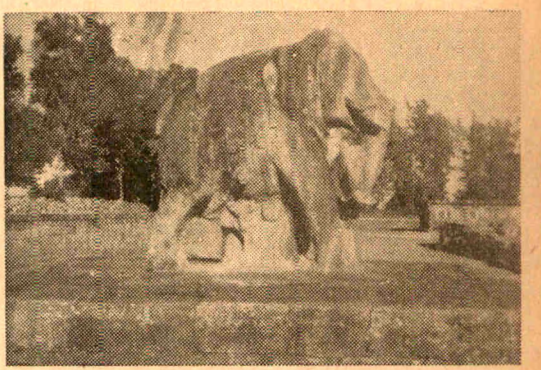
KONARAK, the eternal sanctuary of India and the pride of Orissa, is situated about 56 miles by road from Puri via Pipli and Nimopara; the place can also be reached by sea from Puri covering a distance of about 20 miles but the journey is not so easy for an ordinary man because of the turbulent waves of the rough sea. It is said that the great exponent of *Vaisnavism*, Sri Sri Chaitanyadeva once took this perilous route (by floating his body) to reach the temple of Konarak. The temple has a surrounding which can hardly be claimed by any other Orissan temple. It stands about 21 miles north-east corner of Puri on the sea-shore; about 2 miles south-east of the temple is the sea and about half a mile north can be seen, once wide but now dried up, river Chandrabhaga, an offshoot of the famous Prachi. It is, however, interesting to note the origin of the term 'Konarak' from a copper-grant of Narasimhadeva II, the King of Orissa, between 1278 and 1306 A.D. It is learnt from the grant that the great temple was built by his illustrious grandfather Narasimha I (1238-1264 A.D.); the place where the temple was built is mentioned in the grant as 'Konakone' and the deity to whom it was dedicated as the 'Arka' (Sun), the illuminator of the universe, and thus the name 'Konarak' is derived. According to some, of whom the name of the eminent Indian scholar, Monomohan Ganguli can be mentioned, the term Kona or Corner has been used with reference to the position of Padma-Kshetra (Padma being the symbol of the Sun and Eternity) or Arka-Kshetra (the Sun's place) situated at the north-east corner (Isana-kona) of Chakra-Kshetra, *i.e.*, Puri and hence this place it termed Kon(a)ar(a) K, *i.e.* Konarak (the sum of the north-east corner which is the place of the sun). Different names of this place can be gathered from different sources; in *Brahma Purana* we get 'Konaditya'; *Kapil Samhita* refers it as 'Araka-Kshetra': *Samba Purana* speaks about 'Mitra Vana'; in Madla Panji, the palm-leaf chronicles of the temple Jagannath at Puri, one of the oldest indigenous records of Orissa, whose date ranges between 11th to 16th century A.D. the place is known as Padma-Kshetra; Smarta Raghunandan Bhattacharjee in his *Purushottampaddhati* gives the name as 'Konarak' and in *Sri Chaitanya-Charitamrita* we get he name 'Konarak.'

The portion of the temple where the image of the Sun-God was installed by the builder is long destroyed and whatever we now know and see as the Sun-Temple (Surya-mandir) of Konarak is nothing but the Jagmohana, *i.e.*, the assembly hall and the Natmandap, *i.e.*, the dancing hall with no roof above. A strange deviation in temple structure is, however, noticed at Konarak. Unlike the other temples of Orissa that of Konarak has two smaller outer halls (most possible the *Bhogamandap* or the place of offerings) completely separated from the main structure; the assembly hall and the tower were built on an imposing platform. The main tower was about 200 feet high but the sanctum has left no mark behind. It might be due to ravages of time or to those of marauders' vandalism that the magnanimous architectural-*cum*-sculptural production of Orissa is lost. It is said that the great iconoclast of eastern India, Kalapahar, once a staunch Brahmin but later on a converted Muslim, satisfied his iconoclastic zeal by vainly boasting that 'I have destroyed all temples and am conqueror of the world' and he was greatly responsible for the effacing of the glorious temple of the Sun-God from the surface of the earth. The Marathas under the leadership of their preceptor, Baba Brahmachari, might also be partly responsible for the destruction of the Sun-temple; some temples were built by them in Srikshetra, *i.e.*, Puri from the materials acquired from the Konarak temple. But be that as it may, what is left to posterity stands for that 'proud' work of man which says that 'beauty' and 'truth' cannot die.

This temple is known as the Black temple (Krisna mandir) or Black Pagoda as the door-

lintels and the outer walls of the temple carved with innumerable figures are made of black stone and give out a blackish colour when seen from a distance although the usual stone is grey sandstone. Abul Fazl has referred to this structure, "Near Jagannath is a temple dedicated to the sun (at Konarak). Its cost was defrayed by 12 years' revenue of the province". References from Madla Panji and copper grants of the kings of Ganga dynasty, the temple was built between the years 1276-1278 A.D. During this period the annual revenue of Orissa was about 3 crores of rupees. The colossal temple was built in the shape of a chariot (Ratha), the vehicle in which the Sun-God crosses the heaven. This Chariot-shaped temple has 12 decorated wheels, 10 feet in diameter (6 on each side) and drawn by six horses. In the usual form the Sun-God's chariot is drawn by seven horses symbolising 'Seven Rays' of the sun. It can be well-presumed that the chariot (Ratha) of Konarak was also once drawn by seven horses, three on each side, which can be seen even today but the seventh or the horse in the centre, not to be seen at present, might have been destroyed through passage of time. In Ain-i-Akbari, however, no reference is made to these magnificent wheels of the Sun-God's chariot; it is possible that the wheels were lying buried in sand during the 16th century when Abul-Fazl wrote his book. In 1627 A.D., when Narasimhadeva visited this temple the wheels were still not to be seen on the surface; the king did not refer anything about the wheels, he only ordered to shift the image of the Sun-God to some safer place owing to Muslim (Kalapahar?) oppressions. Between 1756-1800 A.D., the Marathas were ruling over the realm and it was under their order that the 'Arun-Stambha' was taken away from the campass of the temple and transplanted to its modern site, *i.e.*, before the lion-gate of Sri Jagannath temple at Puri. According to some local priests again the original image of the Sun-God of Konarak had since been transferred somewhere in Puri by the Marathas. The real work of preservation, however, commenced in 1901, under the government of Sir John Woodburn when the excavation of sand round about the Jagmohan was started.

Seldom in the history of sculpture and architecture we can find an exquisite monument like the temple of Konarak. It was, when entered perhaps one of the most balanced and proportioned monument ever known. Whatever is left of the grandest Indian structure clearly shows how Indian mind has made the most correct appreciation and perfect expression of human as well as animal forms. The entrance on either side by prancing horses, who are indeed the true representations of the 'expansive' and 'powerful' mind of the builder. A scholar has aptly remarked that these forceful horses and the mighty elephant crushing a malefactor in his trunk show a strength of treatment and a feeling for animal form "rare in the world's art". The same method for joining the different parts of the walls and roofs by means of iron girders which we find in most Indian architecture is also applied in case of the Sun-temples; this is indeed a striking technical innovation.



The might elephant crushing a malefactor (Konarak)

It is not in the least possible to bind one's 'self' in the binds of the ethereal world standing amidst the sculptures of Konarak. Leaving the base and the next adjacent panel of the outer body of Jagamohana the whole practically represents the erotic principles but so natural and so innocent. The unknown artists in expressing the 'sexual' life of man have hardly lost the sense of sublimity anywhere. The Mithuna figures of Konarak are 'exceptionally vivid'. There are one or two examples which might be termed as 'crude' or 'obscure'; a man satisfying two women at the same time or *vice versa;* or a man and a woman trying to taste the eternal nectar of union;

or a 'woman' hanging round the neck of her 'man' with her head down and legs wide apart. It might also appear that the body proportion with the body and herein the artists have to lose the sense of proportion for giving prominence to sex-organs and sex-acts but nowhere the inner 'perception' of 'union' is neglected. To a general untrained mind these figures might appear 'irritable' and all charm and munificence cannot be

The Communion of two principles male and female (Konarak)

understood. It might be that the 'frank eroticism' of these sculptures has given the 'Black Pagoda' a rather infamous reputation. The larger figures on the top of the outer body of the temple (Jagamohan) are much more sublime and gentle and proportionate: the one in the south-west corner in which a 'man' (*i.e.*, Purusa) is gently pressing the breast (Cf. Umalinganam murti) of his beloved with one hand and with the other trying to unite with his 'woman' (*i.e.*, Prakrti), is above reproach.

Many suggestions have been made as to the true significance of these figures. Many say that these are based on the *Kamasastra*, the Indian Ars Amatoria 'illustrating the vein of sex-mysticism' which runs through the Indian religions. According to another school these figures merely 'served the mundane purpose of advertising the charms of the Devadasis or temple prostitues'—this view was propounded by Mr. J. Rawson and not yet published. Orthodox thinkers say that 'they were intended to represent the world of the flesh, in contrast to the bare and austere interior, which symbolized' the things of the spirit and the seeker of the spiritual world has to keep himself detached from earthly (carnal?) desires; rather he has to win over his physical or mortal passions to reach the spiritual world, *i.e.*, to get 'release of his soul' or 'Salvation' (*moksha*). Another group of thinkers expounds a plausible view by saying that 'probably they were connected, in the minds of their designers, with the sexual mysticism which played so great a part in mediaeval Indian religious thought. (Cf. Parrich cult of Orissa).

If we go deep behind the reliefs on the walls of the temple at Konarak we can see that the "two-in-one" principle (which represents the whole Indian philosophy and religion) is followed. The efficacy of mortal life becomes complete when the two principles, male and female, unite and there the whole world rests. The eternal desire of 'union' is expressed in different attitudes of mind. 'Man' is the agent or the creating principle and 'woman' is the power or the creative principle and this power cannot act by itself, it requires an agent or the medium through which it acts; thus the two together is the whole. This "two-in-one" principle has been symbolized in the form of 'Siva-lingam' where the 'Lingam' (male principle) stands for 'Purusa' or the agent and the 'Yoni' (female principle) is the 'prakriti' or the power; the finalisation of this idea of 'compromise' between the two principles (male and female) is carried out in the most important image of Ardhanariswar (half Siva, *i.e.*, 'Purusa' or 'the actor' on the right and half Parvati, *i.e.*, 'Prakriti' or 'the Power' on the left) and the two together become the whole; thus we also find Vishnu having Lakshmi, Indra having Indrani, Kumar having Kumari that every God (actor) has his consort (the power): the same doctrine has been followed in the Tantric Buddhistic *Yi-dam* or *Yab-Yum* like He-Vajra figures, *i.e.*, glorious father and glorious mother in communion. The same idea of "two-in-one" principle was expressed once by Sri Sri Ramakrishna when he uttered that he was the 'wife' of

Naren (Vivekananda). When he was asked how this was so he thus explained "I am the Power but I (*i.e.*, Power) cannot act by myself and it is Naren through whom I will act", thus Naren (Vivekananda) was taken to be his (Power's) husband (Agent) by the great philosopher of Bengal.

The glorious communion of two principles brings in 'creation'—this keenest urge 'to unite' and 'to create' is manifested in every heart of every earthly being. This 'mortal union' or 'uniting' is a step to the 'union' with God or the Divinity. As there should lie an absolute frankness in case of a 'mortal union' [because there must be a complete surrender (samarpan) with no veil (abaran) of one 'principle' to the other, so also there should be frank and complete surrender of 'self' (individual soul) to get a union with Divinity or the Absolute and when this stage is reached the two principles (*i.e.*, the individual and the Absolute) become one]; this same idea has been well-expressed in the *Bhagavad Gita*: in book 18 verse 65 it is said:

"Manmana bhava madbhako madyaji mam namaskuru,
Mame-vaisyasi satyam te pratijane priyasi me."

[Merge thy mind (Manah) in Me, be My devotee, sacrifice to Me, prostrate thyself before Me, thou shalt come even to Me. I pledge thee My truth].

"Matkarmakrnmatparamo madbhaktah sangavarjitah,
Nirvairah sarvabhutesu yah sa mameti pandava".
(XI 55).

(He who doeth actions for Me, whose supreme good I am, My devotee, freed from attachment without hatred of any being, he cometh unto Me, O Pandava).

And the same idea of sacrifice can be gleaned from another verse:

"Yajnasistamrta bhujo yanti brahma sanatanam,
Nayam lokostyayajnasya kutonyah kurusattam".
(IV 31).

[The eaters of the life-giving (amrita) remains of sacrifice go to the changeless Eternal. This world is not for the non-sacrificer, much less for the other, O best of the Kurus].

An ecstatic joy is felt in the mortal union of a man and a woman and such is also felt when an 'individual soul' (Jivatma) mingles with the 'Absolute soul' (Paramatma). This inner urge of 'uniting' or 'union' is the philosophy of man and world and this philosophy lies behind these erotic or mithuna figures of the temple of Konarak.

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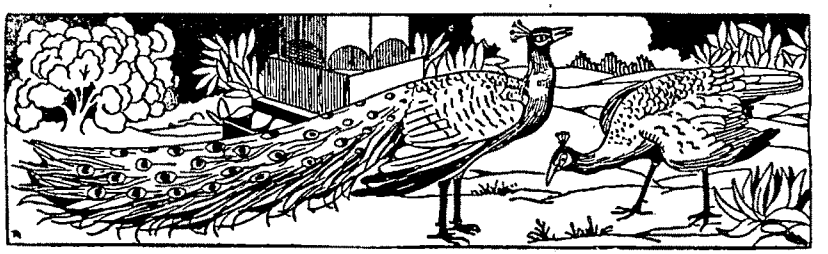

POSITION OF THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL

By Professor C. R. RATHEE,
Brijindra College, Faridket (Punjab).

During the sixteen years of its existence, the office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations had never acquired so much importance; even the pioneers of the U.N.O. could not imagine it. The utterances of the U.N. Secretary-General had never before touched newspapers headlines. But today, the position has completely changed. The comity of world nations feel that Secretary-General is the one person who could make the U.N. a success or failure. In the words of Prof. Clyde Eagleton, "There is no other person (excepting the Secretary-General) whose primary function is to make the United Nations a success, no one else to represent it as an institution and to protect its interests as such." In fact, the credit of enhancing the prestige of this international office goes to late Dr. Hammarskjoeld who boldly but impartially acted in his discretion; little caring whether his action would be palatable to the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R.

Constitutionally speaking, the Secretary-General of the U.N.O., is given very little authority for he is primarily an administrator—responsible for preparing the programmes of work of the various organs, for organising and supervising a staff of several thousand employees to do this work, and for carrying out the decisions of the various U.N. organs. The Charter does not make him the Executive Officer because when the Charter was drafted, the approach to the world problems was "Conference approach" and thus it was not at all thought that a day would dawn when the U.N. would require execution of its decisions upon 'unwilling' partners. In recent years, particularly since 1955, the developments of international situation have taken a turn which have frequently called for initiative on the part of the Secretary-General who by now has become the Chief Executive Officer with a tremendous increase in his political responsibilities. The U.N. has shifted from a "static conference machinery to a dynamic instrument of government". The U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly are marked by un-exampled vagueness leaving it to the Secretary-General, to late Dr. Hammarskjoeld, to make his own decisions on crucial issues where the top-ranking world powers are involved. This raised the prestige of the office of the Secretary-General to extraordinary heights.

Article 99 of the U.N. Charter says: "The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security". The vagueness of this important Article is self-evident. "This article," says Mr. Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-General of the U.N. in his book, *In the Cause of Peace*, "confers upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations, world political responsibilities which no individual, no representative of a single nation ever had before. Furthermore, from it derived further rights that were seen to be written into the rules of procedure of the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. The Secretary-General was to be empowered to propose items for the agenda of these organs and to take part in the debates, rights that otherwise were reserved to Governments and to representatives of member states".

Mr. Trygve Lie successfully set the precedent of the Secretary-General taking an independent stand in various ways. His initiative in preparing the annual reports or visiting the member states like his "Twenty Years Peace Plan," was courageous. His interpretation of Article 99, entitling the Secretary-General to make independent investigations of international issues was no mean act of boldness. His strong stand against the aggression in Korea, cost his Secretary-Generalship in 1952, when he was cornered by both the Soviet Union and the United States to tender his resignation. His successor, "Great Martyr", Mr. Hammarskjoeld proved more bold and aroused considerable comments, favourable and otherwise even against his person. In the words of General Romulo, "The grant of such broad lines of authority, without the requisite definition of the Secretary-General's powers, may prove to have unfortunate consequences." (March 6, 1960). General Romulo's prediction was confirmed seven months later when in the Fifteenth

General Assembly an attack was made by Premier Khrushchev on the Secretary-General and consequently (after the sad demise of Mr. Hammarskjoeld) the Soviet suggestion for a triumvirate in place of the present practice of Secretary-General. The election of U Thant is an interim arrangement. The future of this key office now depends upon how the Burmese Diplomat conducts the office under his charge. But as his colleagues say: "U Thant will avoid developing his office beyond the stipulations of the Charter", as was done by his predecessor, Mr. Hammarskjoeld, whom, of course, he holds in high esteem. Whether his principal advisers from Russia and America will act as "Advisers" or "Directors" will greatly depend upon U Thant's own initiative. The international climate under which the new Secretary-General is to work can hardly be described as sunny. He is also aware of the slanderous criticism of his predecessor who had laid down his life for a cause which still requires responsible handling. Is U Thant prepared to work in the embarassing situation which surrounded Mr. Hammarskjoeld? Cannot he remind the member nations of Article 100 paragraph 2, which reads: "Each member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities". Mr. Hammarskjoeld maintained the impartial character of the U.N. Secretariat like his predecessor Mr. Trygve Lie who, once dismissed some American-supported Communists employed in the U.N. Secretariat, though the U.S. Government got annoyed against Mr. Lie on this point and cornered him to resign, later on. It would be of lasting value to the U.N., if the member states refrained from personal attacks on the Secretary-General and his staff and agreed always to recognise and respect him as long as the Secretary-General remains in the office and enjoys confidence of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The U.N. members must immediately rid themselves of the groupist thinking. Unless this is done, the Secretary-General and his staff cannot maintain neutrality and cannot carry out the decisions of the United Nations in the spirit of an International Civil Service. Be it Russian triumvirate or the appointment of 'Principal Advisers,' on the basis of power-groups in the United Nations, the idea is fundamentally opposed to the U.N. Charter. Everyone from the Secretary-General down to the peon of the U.N. Secretariat has to swear solemnly "to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience, the functions entrusted to him as an international civil servant of the United Nations, to discharge these functions and regulate his conduct with the interests of the United Nations only in view, and not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of his duties from any Government or other authority external to the organisation."

Mr. Hammarskjoeld had implemented the above oath in true perspective when he said that "the exclusively international character of the Secretariat is not tied to its composition but to the spirit in which it works and to its insulation from outside influences as stated in Article 100. While it may be said that no man is neutral in the sense that he is without opinion or ideals, it is just as true that in spite of this, a neutral Secretariat is possible. Anyone of integrity, not subjected to undue pressures, can, regardless of his own views, readily act in an exclusively international spirit and can be guided in his actions on behalf of the organisation solely by its interests and principles and by the instructions of its organs.

But in practice the late Secretary-General has established a worth emulating precedence: When the organisation fails to guide him, he should be conscientious enough to shoulder responsibility, in emergencies, which may be in line with the spirit of Article 99. In case of vague guidance, the Secretary-General should not hesitate to interpret the U.N. decisions in the light of the Charter, the U.N. precedent and the aims and intentions expressed by the members.

The smaller nations of the world now look to the U.N. for safety and progress. The Secretary-General is the key-person of the U.N. Naturally, his calibre and conscience is sure to play an effective role in the future shape of things concerning Man and his Universe.

MARRIAGE PATTERN AMONG LEPCHA COMMUNITY : PAST AND PRESENT

By SWAPAN KUMAR BANERJEE

Lepcha, a Scheduled Tribe Community of West Bengal, are largely concentrated in the Darjeeling district of the State. The ethnographical and ethnological information regarding this community is very limited. Moreover this community has gone through various phases of change for which a number of exogenous forces with an internal commotion are responsible. Here in this article, I shall describe the marriage pattern among the Lepchas and analyse the changes that have occurred in that system.

Before proceeding with the description of this institution of marriage, I will specify some forces which are responsible for the change of this system during some few decades. The forces are of exogenous types and consisted of :

(a) Bhutias, a neighbouring community, has come and tried to forcibly introduce their customs into the Lepcha community.

(b) A few communities such as Nepalese, etc., tried to win over the girls of Lepcha community.

(c) Christian Missionaries came into this part of the country and converted many of them into christianity. Buddhism, however, had played its role to check christianity and converted the major portion of Lepchas back into Buddhism. It may be mentioned here that the Lepchas are now divided into two religious groups —Buddhist and Christian. Hardly could one find a Lepcha of original religious belief, i.e., animism. Christian Lepchas are more or less assimilated into that religious creed but the Buddhist Lepchas still adhere to their old customs (animistic), may be with some changes. The conflict of these two religious groups created a gulf within the community due to changes in the social, religious and cultural traits of Lepchas. It can be said that Lepchas are still in a floating condition due to these various exogenous forces and perhaps within a few more decades permanent changes can be observed.

(d) The most important of these changes, particularly (in marital structure), is due to psycho-economical factor. The Lepcha girls are very beautiful looking. Comparatively rich communities like the Nepali, Bhutia, etc., entice these Lepcha girls who usually marry them because of the factors mentioned above. This naturally forced them to change the intricate structure of their custom.

(e) Darjeeling has become a cosmopolitan district and its impact is sharply visible which can be attributed as another factor.

(f) Today perhaps the most important factor is the political trend of this district.

Now I shall discuss the marriage customs which are prevalent among Lepchas. Christian Lepchas follow the customs of their religious group. Buddhist Lepchas are following the custom of the old days with minor changes which will be mentioned in proper places in my discussion.

Marriage Custom

The institution of marriage may be regarded as the central feature of all forms of human society. The composition of family is closely related with this institution. It has been said that marriage has two main functions : it is the means adopted by human society for regulating the relations between the sexes and it furnishes the mechanism by means of which the relation of a child to the community is determined. Owing to these important factors, this institution of marriage has to be closely studied.

The general profile of marriage pattern amongst the Lepchas is of the monogamous type, i.e., union of one man with another woman is preferred and is the social norm of the people. Plural marriage or polygynous union is non-preferential. According to Sir H. Risley (Caste and Tribe of Bengal Vol. I and II) polyandry, though comparatively rare was not absent entirely among the Lepchas. But today Risely's pointers are not observable.

Widow marriage was prevalent in the old days but the widow had to marry the younger brother (Junior Levirate) of her

late husband whatever be his age. A widow of 40 years of age in this way often had to marry a boy of 15 years of age. Widow marriage was not strictly compulsory but the societal behaviour was in favour of this remarriage. If the widow married an outsider, the brother-in-law usually kept the children and claimed the repayment of bride's price. If no younger brother was found, then she might marry a cousin of her late husband. But under no circumstances she could marry the elder brother (Senior Levirate). If no unmarried male member could be found in the family then the widow was ceremonially returned to her father along with a milch cow and half the property of her late husband. This ceremony was called "Angap." Then only she could marry an outsider without being punished or returning the bride price, etc. This was also applicable to a widower. He could remarry but the bride could only be a sister-in-law or a younger member of his wife's family (in the absence of a sister-in-law). This system is no longer in vogue. Now a widow or widower can marry any man or maid of their choice but within their own society. Societal behaviour has also changed and widow marriage is the personal choice of a person. This change from the societal norm may be termed as a result of exogenous force.

Arrangement and Consent

Marriages generally take place in and around the age of twenties. Teen-age marriage is not in vogue because of its expensive custom. The bride and bridegroom may be of the same age but it is seldom that the bride is older or younger by two or three years than the groom. The parents generally negotiate and arrange the marriage. Marriage by self-negotiation can also be seen today. Both the marital partners are consulted and equal value is placed on their opinion before their marriage.

Regulation

Lepchas cannot marry within their own clan which are exogamic in nature. Marriage is generally forbidden with second cousins, cross or parallel but allowed with at least some remoter cousins. Marriage is not restricted between clans.

Consideration

Formerly bride-price was the main consideration in which the groom had to pay a substantial property payment to the kinsmen of the bride. But now-a-days due to economic hardships the bride-price is not so strictly observed as in the past. Twice or thrice the groom has to pay to the bride's parents and finally a net amount of Rs. 60|-, one bull and one pig—has to be given as bride's-price. This costly system prevents them from marrying young, as often they find it difficult to save money for the marriage. Marriages are sometimes allowed to take place on credit, the girl remaining in her father's house and the husband living with her till he can pay or has earned the money which entitles him to take her home. Credit system of marriage cannot be observed today as the people are ready to forego the bride-price from the economic and social point of view.

The other considerations to be fulfilled for marriage are (a) Star observations (astrological) for life, body, etc., such as 'Sok,' 'Lie,' 'Ongthang,' 'Louta' and 'Mear'; (b) Birth stars, such as, Chika, Nimak, Sunthing, Jijong, Lasheri, Thogal, Dumbal, Gakal and Gumal. If the stars of both the bride and the groom are identical then a happy union is expected. This system is like the adjustment of horoscope of the Hindus. The last factor, that is considered before marriage is that if any of the forefathers of either the bride or the groom has died by suicide or in an accident then three generations after him are considered unfit for matrimony unless the evil spirits responsible for the death are pacified.

Marital Residence

The societal profile regarding marital residence is patrilocal, i.e., the bride comes to live normally with or near the husband's male patrilineal kinsmen. Slight variation of this system is also found and the marital pattern in this case is 'Uxoribilocal,' i.e., bilocal after an initial period with or near the wife's kinsmen.

Commensality

Male generally enjoys a superior position than the female. Females generally remain submissive to their husbands. Husbands, however, consult with wives regarding decision-making affairs.

Sexual Relations and Restrictions

Lepchas generally lead a happy sexual life. Husband plays the role of a possessive partner and the wife remains submissive to him. Husband does not force his wife to cohabit during her pregnancy, disease, etc. Both male and female are equal in matters regarding sexual decisions.

Divorce

Divorce is seldom found in Lepcha society. If a married couple quarrel and cannot agree to make up, arbitrators (generally village elders) adjust their differences. If, however, repeated attempts to adjust the differences fail then divorce is effected with the concurrence of the Lama who solemnized the marriage of the pair. The wife returns to her father's house and the husband pays some compensation to her parents. Where adultery is proved, the husband has right to divorce his wife without paying compensation to her parents and take away her garments. Divorced persons may marry according to their choice.

Inheritance

Wife has a share on husband's property but she cannot alienate it. Wife's property cannot be claimed by husband. If she dies childless then her property is bestowed on her husband.

The above description shows the different patterning and societal profile of Lepchas regarding marriage. Slight modifications and changes of customs from what has been described, are due to various external forces. Now I shall describe in short the ritualistic performances done in Lepcha marriage.

Ritualistic Performance in Marriage

The Lepcha match-maker is known as 'Pibu.' 'Pibu' is inevitable in marriage-making purpose. The parents of both the bride and the groom has to appoint one 'Pibu' each. The 'Pibu' consults the Lama regarding life, birth and body-stars of the bride and the groom. The religious book from which the stars are consulted is known as "Chemchi." If the Lama gives consent to the marriage, then the 'Pibu' of the groom meets the parents of the bride with one 'Khade' or scarf. If the latter touch the 'Khade,' it signifies their consent in the marriage. Three days afterwards, the 'Pibu' of the groom comes to the house of the bride along with the groom and one of his friends. They bring a small pot (Pambu) containing five rupees (Zer), a leg of bull or hog (Alam) and home-made liquor (chee). This present is known as 'Me-ak Pana-al.' A feast is arranged in the house of the bride after which all the outsiders except the groom leave. The groom stays there for three days and works in the house of the bride like a slave to display his skill with a view to finding favour in the eyes of his lovely bride. After these three days, the marriage date is settled. There can be no marriage in the month of May (Tafa) and the fortnight following the full-moon. After the marriage date is settled, the bride and the groom can freely mix and cohabit.

On the day of marriage, the bridegroom comes to the bride's house accompanied by relatives, friends and a group of musicians. They bring with them a large number of presentations, chief of them (i) glass pot or "Pambu", (ii) 20 small plates or "Ladi," (iii) a "Khade" or scarf with 5 rupees known as "Zer", (iv) a milch cow and heifer and sometimes blanket, clothing, etc. "Zer" is presented to every superior member of the bride's house. The presentation is known as 'Amoo Dam-Dyam' and is handed over to the 'Pibu' of the bride by the 'Pibu' of the groom. Then there begins a merry-making with dance and music. Food and drink are supplied to each member. The dish of the bridegroom is prepared with special care. He is offered 4 seers of cooked rice, a whole cock roasted, etc. The party drinks excessive 'chee'.

There is a fine custom prevailing

among Lepcha society. If any friend or relative of either side becomes disorderly in behaviour, then the head of that party (bride's father or groom's father) is fined and the amount is paid to the other party. This fine (usually five rupees for each time) is paid without a grumble. This custom is primarily practised to check the outburst of drunkenness.

After the feast is over, the couple sits side by side. They wear a single scarf. A pot of 'chee' is placed in front of them. The priest offers some 'chee' to the forefathers of the bride and the groom upto seventh generation. Afterwards the 'chee' is taken by the parents and the couple. Then in the name of God, the bride and the groom chant hymns and thus they become husband and wife. This ceremony is known as 'A-Shek.'

The last ceremony is known as 'Neem Chan' in which the bride goes to the house of her husband. A 'Padam' or water-carrier full of water, is kept in front of the gate of the house. An old man of the village sprinkles water from the 'Padam' to drive away inauspicious spirits from the place. On entering the house, the bride is offered some food by her mother-in-law to show that her taste is not different from that of the boy. The mother-in-law then receives the bride with two gold or silver or brass bangles and says, "Henceforth you will live here like my captive." The last item of the function is that the bride carries the fuel (which is placed in the gate of the house) to the hearth of the kitchen. The significance of the last performance is that the bride becomes the housewife and takes charge of the food, the essential requirement of every man in this world.

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THE HUMOUR OF MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

By SAHIB SINGH AHUJA

Sarojini Naidu was one of the brightest stars that appeared on the Indian horizon soon after the turning of the century. A peerless poet, a devoted wife and loving mother, a thrilling speaker, a cultural ambassador, a dauntless fighter for freedom and a great national leader—such was Sarojini Naidu. She was so warm-hearted that to almost every one in her vast circle of friends all over the country, she was Akka—the big sister.

Her quick and lively intelligence, her maddening interest in the good things of life, her jokes and jibes endeared herself to one and all. She was quick to see the funny side of life and could laugh at it without difficulty. She was a fount of bubbling humour wherever she was—in a conference or committee room, in a circle of friends or even in jail. "Of all things that life or perhaps my temperament has given me" she says, "I prize the gift of laughter as beyond price."

When Mahatma Gandhi met Chiang Kai-shek, she compared the meeting to Micky Mouse and Donald Duck conferring each other. Mahatma Gandhi loved the name (Micky Mouse), but it took a long time for her to explain to him why she called him Micky Mouse. She had to find pictures for him and she did try very hard to get him to go to a movie, but that was not possible. Gandhiji did see one film in his life, in 1944, and was not much impressed by it.

Born of farmer parents of sturdy stock, Sirdar Vallabh Bhai Patel had inherited in his temperament and action the qualities typical of rural life. Sarojini Naidu, in her usual irrepressible humourous vein once said that the great Sirdar understood agriculture better than any other culture.

She has been much critical of the food that Mahatma Gandhi took and in her letters to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru she has

referred to Mahatma Gandhi as "the little-man."

As a sequel to the 'Quit India movement' launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1942, all the members of the Congress Working Committee including Gandhiji and Sarojini Naidu were detained. At Gandhigram, Juhu, Sarojini Naidu, who had been a co-detenue with Gandhiji in the Detention Camp at Poona, and like him had been released on grcunds of health some time earlier, planted herself as his gate-keeper and watch-dog to protect him from the curiosity of the crowds, importunate visitors and intruders. Here was a difficult and delicate task. But she did justice to it as she alone could have done. Unmindful of her own frail health and need for rest, she stood guard over him like a mother-tigress over her cub, vindicating the affectionate nickname of Ammajan (mother dear) which Gandhiji had given her.

A story in which Pandit Nehru was the victim of her innocent humour is well known. We know that Pandit Nehru is bald but when he wears his cap he looks much younger and most handsome. The story goes that at a tea-party there was a bevy of gaping young girls surrounding him and listening with admiring eyes to his interesting conversation. Suddenly Mrs. Naidu cried out, "Jawahar, take off your cap and disillusion the girls!"

Once in a Congress meeting she was present when Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Patel were sitting with their shawls covering their heads. A foreigner, who was unable to recognise them, enquired from her as to who those persons were. "Oh, cannot you make-out their identity?" said the eminent poetess, "They are the widows of Mahatma Gandhi!"

The following extract from the foreword to the book entitled **Mahatma Gandhi**—by H. S. Polak, H. N. Brailsford and Lord Pethick-Lawrence—by the late Sarojini Naidu, gives another instance of her keen sense of sparkling humour.

"Curiously enough my first meeting with Mahatma Gandhi took place in London on the eve of the great European War of 1914 when he arrived fresh from his triumphs in South Africa, where he had initiated his principle of passive resistance and won a victory for his countrymen, who were at that time chiefly indentured labourers, over the redoubtable General Smuts. I had not been able to meet his ship on his arrival, but the next afternoon I went wandering round in search of his lodging in an obscure part of Kensington and climbed the steep stairs of an old, unfashionable house, to find an open door framing a living picture of a little man with a shaven head, seated on the floor on a black prison blanket and eating a messy meal of squashed tomatoes and olive oil out of a wooden prison bowl. Around him were ranged some battered tins of parched groundnuts and tasteless biscuits of dried plantain-flour. I burst instinctively into happy laughter at this amusing and unexpected vision of a famous leader, whose name had already became a household word in our country. He lifted his eyes and laughed back at me, saying, "Ah, you must be Mrs. Naidu. Who else dare be so irreverent? Come in," said he, "and share my meal." "No, thanks," I replied, sniffing, "What an abominable mess it is!" In this way and at that instant commenced our friendship, which flowered into real comradeship and bore fruit in a long, loving, loyal discipleship, which never wavered for a single hour through more than 30 years of common service in the cause of India's freedom."

THE ROLE OF AFRICA IN THE WORLD TODAY

By KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL
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In the present-day context of a world-wide cold war when some political prophets even suggest that the rumblings possibly of a Third World War are within an audible distance, it is important to ask: "Where stands Africa today politically?"

The answer to the question is, however, extremely difficult, depending as it must, upon an analysis of a large number of factors including the geography and the history of the continent, the racial composition and other general characteristics of its population, its natural and economic resources, its legal, political and strategic position, its culture and civilization; and all these in relation to the rest of the world, not excepting the organization of the United Nations.

Anyone who looks even at the surface of modern world affairs can see that Africa is awake and alert today and can no longer be ignored in international politics. Africa which could be represented for some period at least in the Assembly of the League of Nations by 4 Member-nations at most, is being actually represented in 1961 at the General Assembly of the United Nations by as many as 28 Member-nations. During the whole period of its legal existence from 1920 to 1946, the League of Nations which had in its first year only 48 Member-nations, could boast of having recruited at most 63 Member-nations in all. Of them 29 were from Europe, 21 from America, 7 from Asia, 4 from Africa and 2 from Oceanea, though as a result of withdrawal, annexation, extinction or expulsion only 44 members attended the final meeting of the League Assembly on April 18, 1946. The United Nations which began as a world organization in 1946 with 51 members, with 4 of them only from Africa —the same 4 as in the case of the League of Nations—is bustling in 1961 with as many as 28 from Africa, 28 from Europe, 23 from Asia, 22 from America and 2 from Oceanea, making thus a total of 103 nations within a single world organization.

If membership of a world organization was any index to the political role that a nation plays in world affairs, it might be suggested that, roughly, Africa, as a continent, should be able to exercise in the politics of the United Nations today about 30% of political power in comparison with the rest of the world. This is certainly not the case, not even in the General Assembly where, as against the Security Council, the members of the United Nations have legally equal voting rights. That it is not, and is not even expected to be so, under existing conditions, requires no emphasis. Everyone knows that the power that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. exercised in world politics during the days of the League of Nations could not be measured simply by their voting strength in that organization. For the U.S.A., although a great power even during the League of Nations days, was never a member of that body, and the U.S.S.R., which also even during the League days was recognized as a great power, joined the League only in 1934 and was expelled from it on December 14, 1939, and could become a great power in the United Nations only by her significant political and military victories against the Axis powers during the Second World War.

The position of an independent nation as a member of a world organization is, of course, important. For, her independent membership of any world organization, enables her to deal with other similar nations there more or less on a footing of equality, so that the other nations, specially the great powers who mainly play the game of world politics, have to take a cautious account of her, cajoling, flattering, persuading her, occasionally even threatening her or granting money or other material gifts. From this point of view each nation in a

world organization may be an independent and separate playing-card in the game of international politics, though some nations, specially the powerful and intelligent ones, are not simply cards, but may also assume even the additional role of players in this highly exciting game.

The Kaleidoscopic manner in which the new nations from Africa were added to the membership of the United Nations in recent years—most of them former non-self-governing territories or trusteeships under France, and a few under the U.K., Belgium or Italy —makes an already difficult task of analysis still more difficult on account of the short range of vision allowed.

The **Statesman's Year-book** for 1950 recorded the existence of only 3 independent states in Africa : Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia. Along with the Union of South Africa (which upto May 1961 was recognised as a dominion only within the British Commonwealth and not a Republic which it henceforward claimed to be), they were the only nations which were recognised in 1950 as separate nations within the United Nations, as also earlier in the League of Nations. Libya, an Italian colony, from 1911, was wrested from Italy during the Second World War and became an independent nation under the United Nations' auspices on December 24, 1951. After the U.S.S.R. waived her veto against Libya's application for United Nations membership, Libya became a separate member from Africa in the United Nations on December 14, 1955. The Sudan was released from Anglo-Egyptian condominium in 1956 and only two months later, the French also abandoned their protectorates over Tunisia and Morocco. To the territories of Morocco were added in 1956 also the territories of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco and the international zone of Tangier. Tunisia and Morocco then, like Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, refused to continue as Associated States within the French Union under the 4th Republic. These three additional nations from Africa, viz., Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco were then brought within the family of United Nations membership on November 12, 1956. The State of Ghana came into existence on March 6, 1957, when the former British Colony of Gold Coast and the British trusteeship territory of Togoland attained Dominion Status. On March 8, 1957, Ghana became a separate member from Africa in the United Nations. The independent Republic of Guinea was proclaimed on October 2, 1958, after the territory of French Guinea had decided at the referendum on September 28, 1958, to leave the French community under the Constitution of the 5th Republic. She thus became another separate member from Africa in the United Nations on December 12, 1958, bringing the total number of African membership in the United Nations to 10 at that time.

None of these political changes could compare in magnitude with the events of 1960 which saw the addition of 16 new members to the United Nations. Of them, Senegal and Mali were admitted on September 29, 1960 ; Nigeria on October 7, 1960 ; and the remaining thirteen on September 20, 1960. In 1961, two more nations were added to the list of United Nations members ; they are Sierra Leone and Mauritania.

Of these 18 new entrants from Africa into the United Nations, 12 were former overseas territories in the French Union under the Constitution of the 4th Republic and became member-states of the French community in June, 1960, under the Constitution of the 5th Republic. They were : (1) Mauritania, (2) Senegal, (3) Mali, (4) Ivory Coast, (5) Upper Volta, (6) Niger, (7) Dahomey, (8) Chad, (9) Central African Republic, (10) The Republic of Congo, (11) Gabon and (12) Malagassey ; 2 were associated territories within the French Union, being until recently her trusteeships under the United Nations, viz., (13) Togo and (14) Cameroons ; 2 were British colonies and protectorates, viz., (15) Nigeria and (16) Sierra Leone ; one was a Belgian colony, viz., (17) Congo ; and (18) the last, Somalia consisted partly of an area formerly a British protectorate and partly of an area under Italy as a United Nations trusteeship. Most of these new members are very small in area as well as in population and are of doubtful viability, the biggest in population being Nigeria with about 35 million, Congo coming next with about 13 million, while the Republic of Congo and Gabon have less than

a million and half-a-million people, respectively.

In allowing the member-states of the French Community the option of complete independence, France passed through a serious constitutional controversy during 1960. After much hesitation France now stands committed, like the British, to the principle of complete independence for its colonies and protectorates—a principle which she had been hesitantly prepared to admit earlier only in regard to her trusteeships.

Such, however, is not the case with regard to the Portuguese and Spanish policies in Africa. Portugal still maintains her imperialistic control over Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Archipelago with a total area of about 800,000 square miles and a population of about 10.5 million. An amendment to the Portuguese Constitution in 1951 had declared these, as also Goa, Timor and Macao, its offshoots in Asia, provinces of Portugal itself. With its entry into the United Nations in 1955, Portugal had come under the pressure exerted primarily by India to submit information about these territories under the terms of Art. 73 (E) of the Charter. On November 12, 1960, the trusteeship committee of the General Assembly approved a resolution sponsored by the Afro-Asian powers formally asking Portugal to comply with those terms. Its endorsement in plenary session was overtaken on December 14, 1960, by the approval of a more sweeping anti-colonialist declaration demanding immediate steps to transfer all powers to the peoples of the colonial territories without any conditions or reservations based on subject-peoples' inability to rule themselves. Several sponsors from Africa asserted during the preceding debate that the declaration was chiefly directed against Portugal and Spain.

Perturbed by the United Nations' attitude towards the colonies, Spain in April, 1960, converted Rio Muni and Fernando Po into overseas provinces, as it had done with Ifni and Spanish Sahara in 1958. Spanish Morocco was, however, handed over to Morocco itself earlier in 1956.

Some of the European powers thus appear a bit more liberal than Spain and Portugal in respect of their colonial policies. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Africa is today free from colonialism, the worst evil, according to some, in modern world politics. Even today the U. K. maintains her colonial hold in such areas as Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Gambia, Central African Federation, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika. These cover a total area of over 2 million square miles with a population of about 25 million. Tanganyika, however, with a population of 8 million is a United Nations trusteeship under the United Kingdom. Another remaining United Nations trusteeship is Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian control. It has a population of about 4 million over 20,000 sq. miles. France continues her age-old colonial policy over Algeria and Somaliland covering an area of nearly a million square miles with a population of about 10 million.

Of all the colonial powers, viz., the English, French, Italian, Belgian, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish and Germans with colonial control over Africa at one time or another, German control has now been completely eliminated. If Germany, which, like most other colonial powers won her African territories only in the 80's of the 19th century, had not been deprived of them, as a consequence of the First World War, she could today boast of a colonial area in Africa of nearly a million square miles with a population of about 13 million. For the German empire extended to Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika, Togoland, Cameroons and South-West Africa. Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika are now United Nations trusteeships, being League of Nations' mandated areas formerly, under Belgian and British control, respectively. Togoland and Cameroons have become free after the British and French control over them under the authority of the League of Nations and the United Nations ended only recently. South-West Africa, given as a mandated area under the League of Nations covenant to the Union of South Africa, has been incorporated in the Union against the wishes of the United Nations.

Italy also has completely lost her empire

in Africa covering such areas as Ethiopia, Eritrea (which is now united with Ethiopia), Libya and part of Somaliland. In this, sometime Italian empire of one million sq. miles, now live 20 million independent peoples.

Spain has only lost her portion of Morocco and still maintains her African empire over 1 million Africans living in an area of 130,000 sq. miles. But for Ruanda-Urundi, which Belgium got from Germany, the Belgian empire is also almost gone. Had it remained, it could today account for an area of nearly a million sq. miles and a population of 17 million. The Portuguese colonial empire in Africa remains almost intact covering today an area of less than a million square miles and a population of about 10 million.

France also controls today a big colonial area in Algeria and Somaliland with an area of less than a million square miles and a population of about 10 million, though the French Empire remaining intact would have covered today an area of about 4 million square miles and a population of some 30 million Africans.

It was, however, the United Kingdom which built up the biggest colonial empire in Africa, for had it remained intact, it would have covered today an area of nearly 5 million square miles and a population of nearly 120 million Africans. The British Empire in Africa today has shrunk to about half its former area and controls a population of about 25 million Africans.

The Dutch in Africa were not seriously aided by their mother country, Holland, and lost their political supremacy in Africa to the British almost fully around the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, though as Africaners, the Dutch Boers enjoy very great privileges in the Union of South Africa even today.

This is a brief picture of how the different parts of Africa have been put before the political stage of the world today under existing legal conditions among nations. For a fuller appreciation of the political role of Africa in the world today we should remember a number of other facts. Geographically, Africa is the second largest continent containing some 11.5 million sq. miles, while, Asia has 16.5 million sq. miles, North America 9 million sq. miles, South America 7 million sq. miles, Europe 4 million sq. miles, and Oceanea 3 million sq. miles. In population, Africa today is the home of some 220 million people of many races and a wide variety of cultures. This means that about one-fifth of the earth's land surface is occupied by about one-fourteenth of her total population in Africa. About 170 million of this population, living in less than 8 million sq. miles in Africa are today represented in the United Nations General Assembly by 28 independent member-nations. The remainder of Africa, less than 4 million sq. miles, occupied by some 50 million people, are still colonies, non-self-governing territories or trusteeships under the control of the United Kingdom, France, Portugal, Belgium and Spain. The non-self-governing area and population may be considered still larger, if it be suggested that the Union of South Africa is virtually a European state, organised and functioning in South Africa with fairly democratic rights only for 3 million Europeans who pursue a policy of savage apartheid as against 9 million Africans, 1 million coloured and mixed races and some 430,000 Indians deprived of all kinds of political, economic and social equality.

In the north of Africa, today are the ruins and remnants of classic civilizations of Carthage, Greece, Rome and Arabia. In the south, there have been more than 300 years of European penetration and occupation as against almost defenceless Africans of various races and tribes. In Africa, today there are diversities of all kinds. The most familiar among them is the separation into North Africa and Africa South of the Sahara. According to John Gunther, "The Sahara is often called a sea of sand, and it is really sea—a sea, moreover, that separates Europe from Africa more than the Mediterranean does. The French in particular always recognise that Africa is divided into two separate entities by the Sahara; they almost never use the blanket term 'Africa' but differentiate between 'North' Africa and Afrique Noire. Above the Sahara, Africa is Europe; below, Africa is Africa."[1] More correctly, however, 'North

Africa is not a part of Europe, but of Asia or West Asia. In the words of Prof. Rupert Emerson, "Islamic in religion, and peopled largely by Arabs, North Africa in most respects is attached to the East rather than to the continent lying to the South, although both Arab and Islam have penetrated deeply South of the desert."[2] The real Africa is the Negro Africa of the Tropics, fringed on the North by Arabs and Muslims and on the South and South-East by Europeans still predominant politically, economically and socially, though unbelievably small in number.

The "heart of the African problem" politically or otherwise is this: "The total white European population of Africa is probably only five million. Everybody else on the continent—with the exception of some 600,000 Indians and minor colonies of Lebanese, Syrians and the like—is of African stock."[3] Yet until 1960, the white man was the ruling authority in most of Dark Africa. Of the total white population of 5 million, two and a half million are concentrated in the Union of South Africa and 1.6 million in what was until recently French North Africa and Algeria and Sahara, so that there are only about a million white Europeans in all the rest of Africa.

Besides the Europeans, Africa is divisible into a number of other racial groups. Of them Hamites and Semites, who live in North Africa, who are also called African Whites, and who are believed to have derived their names from Noah's sons, Ham and Shem, are almost all Muslims except in Ethiopia where Hamites are only predominantly Christian, the rest being Moslem or Pagan. Due to great Islamic influence most of the peoples here ignore race as a factor in political life. Accordingly, some 7 nations from North Africa, (1) Ethiopia, (2) Egypt, (3) Libya, (4) Tunisia, (5) Morocco, (6) Sudan and (7) Somalia may exercise their political influence being guided by other considerations like Islamic solidarity, anti-colonialism, economic interests or simply humanity.

Between the Sahara and the Equator live the Sudanese and so-called "True Negroes." From the Equator southward, live the many tribes of the Bantu. Pygmies are found in the equatorial rain forest, while small groups of Bushmen and Hottentots live in South Africa. They belong to the main Negro stock, though there have been profuse admixtures of various kinds. To the extent race is a factor in international politics, some 20 members of the United Nations from these regions today together with such Negro States as Cuba, Haiti and Dominican Republic in the western hemisphere, and with the support of some 50 anti-colonialist nations in North Africa. North and South America, Asia and even Europe, will most certainly exercise a most decisive influence in favour of racial equality in the deliberations of the United Nations.

To the extent religion is a factor in international politics, certain statistical facts relating to Africa today may be borne in mind. Christians are the least in number in Africa excluding, of course, the negligible number of Hindus. Of a total of 20 million Christians, roughly one-third are Catholic and the rest Protestant. Moslems are thrice the Christians, being about 60 million and are mostly concentrated in the Northern shelf and along the East Coast. About twice the Moslems are pagan. This may mean that the anti-colonial and anti-racial bias in the United Nations may be still further reinforced by the presence of delegates from the newly-freed nations of Africa—delegates who are likely to have also less interests but more ideals borrowed from all sources.

Such idealistic trends may not have their full play in view of more materialistic considerations of economics, political power and military strategy. Negroes in Africa today know it very well that no kind of religious consideration could save them from the economic greed of their European masters. A Bantu agitator is accordingly favourably received when he says: "When the white man first came to you, he had the Bible and you had the land; but now you have the Bible and he has the land."[4] As Prof. Rupert Emerson has put it, "Although there are many 'poor whites' among them, the European settler communities are oasis of prosperity in the desert of African poverty. Africa is poor, its economy is

stunted, many of its social patterns are still primitive, and its people are illiterate."[5] Africans in certain parts of Africa are so backward that Theodore Roosevelt once referred to his railway trip in Kenya in 1910 as a journey through the Pleistocene.[6]

Yet Africa's "riches in strategic and other minerals are impressive. In industrial diamonds, columbian, cobalt, chromium and beryllium, Africa either heads the list of world producers or stands close to the top; it is a significant producer of tin, manganese, copper and antimony, and its large reserves of iron ore and bauxite are just beginning to be tapped. The uranium of the Belgian Congo and South Africa, largely destined for the United States, has contributed to the unfolding of the atomic age. The French discovery of oil in the Sahara has strengthened the resolve to keep Algeria as a part of France. To this mineral wealth Africa adds through its agriculture a variety of food-stuffs and industrial materials such as cocoa, coffee, tea, vegetable oils, cotton and pyrethrum."[7]

Briefly, then, "Africa is rich; it is also poor."[8] Independent nations of Africa will naturally try to remove this economic contradiction by the aid or inspiration they get from highly-developed industrial nations like the capitalist U.S.A. and the communist U.S.S.R. If these other advanced nations combine for Africa's economic prosperity through the United Nations, its Economic and Social Council, its Economic Commission for Africa and various Specialized Agencies, there may be all-round political peace also, not only for Africa, but the world as a whole. Otherwise, as independent nations with memories of long exploitation, colonial oppression, slavery and apartheid, most of Africa may increasingly incline in politics towards the political opponent of the Western Powers. This inclinations may be towards the communist countries of Europe and Asia headed by the U.S.S.R. and China, or towards non-alignment as a new force seeking to get benefits out of the rivalry of both the worlds till all move towards a united world through a reformed United Nations.

At the conference of the neutral nations at Belgrade from September 1 to 5, 1961, which was organized by 24 nations, about a half of them came from Africa and tried to strengthen the world-wide outlook for non-alignment. The United Nations, however, as it is organized today without making even a semblance of approach to the ideal of a world-wide sovereign state, gives more scope to the politics of power than to the politics of peace. The primary concern among the great powers today seems to be to think and act not in terms of world peace, world prosperity and world culture, but of a new world war and acquisition of strategic weapons and territories for victories in it. Here is a sample of such militarised outlook: "The stake of the West and of the United States in Africa is great. Negatively, the **primary concern** is to ensure that the communist bloc secures neither the prestige nor the more material gains which would flow from enlisting Africa, or any substantial part thereof, in its camp. Strategically, the vital importance of North Africa to Europe was demonstrated in World War II, and Dakar, offering potential command over South Atlantic Shipping lanes, juts out as the nearest point for an invasion of the western hemisphere. More broadly, at a time when defence in depth has become essential, the peninsula of Europe stands far more nakedly exposed if it is not able to rely upon the great space which Africa opens up to it."[9]

It is unnecessary to give more samples of such 'Strategic' thinking in regard to Africa. Western powers regarded Africa for about three centuries from 1550 as the world's slave market or the servants' quarters. Still later they participated in an imperialist loot of almost the whole continent of Africa. It is difficult to believe that this type of thinking and acting represents a high form of culture and civilization for the human race. Yet these so-called cultured and civilized nations even today encourage of tolerate apartheid in South Africa and are not much willing to discover anything respectable in what is called "Africanism," that is, ideals and realizations of Black Africa. According to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Africanism means: "A sense of

unseen force or spirit being present as well as working in all things, animate or inanimate in the Universe"; "a faith in the existence of a supreme Divinity"; "a sense of the continuity of life, the world of the dead and the world of the living being interlinked for ever"; "a preference for the community rather than the individual in social life"; and "a keen sense of Rhythm and Colour and Form which is manifested in African dance and drum music, in African dress and African art."[10]

A continent which developed such ideas may be poor today, as it actually is, and even for centuries as it has actually been in the past; but not for ever. Africa may well prove to be "the continent God kept in reserve."[11] After all historical records of the last 6,000 years tell us of not more than one or two per cent of the entire period for which human life has been on earth. Material prosperity, in any case, does not represent the highest form of culture and civilization. Africans, in general, placed God and Society above the selfishness of the individual. As such it may be expected that peoples there may grasp more than others such principles as Sacrifice, Love, Non-violence, Truth and Service, all leading to integration of the highest form or unity. These are Buddha's principles of the Panch Sheela which the sages of all ages have said, really lead man, a rational animal, away from animality through rationality towards divinity keeping him at a distance from the savagery of war. Accordingly, true institutions corresponding to the Panch Sheela, i.e., a Socialist, Democratic, Disarmed, Multinational and Federal World State may be brought nearer to mankind by the freedom movement in Africa gaining more and more momentum in the world today. Should, however, war be brought to the soil of Africa again, as to other parts of the world by the savagery of civilized nations, in spite of the growing strength of the freedom movement, started in a sense by India's Mahatma Gandhi, almost at the tip of Africa at the beginning of the present century, the whole of Africa perhaps jointly with Asia, will cry out, at the right moment, like India in 1942: "Quit Africa," "Quit Afro-Asia."

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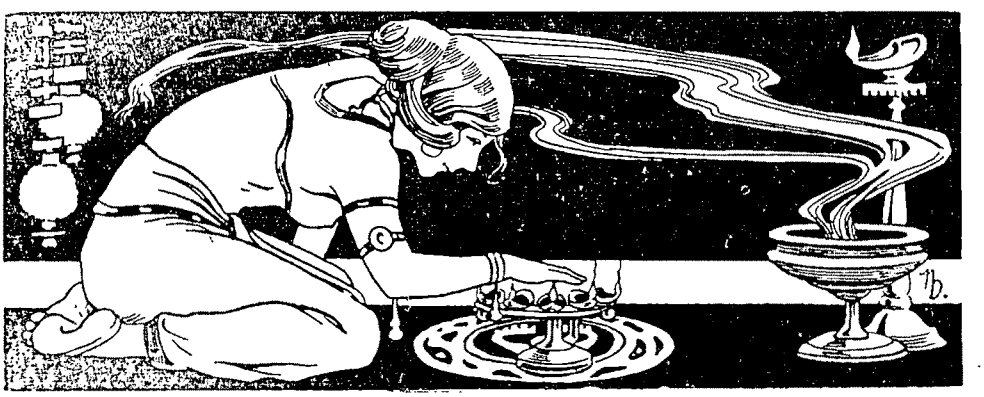
1. John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, 1955, p. 7.
2. The United States and Africa, *The American Assembly*, Columbia University 1958, p. 4.
3. John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, 1955, p. 6.
4. Stillman, C. W. (Ed), *Africa in the Modern World*, 1955, p. 84.
5. The United States and Africa, *The American Assembly*, 1958, p. 8.
6. John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, p. 284.
7. *The United States and Africa*, p. 20.
8. John Gunther, *Inside Africa*, p. 5.
9. *United States and Africa*, pp. 19-20.
10. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, *Africanism*, 1960, p. 38.
11. *United States and Africa*, p. 120.



Book Reviews

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LAST GLIMPSES OF BAPU : *By Manuben Gandhi. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. (Private) Ltd. Translated by Moti Lal Jain. Agra, 1962. Pp. 348. Rs. 15.00.*

This fresh addition to the literature on Gandhism consists of a diary of the master's earthly career, from December 31, 1947 to the tragic day of his murder on January 30, 1948. It brings down the story thereafter to a very vivid description of the tragic scenes of Gandhiji's cremation on January 31, 1948 and the consignment of a portion of his ashes to the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna of February 12, 1948. It has been written with considerable warmth of feeling by a devoted Gujarati disciple of the Mahatma from personal observation in her mother-tongue and is now presented to us in an English garb. Its great value lies in preserving often in the Mahatma's own words his reaction to the various incidents brought to his notice as well as his talk at the regular prayer-meetings and his tireless correspondence during the last month of his life. The book reflects some of the great qualities of the Mahatma's character, such as his abiding faith in God, his absolute sincerity, his strong affection for members of his entourage, his love for the common man, his hatred of sham and hypocrisy—qualities which have enshrined his memory in the hearts of his countrymen. The paper, print and get-up are good and it is introduced to us with an appreciative Foreword by Dr. Radhakrishnan. Its value would have been enhanced by the addition of a chronological table of events.

U. N. GHOSHAL

STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY (First Series): *By Dr. Kalyan Chandra Gupta. Published by the author. Price Rupees eight only.*

The book comprises nine papers ; they discussed different problems of logic epistemology metaphysics and ethics. Knowledge is diverse and its extent is limitless. There is room for the determination of the nature of knowledge itself. It has been used in different senses by different philosophers and this diverse use of the same term baffles the layman. Knowledge may be used as awareness or consciousness as such. Again it may be used as a form of awareness to which the predicates 'true' and 'false' may be applicable. Again, a third view proposes knowledge to be judgmental awareness which is characterised by certainty. All these three meanings of awareness have one element in common and that is the element of awareness or consciousness. If we accept knowledge in its broadest sense to be awareness, the problem does not head for a single solution. Further, knowledge may be considered a quality, state or condition of the knower or we may look upon it as a knowledge-relation. Knowledge has again been taken to be substantive, i.e., as substance which may or may not have qualities, may or may not be active and may or may not stand in relation to other things. The author in his book under review discusses all these different meanings of knowledge in their various aspects and tries to ascertain the fundamental meaning of knowledge, its ultimate nature and its

place in reality. He referred to all the important views as advocated by the Western and Indian schools of thought. Professor Gupta with the flare for a commonsense philosophy rightly repudiates the Advaita Vedantin's position when he writes: "Those who want to draw from all these facts the conclusion that consciousness is not inherently related to these objects at all, that it is simply an indifferent spectator of all things and events which are only fleeting unreal appearances, altogether ignore other aspects of our experience which also have an undeniable right to be considered in this connection." (p. 34). Thus when we try to determine the nature of knowledge, it necessarily refers to the content of knowledge and this leads us to the question of determining the nature of objects outside. The subject-object relation in knowledge raises another question whether knowledge of knowledge is possible. This question does not worry the common man as it worries a student of philosophy. The layman would say that if knowledge itself were not known or consciousness not cognised, how would we ever be in a position to talk about knowledge or consciousness at all ? Philosophers have refused to simplify the question in this fashion and they have elaborately discussed the issue in its minutest detail. The views of Nyaya-vaisesikas, Bhatta Mimamsakas, Prabhakara Mimamsakas and Advaita Vedanta have been elaborately discussed and the Western views, specially that of Alexander, in point have been subjected to a strict logical scrutiny. The well-known Indian theories regarding the validity of knowledge, viz., Svatahpramanyavada Paratahpramanyavada have been discussed in an exclusive chapter. The theories have been very carefully presented in modern epistemological terminology and as such the students of philosophy will find it to be of great profit especially when they have no access to the original Sanskrit texts and their commentaries. The book, as a whole, has been meant for students of philosophy who have already been initiated to it. They will find all the thirteen chapters to be useful and instructive. The thirteen chapters are : The Nature of Knowledge, Knowledge and Its Objects, The Unit of Knowledge, The Knowledge of Knowledge, Svatahpramanyavada and Paratahpramanyavada, The Problem of Predication, The Absolute and the World of Becoming, Metaphysics and Psychology, Metaphysics and Ethics, Metaphysics and Logic, Individuality, Value and Reality and Bradley on Image, Idea and Meaning. In the last chapter Bradley's position has been presented with clarity and precision.

The book bears the stamp of scholarship of an experienced professor singularly known for his devoted research work. We eagerly await his subsequent series of 'Studies in Philosophy.'

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE : *By Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D., Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, Calcutta University. With a Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru, Published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. Price Rs. 10/-.*

Dr. Sukumar Sen must be congratulated for having produced a really valuable work on the literay activities in Bengali since its inception upto the age of the Great Poet Tagore. There was in English language no adequate account of the literary activities of Bengal and the present work may, therefore, rightly be regarded as having fulfilled a real need. The Sahitya Akademi or the National Academy of Letters set up by the Government of India has been rendering yeomen's service by organising publications of historical studies of the literatures of our various languages in India. Many of us know very little of the literatures of various Indian languages and it is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Sahitya Akademi has concentrated on this aspect of our culture. It is right that the Sahitya Akademi as Sri Jawaharlal Nehru observes in his Foreword to this book, "is thus widening and deepening the basis of our cultural knowledge and making people realise the essential unity of India's thought and literary background."

In the book under review a scholastic and genuine attempt has been made to give a complete and systematic survey of the Bengali literature. In the introductory chapters, Dr. Sen has chosen the topic of the linguistic and literary affinities of New Indo-Aryan Speeches as well as of the origin and development of Bengali script. In the subsequent chapters the author discusses the pre-vernacular background of the Bengali

literature. He then considers the reason why the Bengali literature could not develop a prose literature in its early stage. The discussion on **Carya Giti** is simply illuminating. It has also been discussed how with the spread of devotionalism in the fifteenth century the Vaisnavas made the vernacular the vehicle of the poetic outbursts of their spiritual yearnings. Then the author concentrates on the **Mangal Kavyas,** the Arrakan poets and the later Muslim writers. The latter half of the eighteenth century is marked by a growing tendency to the formation of the prose style, to the explication of which the author devotes one chapter. In this treatise of rare scholastic excellences Professor Sen gives many details about the impact of Western Culture on Bengali literature. The subsequent chapters offer a very competent analysis of the literary activities of Raja Rammohun Ray, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Ramesh chandra Dutt, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and finally of that great genius Poet Tagore. The last chapter contains a brief account of the contemporary writers in Bengali. We are, however, delighted to find with what precision and brevity all the main features of the literary activities of Bengali have been jotted down. The lovers of Bengali literature are profoundly thankful to Professor Sen for this masterly contribution to the cause of Bengali literature. We commend this book to all those who are interested in Bengali literature.

Gopika Mohan Bhattacharji.

RAMANA MAHARSHI AND THE PATH OF SELF-KNOWLEDGE : *By Arthur Osborne, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay-1. Pages 218. Price Rs. 2.50. nP.*

This is the Indian edition of the book complete and unabridged, originally published by Rider and Company of London. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, has written a foreward to this edition in which he says, "We are given here a religion of the spirit which enables us to liberate ourselves from dogmas and superstitions, rituals and ceremonies and live as free spirits. The essence of all religion is inner personal experience, an individual relationship with the Divine. It is not worship so much as a quest. It is a way of becoming, of liberation."

The author, an English devotee of Sri Bhagavan Ramana Maharshi, has presented in this book the life, teachings, sadhana and mahasamadhi of a great spiritual person who not only attained the highest knowledge about the 'self' but shared others who can in his contact, realise the way of self-knowledge and truth. In eighteen chapters, Early years, Awakening, Arunachala non-Resistance, The Mother, Advaita, some early Devotees, Maharshi's attitude towards animals, Sri Ramanashram, Life with Maharshi, his teachings, and the passing away of the Great Saint are given in a language which touches the heart of the reader. The sadhana, Maharshi enjoined was not dependant on any religion. Not only Hindus came to him but also Buddhists, Christians, Muslims, Jews, Parsis and he never expected any to change his religion. Devotion to the *Guru* and the flow of his grace leads to the deeper reality of every religion, and self-enquiry to the ultimate truth behind all religion.

We congratulate the publishers for bringing out a cheap edition of this illuminating book for Indian readers. The book deserves to be widely read by men and women in all walks of life to find the way of peace in their minds.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE LABOUR PARTY : *By Henry Pelling. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d.*

In a short compass of 134 pages the author has given an illuminating history of the party which once held the government and brought in socialistic changes in internal economy and broader outlook in the imperial and foreign policy of the British Empire. The progress of these changes although retarded by subsequent Conservative Government could not be stopped altogether because the Labour Party continued as a strong opposition with varying supports from the nation time to time.

Born in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century the Labour Party, through an integration of several interests such as Dockers, Miners, Corporations, Trade Unionists, Socialists and Liberals, became a powerful party and guided the destiny of the British Empire.

The book is divided into eight chapters with four appendices and a good index at the end. Pictures of Labour leaders—Kein Hardri, Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, George Lansbury, Clement Attlee, Ernest Berhi, and its present leader Hugh Gaitskell adorn the book.

Young politicians and students will find this book a useful study.

DISINTEGRATION : How to avert it? *Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7. Pages 56. Price Rs. 0.75 nP.*

The lectures embodied in this brochure were delivered at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Annual Symposium held in December, 1960. It must be admitted that since the attainment of Independence, disintegrating processes are at work and all the political parties are responsible for this dangerous state of things in our body-politic. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar wants complete remodelling of the system of education, *i.e.*, education in human values, as a remedy. Acharya J. B. Kripalani rightly says that so-called provincial cultures are variants of one basic Indian culture. He advises that leaders of all political parties should come to an agreed understanding that caste, communal and linguistic differences, should not be exploited in elections and for achieving and retaining political power. Sri Shriman Narayan supports implimentals of the three language formula of education by the Central and the State Governments. Sri H. M. Patel would rename "states" as "provinces" and wants a strong Central Government 'to rule'. However, he is not pessimistic. The last lecturer, Sri K. M. Munshi, observes that disintegration is a malady of the collective mind and will of the people of India as a whole and all political parties have become instruments of disintegration. Unless the psychology of unity is firmly re-established, will to unity will remain weak. He decries 'linguism' and supports All-India Services and grouping of India in five 'zones' and a Central University at each zone with common medium of instruction. He also supports retention of English as a medium till Hindi is strong and popular enough to take its place.

This brochure containing sane and sober views of five eminent sons of Mother Indian deserves to be widely read.

A. B. DUTTA

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SANSKRIT

BHARATA-HRIDAYA-ARAVINDAM : A new Sanskrit Drama : *By Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri. Published by Prachyavani Mandir, 3, Federation St., Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 3.50 nP.*

The beautiful Sanskrit Drama *Bharata-Hridaya-Aravindam,* composed by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, is undoubtedly another feather in his already full cap. Already pioneer in many fields, he is also so in this respect, no less. For, as yet no Drama in any language has been composed on the Divine Life of Sri Aravinda. Not only that, even a good, full biography of this Great Soul, is not available. Hence, the present work is valuable from two stand points—Research and Poetry. The combination of one with the other is, indeed, very rare. But we know that Dr. Jatindra Bimal—who has already published over a hundred research works, as well as a large number of original sanskrit works, like Dramas, Poems and Songs—is such a rare combination.

As usual with him, he has written the Drama in a very simple and sweet sanskrit, easily intelligible to all. The plot is an excellent one, and some of the main events of Sri Aravinda, his sublime life, have been beautifully inserted with great dramatical skill. It contains a large number of exquisite verses and songs in a large number of different metres. Although all the scenes are very good, yet special mention may be made of the Alipore Bomb Case Court Scene. The thundering speech of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das will ever ring in the ears of all.

The Drama, composed a few years ago, was first staged at Sri Aravinda Ashram, Pondicherry, during the Puja vacation, with the blessings of the Mother—that being the first Sanskrit Drama to be staged there. It has also been staged several times later on.

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SATKARI MOOKERJEE

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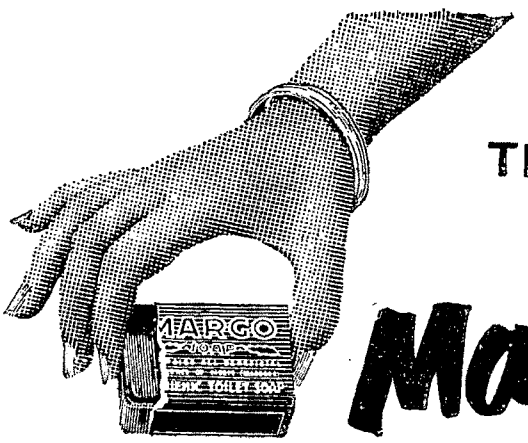

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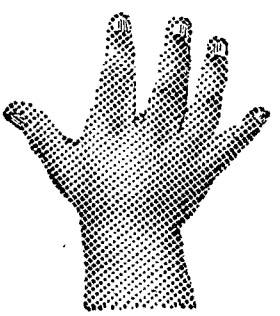

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Indian Periodicals

The Katanga Lobby

In course of a comment over the Katanga situation, the *Economic Weekly* wrote :

If any confirmation was needed of the truth of Dr. Conor O'Brien's courageous statement on the sordid realities of the Katanga situation, this has been provided by the performance of the British Government in changing its mind at the last moment about sending bombs to Congo. Pressure from Sir Roy Welensky and the threatened revolt of a section of the Conservative Party, lay behind this astounding reversal of a decision taken earlier. The role that the British and French Governments have played in giving lip support to the United Nations campaign while deliberately sabotaging all attempts to back up United Nations action, have raised visions once more of "perfidious Albion". As O'Brien pointed out, he felt greater respect for the Belgians who, at any rate had come out openly in condemnation of the United Nations action so that everybody knew where they stood.

The strength of the Katanga lobby is certainly surprising, and provides a very interesting example of how vested interests work. Many of Tshombe's supporters in the U.K. have direct financial interests in the Congo. It was to preserve the wealth of such companies as the Union Miniere, in which the British have an interest, that Tshombe was set up as a power in opposition to the Central Government of the Congo. The Belgian Government had a share of just under 17 per cent of the shares in Union Miniere. This was to be handed over to the Congo Republic, but with the Katanga breakaway, the shares have been frozen. On the basis of Katanga's wealth, Mr. Tshombe is now able to acquire modern jet aircraft, offer £300 a month to his mercenary recruits and obtain a fleet of two dozen heavy lorries from South Africa. A recent article in the *Manchester Guardian* on the wealth of Katanga points out that Britain's economic stake in the Congo is estimated to be split between Katanga and the rest, in the ratio of 45 to 55. Unilever has large interests in palm oil production, and British tobacco interests have a stake in the areas near Stanleyville. And it is not without significance that when O'Brien landed at London Airport he was provided with a bodyguard of nearly a dozen police officers.

Britain's far from creditable role can only serve to strengthen Afro-Asian suspicion, and confirm Washington's belief that in colonial matters Britain is not to be trusted entirely. Harold Wilson summed up the situation well when he said: "Britain's reputation, already fouled over Angola, will not be restored until the Government clearly repudiate the Katanga lobby among their own back-benchers and equally clearly make it known that they are not going to be influenced by the powerful financial groups which have been playing such a sinister role in recent months. Everyone knows that the foreign mercenaries could not continue for a day without outside support. The world is entitled to know who is supplying them."

Enough innocent blood has been split to preserve the profits of Katanga. Tshombe, without his mercenaries, is not a stable force, and all possible help should now be given to bring the United Nations action in the Congo to help bring about a satisfactory conclusion and build up a strong Central Government.

Atom for Peace Miracle

In discussing the peaceful use of atomic energy in present-day scientific developments, the *Economic Weekly* remarks :

Peaceful use of atomic energy looms large in all discussions on the banning of nuclear tests and has acted throughout as a backdrop to such discussions. But what precisely are the new avenues to the peace and prosperity of mankind which are barred today by the mad obsession of the rival blocs on development of nuclear weapons? If one comes to think of it, even atomic scientists are extremely restrained, if not altogether reticent, in elaborating the possible future role of atomic fission in changing the face of the earth into something more beautiful and pleasant than it is today. For years we have heard of the limited uses of isotopes in the diagnosis of diseases and medical research; similar applications in the fields of plant breeding and genetics are mentioned from time to time; and there is the recurring theme of the possibilities of the development of atomic energy as a fuel and source of power which some day will be found, we have been promised, cheaper and more economic than the thermal and other conventional sources.

Speculation about the relative costs of atomic versus other forms of energy has gone on longest and has also been the keenest in Britain than in any other country. This is because of the well-known reason that Britain's long term prospects of coal production are gloomy. This invests the search for alternative sources of fuel with some urgency. The prospects of obtaining atomic energy

at economic cost have changed over during the last few years. The earlier estimates of the cost of nuclear power are now widely regarded as over-optimistic. The latest estimate of the Chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board which is the world's largest single customer for nuclear power stations further confirms it. The unit cost of electricity from the first commercial atomic power stations, he gave out the other day, would be twice that from the Board's new—and the highest cost—thermal plants. The nuclear power programme may still be justified according to this high authority if, and only if, a shortage is anticipated in the supply of conventional fuels; but not in terms of the relative costs of alternative fuel with coal or oil.

Any way, the subject of atomic energy as a source of power has been fairly well thrashed out and has no longer any novelty about it. But what about the other uses which stagger the imagination of atomic scientists? Those among the latter who are contemplative and philosophical sometimes say things off the record—the possibility of moving mountains, of generating heat in the caverns and the bowel of earth which could supply an unfailing and steady source of power; of the possibility of changing the course of rivers, widening and deepening of harbours; and of performing many other miracles—all within the twinkling of an eye, 'if only.' That 'if,' of course, means systematic, continuous and concentrated research. These wider possibilities, curiously enough, are rarely, if ever, played even by writers of science fiction, not to speak of responsible and informed popularisers of science. One of the latter, however, allowed himself a little latitude when commenting upon one of the recent underground explosions tried out in the United States. The testing of an underground bomb in a salt bed, he thought, could mean an attempt to study the possibility of the generation of heat of immense intensity and its retention for possible practical uses. If this is correct, the speculation is warranted that the explosion of a bomb deep in the bowels of the earth might serve the purpose of a super colossal thermal power station which could be kept going indefinitely by the periodic detonation of the tiniest of atomic bombs—provided, of course, the earth doesn't cave in.

With the progress of science and organised research, the time-lag between a basic discovery and its extensive application in diverse fields has been progressively reduced. Not so in the case of atomic energy, considering the very narrow range of uses to which it is being currently applied.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Ashes of Death

"World Veteran" of France writes in one of its issues how the sharp increase of radioactive fallouts resulting from nuclear tests is a source of danger to all mankind, and damaging to the whole world. It runs as follows :

A nuclear bomb explosion has four major effects : (1) the blast; (2) the heat; (3) immediate nuclear radiation; (4) residual radioactivity.

Fall-out begins in that fraction of a second when the billions upon billions of uranium or plutonium atoms making up the bomb are split to release the tremendous energy bound up in the nucleus of the atom. The nucleus of this atom can split or fission in some forty different ways and in the process produce some 200 different radioactive products known as radioisotopes.

Each one of the radioisotopes decays or loses its radioactivity at a certain rate, some in a matter of seconds, others not for centuries.

Radioactivity has a destructive effect on cell growth and reproduction. For thousands of centuries Man has lived in an environment full of minor radioactivity. Cosmic rays constantly shower radiation on the earth. This natural exposure is not really harmful. But the less radioactivity people are exposed to, the better. There is good reason to limit the amount of man-made radiations of many sources. The testing of nuclear weapons is only one of these sources, but it is a major one, and contrary to certain devices now used in the medical and industrial field, of no practical value to mankind.

One of the most biologically important substnces found in fall-out is strontium 90. It has a long lifetime, nearly 30 years. It has a chemical similarity to calcium and, therefore, when taken into the body has a tendency to collect in the bones. It may well be that strontium 90 can cause cancer.

Among the shorter-lived fission products is radioiodine 131 which lasts 11 or 12 days. It can harm the thyroid cells. Energetic neutrons, as they are produced by the hydrogen bomb, can turn the nitrogen atoms in the atmosphere into carbon 14, an extremely long-lived radioisotope which may have harmful genetic effects.

All these substances become dangerous as soon as they enter the human body. Some of them are inhaled in the air, but most of them are ingested through foods. The radioactive materials can be in or on the vegetables or grains eaten directly by man, or they can pass up through the food chain indirecty through the grass, the stomachs of cows and then into the milk or meat.

The unit of measurement of radiation dosage is the roentgen (r). 0,3r a week is considered a normal dose. 25r radioactivity received by a person over a brief space of time can cause temporary changes in the blood. 100r cause symptoms of radiation illness, 450 are fatal.

Blast and heat are not peculiar to atomic weapons. It is the fall-out that adds a new element of destruction.

Local fall-out—immediate nuclear radiation —is mainly concentrated near the explosion. It appears in a matter of hours, is highly radioactive and would constitute a major threat in case of war. During testing, local fall-out is believed to be a danger that can be avoided.

Intermediate or tropospheric fall-out (the troposphere is the lower part of the upper atmosphere) consists of dust too fine to fall locally. It is blown up into the atmosphere, and returns slowly to earth after months or even years. The larger the detonation, the wider the fall-out hazard, which may be carried around the world.

The consequences of fall-out vary according to the kind of test. If the explosion is high enough that the fireball does not touch the earth's surface, the radioactivity produced by the bomb condenses only on soild particles spread around the world and descends very slowly. The majority of radioactivity is dissipated before it reaches the surface.

In an explosion on the surface of the earth, large amounts of material are drawn up into the bomb cloud. Many particles thus formed are heavy enough to descend rapidly, while still intensely radioactive, before decaying in the atmosphere. The resulting contamination can affect a large area.

Underground explosions are relatively harmless. In 1957, the Americans found out that—if the explosion was sufficiently deep in the ground —all fission products remain in the earth. Great amounts of "atomic dirt" would vaporize in the

fantastic heat produced by the explosion. Moreover, the fission products would not even touch the groundwater, because they are retained in chemical combinations which do not dissolve in water.

It would, therefore, seem logical that bombs be tested underground or, if this proves impossible, in the space, where the radiation hazards are less immediate and even less dangerous. There are however, unfortunately, technical reasons for testing bombs in the atmosphere. The testers are not merely interested in whether the device goes off. They want to make detailed measurements and accurate records, especially with high-speed photography. Such measurements would be extremely difficult underground or in space. So they test in the atmosphere, thus increasing fall-out.

Fall-out is the result of the fission of atoms. This fission process is the source of energy for the smaller atomic bombs. The thermonuclear or hydrogen bomb is the result of a fusion process—the fusion of heavy hydrogen (deuterium) and lithium. This fusion reaction produces energetic neutrons which induce radioactivity in substances they hit. Furthermore, the hydrogen bomb has a fission bomb as a trigger.

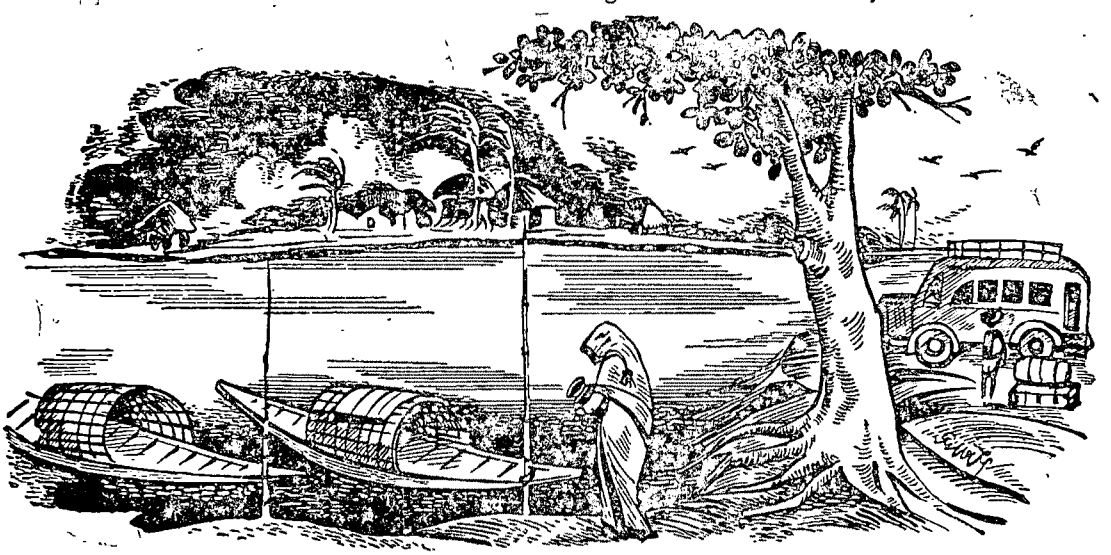
For extremely large hydrogen bombs, scientists have developed a triple-stage or "fission-fusion-fission" bomb (3F). This is an extremely "dirty" bomb, the expression being use in order to indicate the quantity of dangerous fall-out

It is the explosion of such 3 F-bombs that creates grave concern for mankind. A bomb of 50 megatons (a megaton is the equivalent to a million tons of TNT) has about 25 megatons of yield from the fission process which produces 2,500 pounds of radioactive debris.

In a pamphlet "Soviet Scientists on the Danger of Nuclear Tests," published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, in 1960, *Academician I.V. Kurchatov* wrote: "Tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons not only hold the world in the grip of constant anxiety as the portent of a possible future atomic war, but are (and in future will be still more) a hazard to the health of humanity. Calculations show that if tests are continued at the 1956-58 rate several million persons out of each future generation will contract hereditary diseases due to the fall-out of the radioactive isotopes of strontium, cesium and carbon that are produced in nuclear explosions and that spread over the entire globe."

Until October 1958, the total fission yield from atomic tests was estimated at 90 megatons. Another 50 have been added since and the quantity of strontium 90 in the atmosphere has doubled. These figures are still far from a real danger zone. But if there is no stop in these giant bomb tests, the steady poisoning of our atmosphere will reach a point where the existence of future generations is seriously affected.

There is no kown protection against long-range effects of the deadly ashes from the skies.



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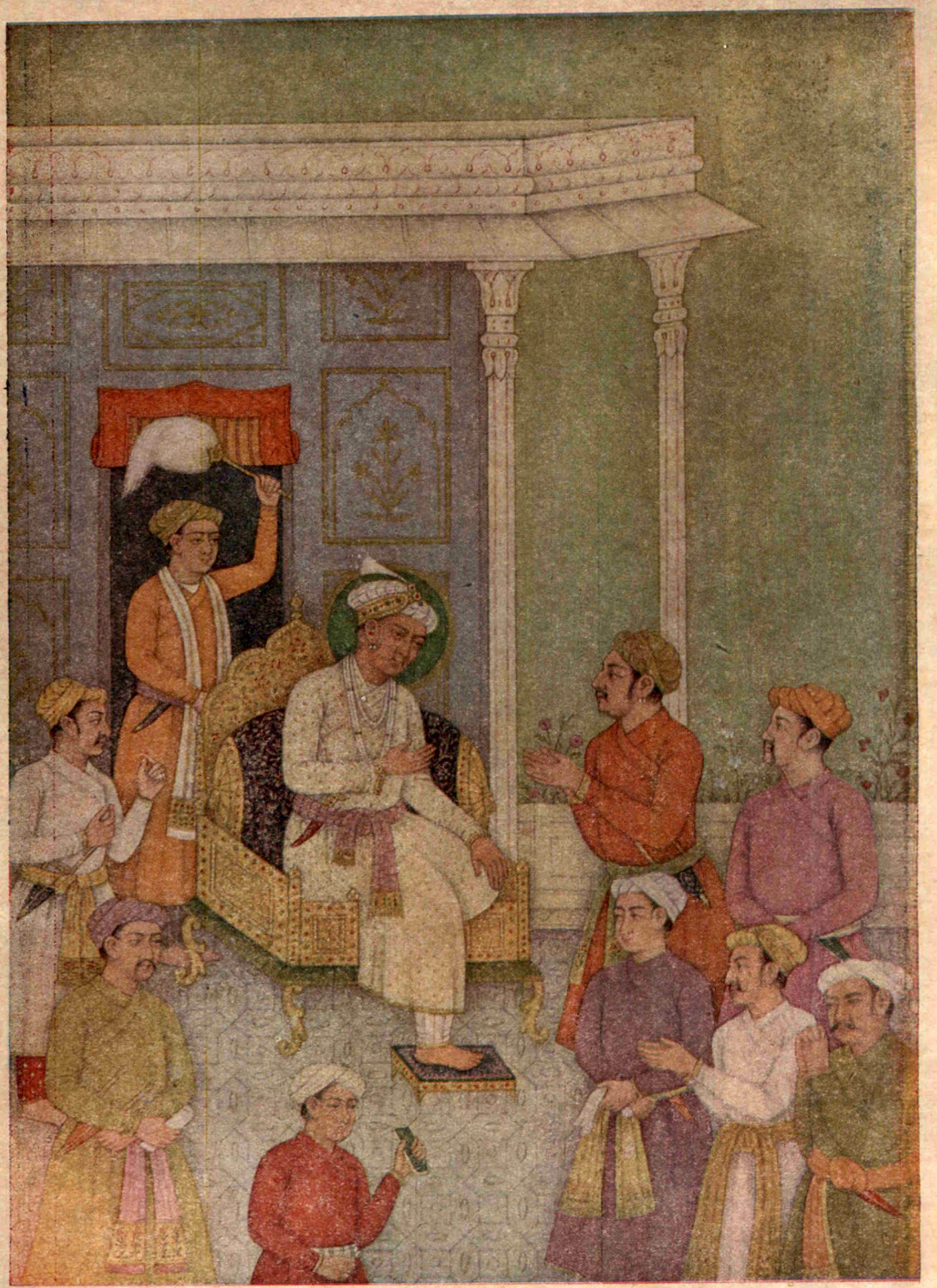

EMPEROR AKBAR AND HIS COURTIERS

(From an Old Moghul Picture)

By Courtesy : Sreemati Kamala Devi

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

February saw an easing of tensions—to a slight but significant extent—as between the main partisans in the cold war. There was an exchange of prisoners between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and the discussions about the proposed 18-Nation Summit Meeting was being carried on in a more relaxed atmosphere. There seemed to be a breathing space for an anxious world distracted by crisis after crisis.

In Europe, the Berlin position still remains indeterminate, but the hitch over the air-corridores to West Berlin seems to be resolving into a more negotiable form. There is no longer the tension of an ultimatum with inflexible terms present over the affair. Perhaps, the desire for a summit meeting, where all problems can be put on a table before a representative gathering of heads of the major states of the world for solution on a basis of compromise and adjustment, preponderates over all other considerations. It is too early to make any concrete prediction but there seems to be a dawn of hope for a world torn between manifold tensions.

The Algerian impasse is also showing some definite signs of a solution. The most troublesome question, as between President De Gaulle's proposals and the F. L. N. Algerian's claims, was that of the Sahara with its newly found and truly immense reserves of oil and other minerals. A compromise seems to have been arrived at by some kind of lease arrangement allowi the French to exploit those reserves wi admitting Algerian ownership. There ha been agreed proposals on the status o French settlers (Colons) in Algeria, a the self-determination referendum is o and the country passes into the hands the children of the soil. The full deta the agreement arrived at in the cou the secret talks near the Swiss border ha not been revealed but the French Cabi has approved the Pact. It has to awai approval of the nationalists (F.L.N.) "Pro sional Parliament" which met at Tripoli the 23rd February. The **Statesman** gave news that:

"The French authorities expect there will no obstacle to such endorsement. The 56 men bers of the "Parliament", the National Counc of the Algerian Revolution, were appointed by t executive body, the Provisional Government, an not elected.

The cease-fire is not expected to be off cially announced before next week. It will be pr ceded by an official Franco-Algerian confere at which the agreement initialled last Sunday wi be signed.

The political agreement includes the leasin of the naval base of Mers-el-Kebir to France fo 15 years, and the leasing for a much shorte period of air and military bases in Algeria.

It also includes provision for the continuatio of French atomic experiments in the Sahara fo at least three years, by the end of which period it was learned here, France will have built he

own atomic station somewhere on the coast of Britanny.

Other provisions of the Franco-Algerian agreement, according to today's independent Le Monde, include :

French forces will remain in Algeria, and particularly on the Tunisian and Moroccan frontiers, after the cease-fire.

For the interim period between the cease-fire and the self-determination referendum, probably four months, a temporary executive for Algeria will be set up with a Muslim majority. This executive will have at its disposal a mixed local police force of Europeans and Muslims to ensure freedom during the electoral campaign and referendum.

Le Monde says : 'The Algerian State will be set up when agreements have been approved by referendum.'

Meanwhile, in Algeria and in France, special security measures have been taken."

The greatest obstacle in the way of a peaceful settlement of this seven-year old ordeal, by fire and sword, which has badly besmirched the reputation of France, cost over a million lives and untold millions in financial losses, is the campaign carried on by the secret army organizations led by General Salan with the aid of the Algerian **Colons** (French settlers) and the rightist groups in France. This organization, known as the O.A.S. in France and Algeria, is trying to break up the plans of General De Gaulle by acts of violence and terrorism, planned and carried out in secret.

The vast majority of the people of France are eager for a settlement, but there is a hard core of dissidents who are tacitly supported by the upper cadres of the fighting forces. The main problem before President De Gaulle is that of keeping the army, navy and the air force loyal to his Government. The O.A.S. is unable as yet to come out in the open and challenge the power of De Gaulle. But if the armed forces veer in support towards them, then France will have to face a disastrous rebellion.

In the Congo, there seems to be a slight shift in the stand of Mr. Tshombe which has given rise to hopes that the war of secession waged in Katanga might come to an end. The key mercenary, Col. Roger Faulques, was paid off by Mr. Tshombe and packed off to Rhodesia—The happy home of British reactionaries and dyed-in-the-wool colonialists. **The New York Times** gives the following details about this professional soldier :

"Recently, it was learned, black Katangese officers and soldiers acting on Mr. Tshombe's orders, escorted Col. Roger Faulques, unceremoniously and at gunpoint, to the Rhodesian border. Earlier in the day Mr. Tshombe had paid Colonel Faulques off with a large sum (severance pay, it is called). The departure of Colonel Faulques is probably the most important step toward ending the Katanga secession since the Kitona agreement between Mr. Tshombe and Premier Adoula.'

"In the strange combination of forces that formed the Katanga resistance were the Tshombe personality and leadership, the white soldiers, the Union Miniere money and resulting high African standard of living, the European population's deep hostility toward the United Nations and the skilled propaganda machine. Amid these forces, Colonel Faulques played a special and vital role.

"He was the leader of the mercenaries, but more important, he was responsible for Katanga's planning and strategy, and military initiative. Colonel Faulques, oft-wounded and oft-decorated, was considered by observers to be a brilliant French officer who went wrong in his Algerian politics and was asked out of the French Army.

"He came to Katanga last year and immediately became the commandant of the officer training school at Shinkolobwe. When the Belgian officers were thrown out of Katanga last August and the Katanga military resistance seemed about to crumble, it was Colonel Faulques who assumed the leadership, and went to the bush to organize the guerrilla resistance. Thus, he changed the white military leadership from Belgian to a hard core of French. The French are still contemptuous of the way the Belgian officers left in August.

"On Sept. 13, when the United Nations had attempted a military political coup, and Mr. Tshombe was ready to give in, it was Colonel Faulques who set in action the surprising resistance that resulted in the stalemate. He was one

of the two or three most important men in Katanga, and was believed to favor a die-hard scorched-earth philosophy for Katanga.

"The exact reasons behind Colonel Faulques departure are still unclear. There is no doubt that Colonel Faulques open contempt for the Belgians had left him with a bitter circle of enemies among many Belgian advisers."

"The telephone general," they called him. In addition, they accused him of making an immense profit in the buying of the Katanga arms —by charging the Katangese five and ten times the proper price.

"But what probably was the decisive factor was the feeling of Mr. Tshombe and many Belgians, that with Colonel Faulques and his hard-core French the matter was getting out of control, that the power might not be long in the hands of civil authorities

"With Colonel Faulques gone, and with the United Nations obviously in operating control of the Elisabethville area, almost all the other mercenaries are believed to have gone, too. The danger of the arrest of those remaining by the U.N. forces has increased, and Colonel Faulques, the man who held them together, is gone. From Mr. Tshombe's side there is not enough money to pay them, and there is a feeling of disillusionment with their role in the Katanga defeat in December.

"Thus, there is the feeling among United Nations and diplomatic officials in Katanga that the mercenary problem is now a subsidiary one, that the mercenaries are no longer in Katanga in any number, and that they will return as a force only in case of failure in the current political and economic negotiations."

But despite these favourable signs there is still a great deal of uncertainty regarding the final settlement in the Congo. The fickle and uncertain temperament of Mr. Tshombe, whose ambitions are unlimited added to the fears about the future of himself and his colleagues, in case of a merger with the main state are factors of uncertainty. Added to that are the moves of shady western diplomats influenced by the Union Miniere and their willing aides, the western newspaper correspondents, who seem to have specialised in writing with a slant—the picture is anything but bright

There is, nevertheless, a calmer atmosphere prevailing in the Congo after Mr Tshombe got rid of the foreign mercenaries Negotiations between Mr. Tshombe and Mr Cyrille Adoula, the Prime Minister of Congo are proceeding and although they are likely to be long-drawn, in view of the divergence in the standpoints of the two, there are hopes that accord will be reached and the Congo will be put back on the path to peaceful advancement.

More African States are due to be liberated in the course of this year, notably Kenya, and prolonged talks are proceeding in London over the terms and conditions. There are difficulties in the way of a constitutional settlement as tribal factions rule the people of the soil and the tribal leaders are stated to have widely divergent viewpoints. The people were backward in education and general administrative training, as it was being run purely for the benefit of the British Colonials, as is being done in Rhodesia.

Portugal is carrying on with its atrocities against the poor unarmed African population of Angola, while its allies of the N.A.T.O. blink in uneasy inaction.

In Asia, there are three areas in which there are developing tensions that might mount to a crisis at any time.

In the troubled area of Laos, the U.S. had to resort to the stoppage of monetary aid to the existing regime under Prince Boun Oum, the Premier, in order to bring him and his intransigent head of the army to their senses. At present there is a deadlock in the negotiations between the three princes, Royalist Boum Oum, neutralist Souvanna Phouma and pro-Communist Souphanouvong, due to disagreement over the distribution of portfolios.

There is an apprehension that general warfare will break out as minor clashes, including an attack on a provincial capital, Nam Tua, by the Communist-trained and equipped Pathet Lao forces. In a major trial of strength the Pathet Lao forces are likely to overwhelm Prince Boun Oum's ineffective army, despite all aid, counsel and supply of equipment by the U.S. The only

alternative is the establishment of a neutral government, which the Royalist party is resisting.

In South Vietnam, there has been continuous warfare with the communist guerillas, known as the Viet Cong. The communist forces are estimated to be 20,000 strong with nearly as many part-time partisans. They control a sizeable tract of forest and rural areas and after night-fall they control virtually half the country. President Ngo Dinh Diem's forces are able as yet to crush any open attempt to attack and take over by the communists, but there are grave problems facing Diem's officers and their American military advisers in the matter of bringing under control the guerilla activities, and despite very heavy military build up of Diem's forces with U.S. aid the creeping advance of the Viet Cong has not been checked.

President Diem's authoritarian regime has been losing support amongst the people. The civilian section's discontent is increasing affecting the fighting forces. The news of a bombing of the President's palace by two fighter planes of his own air force that was flashed at the time of writing these, indicate the extent to which the disaffection has spread. There is a possibility of another attempt at a **coup d'etat** being staged at any time. Together with that there is the possibility of a full scale participation of the U.S. forces in active combat operations, as the U.S. Government has committed itself to give South Viet Nam complete military and economic support in defeating the communist attempt at a take-over. The consequences of such a participation may lead to a crisis.

The third area is South Korea. That unhappy country has been passing through successive waves of corruption and tyranny under authoritarian heads of state, bolstered up by American military and economic aid.

There is a fairly large contingent of U.N. forces (predominantly American) present in South Korea, and a fully equipped and powerful South Korean army is also there, so there is no likelihood of a direct attempt at staging an aggressive campaign by the communist forces across the border. The revulsion of the civil population towards communism, as a result of their experiences during communist occupation, is an inhibiting factor in any attempt at communist subversion, **as yet.** But the continued frustration of the people, ground down by corruption and tyranny and deprived of most amenities of a decent life, is beginning to show disturbing signs. This may—or may not—mean a crack-up of the stiff and staunch stand against communism, but there is no dobut that a continuity of the strain on the people's patience will end in disaster.

Lastly we come to the Western Hemisphere. Uptil very recently—a bare three years to be exact—the Americas were more or less out of the orbit of Western Power politics, since after the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine. But with culmination of the revolt against the dictator Batista, which put Dr. Fidel Castro in power in Cuba, new tensions started developing. It can no longer be denied that the Cold War has affected the Western Hemisphere, and that moves and counter-moves in the American States, big and small, have to be watched carefully for developing points of tension. We append below a long extract from the **New York Times** of February 4, to illustrate the viewpoint of U.S. diplomacy.

Ever since President Kennedy took office, and even though there have been many other and more global issues, Cuba has been one of his most pressing concerns. Last week there began a new and important chapter in the history of U.S.-Cuban relations.

Cuba's land area is only three-tenths of 1 per cent of the total land area of the Western Hemisphere, and its population only 2 per cent. Nevertheless it plays an important role in hemisphere relations—and beyond, because the Castro regime has brought the issue of communism directly into the Americas.

The new chapter was marked by two major developments. Yesterday the U.S. pressed forward with unilateral action against the Castro regime by declaring a virtually complete embargo on trade with Cuba. Earlier in the week the Organization of American States in effect ostracized Cuba from the hemisphere community—although some major Latin nations dissociated themselves from the decision.

These were among the questions raised by the week's events: (1) How will Latin America now react? (2) What will Castro do? (3) What further action can the U.S. take—and what consequences will that have?

The revolution that brought Fidel Castro to power in Cuba on Jan. 1, 1959, has had steadily widening repercussions throughout the Western Hemisphere. Castro's domestic and foreign policy aims became clear to the outside world only gradually. In fact, the U.S., which had grown cool to the Batista regime because of its autocratic methods and failure to solve Cuba's basic problems, initially was hopeful that Castro might usher in a new era of Cuban democracy.

The hope died in the echo of firing squads at drumhead trials in Cuba, indefinitely postponed elections and drastic curtailment of civil liberties, the expropriation of U.S. holdings with no firm pledge of reimbursement, and the establishment of increasingly close ties between Cuba and the Communist bloc. In 1960, Premier Khrushchev pledged to defend Cuba "with rockets" against external attack. Castro agents were at work throughout the hemisphere—in some cases openly—to "export the Cuban revolution."

Last December, Premier Castro dispelled any remaining doubt about his political commitment and course. He conceded publicly for the first time that he was a "Marxist-Leninist," claimed he had been one since the outset of his revolution, and announced that he was determined to make Cuba a fully communized state.

The U.S. at first had sought to bring pressure on the Castro regime through unilateral measures such as curtailment of trade and a break in diplomatic relations. Such steps, however, had had only limited effect. Besides, the problem extended far beyond the issue of Cuban-U.S. relations.

In that situation, Washington sought action through the Organization of American States. The twenty-one-nation O.A.S. (all the nations of the Western hemisphere except Canada) was formed in 1948, as a regional grouping under the U.N. and a coordinating body for all inter-American agencies. Its charter, combined with the Rio Treaty of 1947, provides for collective action by the member states against aggression or the threat of aggression.

But an initial canvassing by the U.S. of Latin governments on the chances for collective diplomatic and economic sanctions against Cuba revealed deep division within the hemisphere. The small Central American countries were for such action. They were close to Cuba, they had come to regard Castroist subversion as a danger to their security, and many had broken off diplomatic relations with Havana. But the larger Latin American nations had strong reservations about collective O.A.S. action. Apart from questions about whether it would be legally justifiable and politically effective, there was considerable concern in such countries as Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Mexico about pro-Castro sentiment within their borders. After Premier Khrushchev's threat to defend Cuba with rockets, the O.A.S. passed a resolution against Soviet intervention in the hemisphere, but rejected a U.S. plea for a general condemnation of Cuban policy.

Disarmament

Long conferences have been held, over a period of nearly seventeen years over the question of Disarmament. Partial disarmament, particularly with regard to nuclear weapons, total disarmament, controls, "gentlemans agreements" and all the possible variants have been mooted and disputed till threadbare. The proposal for banning nuclear tests alone, resulted in 353 meetings at Geneva, without anything tangible coming out of it.

There is now a proposal for an eighteen-nation conference, to be held in the middle of March, to see if there can be any concrete agreement on this vital problem. The nations include five each from the Western and the Soviet Blocs and eight neutral nations, of which one is India. Pandit Nehru has agreed to join the conference, provided it be held in the middle of April.

There is no divergence of opinion about the desirability of disarmament, where the main opponents in the Cold War are concerned. The disputes and differences of opinion have been on the question of inspection and control. The Soviets are

willing to accept any measure of inspection and control—**but only after the disarmament is completed.** The West is very suspicious about this proposal, as it might be a trap. The West has insisted, therefore, on a step by step approach towards disarmament, with full control and inspection on each step for all concerned.

The suspicions on the side of the Western Powers have been enhanced by the series of tests carried out by the Soviets last year. It remains to be seen what transpires at the proposed conference.

A Significant Slip

Jagriti, the organ of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, published at Bombay, has published in its February 22 issue an extract from the **Economic Times** of Bombay, which is a commentary on the recent decision of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission on the use of power in the development of Khadi and Village Industries. As the **Jagriti** has given prominence to the comments of the **Economic Times,** it might be taken that the Commission authorities are in agreement.

As we are in agreement with the comments, we append below the significant parts of the same extract. We are pleased to note that the Khadi and Village Industries Commission has come to this decision as it means that they have decided to grasp at positive realities, casting aside shibboleths and unreasoned prejudices.

"The decision of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission to treat decentralised production of power from locally available sources of energy as a primary village industry is a significant step since its potentialities seem to be immense. As the statement of the Commission itself points out, from the point of view of the future of the village industries, the use of power will have a tremendous effect on their development. Second, power development itself is now proposed to be brought into the orbit of village industries. Towards this end, Commission proposes to move the Government for an amendment of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission Act.

"The Third Plan points out that the village and small industries have played a significant part during the First and Second Plans in realising the objectives of expanded employment, larger production and more equitable distribution; but an important lesson it provides is that where individual small industries, including village indutries, have failed to adopt improved techniques or to achieve economies of scale and organisation, production costs have remained relatively high and problems of unsold stocks and decline in production and employment have been thrown up.

"One of the objectives postulated in programmes for village and small industries for the Third Plan is, therefore, the improvement of the productivity of the worker and the reduction of cost by placing greater emphasis on positive forms of assistance such as improvement of skill, supply of technical advice, better equipment and credit.

"The Khadi Evaluation Committee headed by Dr. Gyan Chand has focussed attention on the fact that in spite of various attempts, the traditional *charkha* has, as an organised movement, remained a relatively inefficient instrument for spinning cotton with the result that the vicious circle of low output and low wages (and even falling wages) has persisted. It was expected that the introduction of the Ambar Charkha would lead to efficiency, but these hopes have also been belied.

"The plain truth is that the high cost of Khadi is due to low productivity and inefficient organisation and the community cannot be indefinitely asked to shoulder the burden of sustaining a high-cost means of production through rebates and subsidies. The Evaluation Committee, therefore, urged that scientific and technological research in decentralised production was one of the most urgent tasks to which the country had to apply itself because this was the only way of raising the level of production and standard of living of millions of producers in this decentralised industry. The problem of khadi, therefore, in its view, is really the problem of building up the new economy in the village. It is in this context that the recent decision of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission assumes a special importance."

The recognition of the fact that all efforts at the improvement of the Charka

by itself are bound down by the limits of human physical power and endurance, and that no significant improvement in the conditions of living of the villager dependant on Khadi is possible unless that handicap is removed, is in itself a hopeful sign. We believe that human skills and creative abilities can be given a freer scope, not only in the spheres of homespun fabrics but also in the manifold fields where our artisans and cottage industry workers ply their traditional endeavours.

A Month of Prophecies and Slogans

The month of February started with dire predictions of calamities on all mankind in general and the inhabitants of certain areas in particular, each of these areas being where particular groups of astrologers and priests with occult skills could get a substantial gathering to listen to them. Eight planets, it was pronounced by the learned had come into conjunction with malefic intent in Capricorn and unless the proper ritual procedure were followed terrible catastrophies would follow. Needless to say millions of people, rich and poor, illiterate and over-literate fell victims to these traders in occult practices, despite all the teachings of science.

It was pointed out that of these eight "planets," two—the Sun and the Moon—were not planets in the strict scientific sense of the term, and the eighth was a totally imaginary body, a creation of the organized bodies of the ancient magicians and soothsayers, who turned such natural phenomena to their own advantage by giving plausible explanations based on the concept of Gods and Demons, Good and Evil, which is as old as man's emergence as a thinking animal. It was further pointed out that the position of the solar system in the zodiac had shifted out of Capricorn and into Aquarius before the conjunction of the five planets and the eclipse of the Sun was to take place, and that our great pundits of Astrology were out by 23 degrees in their faulty calculations. But millenniums of ignorance and superstitions prevailed and even amongst the educated, most persons had sneaky apprehensions of impending calamity and took precautions—but strictly behind a veil of secrecy!

With this astral and occult mumbo-jumbo, we had in February another invocation of mass psychology by equally skilled practitioners on the credulity of the masses. From lower reaches of the Himalayas to the shores of the southern seas, the whole land was overrun by professional politicians and their myrmidons, in their tens of thousands.

This is not the place to analyse in detail the effect of this eruption of "politicking" on a gargantuan scale. The Opposition had cried "Havoc" in their campaign and in certain areas had set out to upset the party in power. The elections are almost over and we append below the almost complete results as announced up to mid-night between February 28 and March 1, as given by the **Statesman**, as they definitely indicate the position of the States and the Union in the near future.

(*For table see next page*)

It will be seen from the tables given overleaf that there is no indication against the continuance of Congress Government at the Centre of the Union. But there will be a strong Opposition in the House though some of the finest debaters would be absent from the Opposition benches.

The position in the State Legislatures is somewhat more complicated, particularly in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, all regarded hitherto as being Congress strongholds. In the Punjab, on the contrary, the position of the Congress Government is quite safe despite all attempts by Master Tara Singh's group to render it untenable. The Congress is in a precarious position in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, and is facing a formidable challenge in Bihar and in the Uttar Pradesh, possibly all due to factional rifts within the party. In Assam and West Bengal the shift to the Left, as predicted by the political prophets, has not materialized, although it cannot be denied that the voting in the countryside shows a distinct change, as indicated by the analysis of the figures so far announced.

It will be premature at this stage to discuss cause and effect as indicated by the

STATES	LOK SABHA No. of seats	Congress	C.P.I.	P.S.P.	Swatantra Party	Jan Sangh	Independents	Other Parties	TOTAL	VIDHAN SABHA No. of seats	Congress	C.P.I.	P.S.P.	Swatantra Party	Jan Sangh	Independents	Other Parties	TOTAL
Andhra Pradesh	43	34	7	—	1	—	1	—	43	300	176	51	—	19	—	51	2	299
Assam	12		—	1	—	—	—	—	1	105	77	—	6	—	—	8	12	103
Bihar	53	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	318	118	5	18	39	3	6	24	213
Gujarat	22	14	—	1	4	—	1	—	20	154	112	—	7	21	—	8	—	152
Jammu & Kashmir	6									76	N.C. 54, Praja Parishad					1		55
Kerala	18	6	6	—	—	—	—	5	17	126 (No election to L.A.)								
Madhya Pradesh	36	16	—	3	—	3	4	2	28	288	142	1	32	2	41	39	29	286
Madras	41	31	2	—	—	—	—	8	41	206	138	2	—	6	—	5	54	205
Maharashtra	44	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	264	206	6	10	—	—	13	19	254
Mysore	26	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	208	139	3	20	9	—	36	1	208
Orissa	20	14	—	1	—	—	—	5	20	145 (No election to L.A.)								
Punjab	22	13	—	—	—	3	1	4	21	154	90	9	—	3	8	19	23	152
Rajasthan	22	5	—	—	1	—	2	—	8	176	87	5	2	36	15	22	8	175
Uttar Pradesh	86	45	—	—	1	7	4	3	60	430	218	9	30	14	44	30	31	376
West Bengal	36	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	252	143	46	5	—	—	13	25	232
UNION TERRITORIES										TERRITORIAL COUNCILS								
Delhi	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2									
Himachal Pradesh	4									41								
Manipur	2									30								
Tripura	2									30	15	9	—	—	—	—	—	24

results, but judging from what has happened in the former Congress strongholds of Bihar, MP., Rajasthan and U.P., there are strong and distinct signs of disintegration in the Congress body-politic, due to factional fissions in the party. The reasons for this disintegration is not far to seek. Office and rank has been awarded purely on party basis, without any considerations regarding integrity, efficiency or administrative capacity. Illicit gain through corruption has been the consequence.

THE EDITOR

Collective Agreements in the U.S.S.R.

International Labour Review has published an account of Collective Agreements in the U.S.S.R. in their January 1962 number. The following excerpts will provide interesting reading:

In the Soviet Union the principle is consistently applied that the terms of a collective agreement cannot be overridden by an individual employment agreement. Under article 28 of the Labour Code, conditions under an individual employment agreement which are less favourable to the workers than those provided by a collective agreement are null and void.

Each agreement contains a section concerning wages and norms in which the responsibility of the parties for improving rate-fixing methods and streamlining the wage structure within available resources is laid down. The same section requires the management to inform each new employee of wage rates, to issue him a pay book and to keep the entries in it up-to-date.

In conjunction with the factory committee, the management gradually replaces old production norms throughout the year as technical, economic and organisational innovations designed to increase productivity are introduced. Temporary production norms, and inaccurate ones impeding increases in productivity, are reviewed in the same way.

In fulfilment of its responsibility for increasing productivity, and in accordance with the organisational and technical plans, the management fixes dates for the replacement of old production norms in the different departments and trades with a view to the general introduction of technically proved standards. The workers are informed of new production norms and piece-rates not less than two weeks before their introduction.

While new production methods are being introduced, the managements may fix temporary production norms for periods not exceeding three months, after which permanent ones must be introduced.

In large-scale or mass production, norms and rates are displayed on notice boards in each department. The work done and the piece-rate earned are then recorded on each individual work-sheet after checking by the technical inspection service. In piece-rate operations, where there are no established norms, the management must issue work-sheets before work begins.

The functions of factory committees include the following: ensuring that properly established wage systems and legislation concerning labour and wages are fully complied with, seeing that the proper wage rate is assigned for the job and the man and that workers' qualifications are fully used according to their particular skills, maintaining constant supervision to ensure that the correct wages are paid at the proper times and to take firm action to ensure that arrears do not occur; making daily checks to see that the proper work-sheets and other documents upon which payment of wages is based are issued; and keeping employees informed of the results achieved and wage levels.

Regulations concerning the rights of factory trade union committees adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on 15 July, 1958, provide that various matters concerning wages and production standards may be regulated by collective agreements. Article 6 states that collective agreements are to indicate which occupations and jobs are to be remunerated on a time or a piece basis respectively or at the rates fixed for work in hot, difficult or dangerous conditions, and also, the procedure for the classification of particular operations and the grading of workers according to the table of rates and qualifications.

Collective agreements also lay down the conditions for bonus payment by output or by time, on the basis of standard specifications, and also the categories of employees affected by other bonus schemes and the amounts payable.

A full complement of qualified supervisors, facilities to teach the workers improved methods, the organisation of technical training and the systematic improvement of the levels of qualification of engineering and chemical and technical staff, and of the standards of the training given to all employees, are essential to enable new techniques to be introduced more rapidly and the rate of technical progress to be accelerated.

The collective agreement for each undertaking includes a plan for the training of new employees and for further training of employees at all levels. The arrangements made include provision for the training of a certain number of new employees in branches essential to the running of the undertaking (machine-tool operators, fitters, smiths, etc.) as well as facilities to enable workers to improve their skills or learn new trades. New workers are taught either in courses or by group instruction with individual supervision. Further training facilities are provided at modern training schools, through special-purpose courses, at production courses and at courses for technical staff, supervisors, foremen, rate-fixers, accountants and other categories.

The trainees themselves undertake to attend classes regularly and to perform the tasks set by instructors and teachers according to the established programme.

Collective agreements devote particular attention to providing conditions under which young employees can work satisfactorily and improve their qualifications. The management undertakes to make use of them in the particular trades they have learned, assigning them to the appropriate wage category. It also arranges for them to follow further training courses, and ensures that those still at school are offered jobs in shifts which do not coincide with their class times and are not kept at work which prevents them from pursuing their studies.

In order to raise the cultural and technical levels of workers and their productive skills, as well as to increase labour productivity, managements and factory committees organise a system whereby constructors, scientists and other engineering and technical personnel take workers under their care and whereby supervisors are assigned to give particular attention to young workers or workers who fail to reach output norms.

The factory committee undertakes to cooperate in assigning particularly skilled workers and technical personnel as instructors, to encourage attendance and to improve the level of instruction. It also takes an active part in organising schools, courses and small groups to generalise new methods and provide technical and industrial instruction. It further ensures that the management carries out its pledges regarding supervisor training.

In collective agreements considerable importance is attached to measures designed to secure healthy working conditions. They are specifically required to include provisions concerning the further improvement of the protection of workers and of industrial safety and health techniques, better ventilation and sanitary arrangements, improved medical services and the organisation of rest and sanatorium treatment for workers.

Collective agreements specify the total sums to be allocated for measures to improve conditions of work, specify the principal steps to be taken and require the management to take the measures agreed upon with the factory committee, regarding protection of workers and safety techniques, which are set out in an appendix to the agreement.

The management also undertakes to see that everything necessary is done to prepare work premises for winter (e.g. making sure the heating system is in order, insulating doors), to provide satisfactory lighting, to provide in good time for the issue of special clothing, footwear and protective equipment conforming with established standards, to ensure that shower-baths and other sanitary installations are kept in good working order and to provide satisfactory rest rooms for women workers. It is also the management's responsibility to see that no new employee and no employee transferred to a new job is allowed to start actual work without previous instruction in safety techniques at the new workplace. The management also arranges for displays of safety posters in sufficient numbers in work premises, holds talks and discussions for employees on workers' protection, safety techniques and occupational hygiene, and also organises courses on the technical aspects of occupational safety and health.

One of the management's most important tasks is the making of systematic arrangements to ensure safe working conditions and to eliminate all occupational hazards; this involves thorough investigation into the circumstances of any accidents that occur.

In order to reduce occupational disease, the managements and the factory committee keep records of all persons who are sick frequently or for long periods and the observations of the dispensaries on their cases; cases of sickness are analysed month by month according to their causes.

Factory committees promote better working conditions and recreation for the employees by undertaking educational activities designed to prevent employment injury and occupational disease; they periodically consider at their meetings the latest standards in the field of workers' protection industrial safety and health, and provide a number of free passes to rest homes and sanatoria.

Another function of factory committees is the systematic enforcement of legal regulations concerning hours of work, rest periods and special conditions for women and young workers. They also supervise the protection of employees in the various departments, the implementation of agreed measures to improve conditions of work and of the standard health plan and the provision of medical treatment and the issue of certificates by the medical services.

Collective agreements also cover the supply of fuel to employed persons and improved maintenance and equipment of communal dwellings.

Article 12 of the regulations of July 15, 1958, states that allocation of living space owned by the undertaking shall be decided upon through joint decision by the management and the factory committee. Outstanding production workers of all grades, supervisors, war invalids and victims of occupational accidents, families of persons killed on military service and employees with large families have priority.

Factory committees are responsible for keeping a constant check on progress in the provision and standards of housing and cultural amenities and on the modernisation and general maintenance of housing, particularly communal dwellings. Occupants of factory-owned accommodation are taught ways of looking after their dwellings.

Collective agreements contain a separate section dealing with improved shopping and restaurant facilities and providing for assistance for workers who keep gardens or breed animals. Restaurants and snack bars serving employees on factory premises pay nothing for premises, lighting and water, while fuel for cooking and transport facilities are provided at cost. In order to encourage collective vegetable growing and gardening, managements and factory committees undertake to assist by allotting ground, turning over the soil and purchasing seeds and plants, as well as by providing equipment, repairing containers made out of materials left over from the production process, and supplying transport facilities.

The factory committee organises systematic and comprehensive supervision of restaurant and snack bar facilities and takes decisive action against any violation of the rules governing commercial transactions in the U.S.S.R.

Under paragraph 12 of the agreement for the Karagandin Metal Works, and under similar arrangements elsewhere, women workers with small children are allowed nursing breaks after every three hours' work and of a total duration of one hour in a seven-our working day.

Nearly all agreements stipulate that, as workers increase their qualifications, the management shall transfer them to more skilled jobs, their rates of pay being increased after they have passed a test. Workers engaged for three successive months in jobs requiring greater skill have a prior right to promotion to a higher wage grade. Many collective agreements, particularly in the engineering industry, stipulate that a worker employed in a category below his normal one is entitled to have any difference in piece-rates made up provided that he fulfils production norms and that the difference is of more than one garde.

Trade unionism has grown in the rest of the industrial world as an organisation for collective action by the workers belonging to a particular union. The right of bargaining and of strike belong to the workers themselves and the State can only come in for arbitration, conciliation or for deciding disputes judicially. Whether State-appointed men can look after the true interests of workers can be judged by the workers themselves. Generally speaking

the above arrangements made by the U.S.S.R. appear to be yet another expression of the might of the bureaucracy in the U.S.S.R. The Rules, Regulations and the Laws are made by the Government and the interpretations, implications, applications and the implementations also depend on persons who are government servants. The workers, no doubt, can draw up petitions and hope for the best.

A. C.

As Others See The Congress

When the Roman Emperors returned to Rome after some great victory over some "barbarians" somewhere and went in a great procession through the eternal city to let all see what super-super man ruled their destiny; the supermen always had a man standing behind them to tell them constantly during their glory march, "remember thou too art mortal!" In this way they kept their balance of mind and did not fall into the error of overestimating their own greatness and "divine" powers. Pandit Nehru, Dr. B. C. Roy and all those others who are now arranging to celebrate their victories, should at this stage take stock of their own failings and shortcomings so that they might not fall into the error of thinking they had no faults and were very near perfect. The **Vigil**, with J. B. Kripalani and Jayaprakash Narayan in its board of editors has given it hard to the Congress and Pandit Nehru and its words are well-worth recapitulation. We are quoting **ad extenso** from the **Vigil's** estimate of our elections:

"The 'biggest democracy' in the world is on the move for the third time—and this time with over 21 crores of men and women tied to its ramshackle wheels. Every one of them is a voter because he or she is a 'citizen of India' and not less than twenty-one years of age. But there are citizens and 'citizens', some just crossing the border of Pakistan on the sly and managing to get their names registered in the list of voters.

Everybody knows that the Congress is the ruling party, the winning party, the earning party in politics; and because it is so there has been a regular scramble for getting its hall-mark by candidates as this mark is a guarantee for immense resources in men, money, jeep cars and influence of all kinds to facilitate victory at the polls. And once that victory is won, there are a hundred and other ways of making a living out of it and, in more fortunate cases, getting rich quick. To spend for the Congress, as a candidate or subscriber, is to invest in gilt-edged securities. And, it will be an interesting and revealing study to find out how many people have risen with empty purses and filled them with how many lakhs and by what means in the last five or ten years. Naturally, there have been fierce rivalries within the party and jockeying for position in the party rank. The result is split and defiance, suspension and wooing, forming of groups on the basis of personalities rather than politics and, what is worse, of casts, community, religion and narrower and narrower loyalties. It is no wonder that national integration remains a distant goal yet and profession and partice stand as poies apart.

Against this background, the voters, a vast majority of them illiterate and credulous, are driven like dumb cattle to the polling booths to cast their 'votes'—this time by a cross-mark on the ballot paper—in favour of a candidate or party they do not fully know, judge or comprehend. In one place, it is said, the voters are by and large averse to a Congress candidate because he is alleged to have been guilty of treasonable activities. They are dead set against him. But the handsomely paid agents of the candidate have induced the voters to vote for the symbol of the two bullocks which are holy, and not for either the Congress or its candidate. This is only an example of how we are 'educating' our voters politically through the elections for the democratic way of life. Since, as between ends and means, it is now the Congress creed in practice, though not in preaching, that ends (majority) must be secured by any means and by any acts of commission or omission, and Congress predominance obtained for the legislatures by hook or by crook in order to remain in power, it has become impossible for men of integrity and for those who hold some things at least as sacred in life, to make any headway in politics. There are

undoubtedly some exceptions at the top. But the rank and file has accepted a philosophy of life in which money and 'power' are the new idols. As a result, all honest followers of Mahatma Gandhi—again, with a handful of men excepted —have either felt compelled to give up politics or go out of the Congress and fight as 'independents'. But with the Congress having all the resources at its disposal and the candidates being chosen with an eye only to their capacity to collect votes anyhow, it bas become an unequal fight between the ruling party and the rest. Thus, because of the odds operating against the other parties, none of them has so far been able to take the place of a real opposition—not even parties made up of those who were once stalwarts of the Congress and later came out of it to form a corrective opposition. The ambition of all other parties than the Congress in this election does not go beyond becoming the largest opposition group.

But the monopoly of power exercised by the Congress will end some day, and when it ends—perhaps after the next five years—the country will be left, on present showing, at the mercy of dis-jointed self-seeking groups of the Congress and ineffective rival opposition parties wrangling with each other, jeopardising the very unity of India, and presenting to the Communists with their extra-territorial loyalties a vast sheet of troubled waters in which to fish to their hearts' content. It is an admitted fact that national character, thanks especially to the degeneration of the Congress and its rule, is at its lowest ebb; in fact, it has touched bottom. It is now a One Man Party. Consequently, we have a one-man democracy and a one-man government. But even this—the projection of an all-powerful leader's image—is a false facade. It does not rest on the support of people owning a common and sincere loyalty to any principle or programme but on the opportunism of individuals and groups that are ready to profess anything and subscribe to any slogan so long as they are free, in practice, to pursue their own ends : pelf and power. And the leader who is not unaware of this basis of his leadership must himself, be the most consummate opportunist of all.

Almost everything against which Shri Nehru rants publicly is permitted free play within the Congress party. When it seems really nothing and nothing practically is at stake, he will preach homilies about the importance of principles and the unimportance of elections, about how he would prefer losing a hundred elections to breaking a principle, and so on. But the present campaign has shown to what lengths he of unscrupulous electioneering our Prime Minister himself can go. For instance, nothing can beat the immorality of the complaint, in the mouth of the leader of the Congress party and the Congress government, that rich men and capitalists are giving money to the Opposition! This from the man party, thanks to its being in power, has been receiving or exacting millions upon millions from Big Business! This from the men whose regime has coincided, under the misty veil of bogus talk about "a socialistic pattern of society", with the largest ever capitalist build-up in any period in the history of this country!

A. C.

Things Physical and Moral

The Statesman, Calcutta, of February 27, 1962, points out certain physical and moral facts relating to the elections. Regarding the way the election campaign has disfigured the City's walls, roads, lanes and pavements and masses of printed stuff that have been dumped everywhere **The Statesman** rightly says:

"The litter now adorning almost every street, lane and by-lane in almost every city, town and village in India does not consist only of election posters, streamers, throw-aways and pamphlets (some of which are in poor taste) although these need to be cleared as early as possible. Considering the usual competence of our municipal bodies, the public may have to see these pathetic, tattered excitants of yesterday for days and weeks to come."

The Statesman suggests that the volunteers who disfigured the city should now be made to restore to the city its "elegance" (if it possessed any). What the volunteers or the municipal "scavengers cannot clear"

is "the vast heap of discarded values" which the politicians may be able to clear by better conduct and behaviour in their public activities in post-election days.

"Many candidates, regardless of party, encouraged, helped or connived at things they knew to be wrong; in most cases, politically, and in all, morally.

* * * *

Many in office set deplorable examples of mixing party and government, of mixing election work and official travel. The whispering campaigns were not always free from indecent references to personal lines. How many election accounts will be obviously distinguishable from what income-tax officers call 'swindle sheets?' The public will never know just how many false votes were cast. The number may well be distressingly large without necessarily distorting the pattern of representation. Those who organised such votes do know the disservice they have done to democracy, and at least one party manager has been known privately to boast of the increased efficiency of his machinery for false voting.

The real corruption may only be starting, for those who spent more than they could afford will seek ways of recovering at least part of the expense. India is justly proud of her free elections. The authorities usually do their best to make these also fair. A third requirement may be added: elections should also be clean. Only politicians and their parties can ensure that."

The preparation of voters lists and the identification of voters should be made better and less liable to falsification than these have been so far.

A. C.

Free and Fair Elections

The **Amrita Bazar Patrika**, Calcutta, finds in the elections a "great" strengthening of "democracy" in the world. The elections passed off "smoothly and peacefully' and that being so, in the opinion of the **Patrika**, "the elections were free and fair to a remarkable degree." The question of moral values and ethical standards has not been raised by the Baghbazar journal, perhaps, because, corrupt practice is all pervading and what cannot be cured must be endured.

A. C.

Treachery Within The Party

While partywise there have been little criticism of each other's moral outlook in the matter of securing votes, for the reason, perhaps, that all parties engaged in unfair practice to win their ends; there have been some instances of party-men conniving at activities aimed at lowering the prestige of their own party candidates. Even well-known leaders of certain parties have indulged in such acts of treachery. The **Hindusthan Standard**, published the following remarks in their **Political Diary** of February 27, 1962:

"Indeed, in some Lok Sabha constituencies, Congress candidates entered into overt arrangements with rival parties and backed opposition candidates for Assembly seats on the promise of the votes of their supporters for the Lok Sabha contest."

We do not know if this refers to the election of candidates for the Asansol constituency.

A. C.

Our Legislators and Rulers

It is a great pity we do not come face to face with the parties that aspire to rule us before we put our mark of approval on the pair of bullocks or the ear of corn and the scythe. We may occasionally meet a candidate in person; but he only belongs to a party and has to take his directives from the party without having any right to commit the party to any particular policy or course of action. We cannot ask him to agree to lower bus fares or the price of sugar in order to earn our support; for, if so asked, he would no doubt say; *Kya Malum? Party janta.* And the party is in those rarefied heights where no voters can reach

it. The political parties of India never come down to ground level and talk about the price of food or clothing or about anything, in fact, which is of vital interest to any voter. Industrialisation, Gram Panchayats, spread of Hindi, prohibition, moral upliftment, abolition of superstition and establishment of pure reasons as the only thing to worship, and so on and so forth. Everything to cost more money to the tax-payer without any three dimensional undertakings from the parties who want to be our rulers. This has been going on for fifteen years and we have been giving blank cheques to a lot of irresponsibles who never undertake to do anything precisely nor promise to give something in exchange of every rupee we pay in taxes. It is high time we learned to bind the irresponsibles down to particular policies and lines of action. We cannot go on being "free" and supercharged with "liberty" with no certainty that we shall be able to buy our next meal according to our choice or that our life's savings will not just vanish into thin air by the inflationary adventures of our party leaders. We agree that we must vote at election time inorder to keep our democracy going; but we should insist that our candidates behaved rationally and like persons who believed in entering into a sort of moral agreement with their supporters and also in honouring the agreements. Responsible and representative government does not mean irresponsible and unilateral use of political power. The whims and fancies of party leaders cannot be called political policy; and, unless the party leaders learnt to treat the public with respect and honour; the public may find out other methods of carrying on the democracy than by blindly handing the reins of government to a lot of elusive persons who made our lives as unstable as their own characters.

Social security is the economic foundation of modern human society. Full employment, a living wage, security against unemployment, illness, old age and all those other circumstances which inevitably cause suffering to those who have no defences, all these have to be arranged to build up a strong, happy and prosperous nation. A few giant factories scattered over great distance and some impressive organisations alone cannot build the nation. The country is slowly accumulating the poisons which will eventually render it prostrate and helpless. We have noted three times in the manner of persons who never learn by experience. We have no alternative either. "Vote or land yourselves into a state of anarchy" has been our sole guiding directive in the field of politics. But this cannot go on. We have to evolve methods of securing a truly and factually responsible and representative government for ourselves. This is only possible if we can make our elected rulers give precise undertakings and to honour the undertakings.

A. C.

Life Insurance in India

Life Insurance has grown phenomenally in India during recent years. The Government of India, *i.e.*, the Congress party interpret this as the result of nationalisation of life insurance. But we think that it is the natural product of the government's taxation policy and the slow and steady increase in the quantity of currency in India. For, whereas, in the thirties and middle forties of this century a man paid not much in taxes when his income was twenty or thirty thousand rupees annually, today he pays more than half his income in tax in the top blocks of his income. The income-tax rebate on insurance premia paid, therefore, make life insurance very desirable and advantageous financially and people in large numbers buy policies in order to effect tax-free savings. Also all rupee statistics appear to be astronomical in dimensions due to the fact that there are four rupees circulating today for every rupee that was being used by the public in 1939. So that the claims made by the L.I.C. boosters about the popularity of nationalisation are totally unfounded. Had there been no state ownership in life insurance in India, we believe business would have expanded even better than it has under state ownership. The main reason for our assertion is that the profits paid by the big private concerns to the policy-holders have already been cut down to a much lower level by the L.I.C. As a result, the savings effected by an L.I.C.-

managed policy are no longer profitable. And only the tax rebate enables the government to sell their life insurance policies.

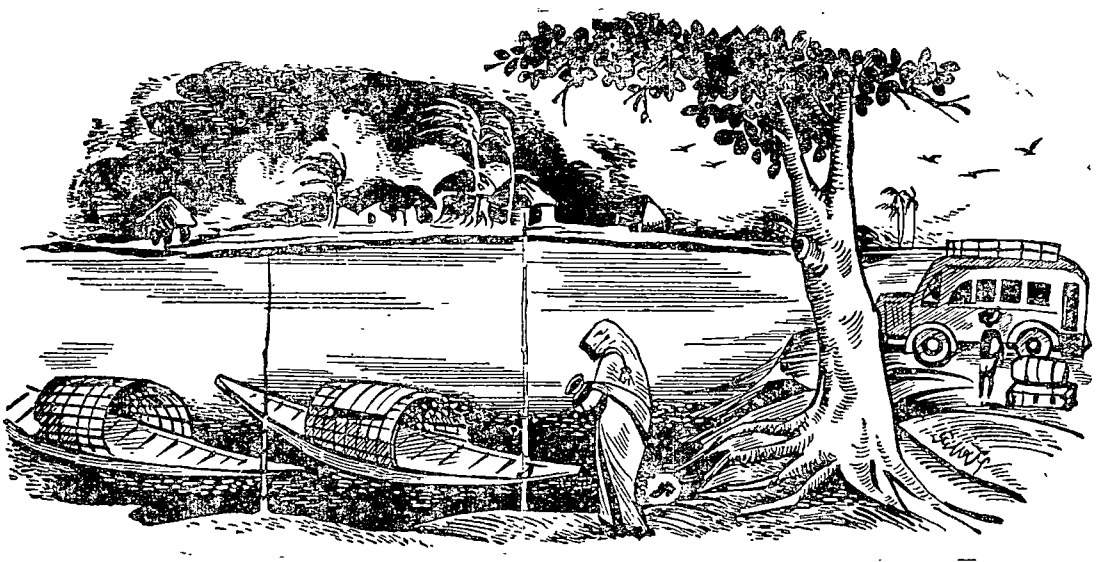
The L.I.C. management of life insurance has not been very efficient. People pay premia for long periods without receiving *pucca* receipts or policies and the settlement of claims leave quite a lot to be desired. If in spite of these disadvantages of insuring with a monopolistic institution, people do buy policies, the reasons for that must be looked for elsewhere than in the hall of glory that is specially kept for state capitalistic establishments. The popular opinion is that whatever the government undertake to manage, immediately loses in efficiency and quality. The posts, telegraphs, telephones and the railways are living examples of the relative uselessness of state management of things in general.

A.C.

Voters Lists

During the recent elections, not only was it impossible to identify a voter faultlessly but many were described with an utter disregard for facts. Father's names were often totally different from what they should have been and persons in the same house, and often such as voted in 1957, were just left out of the list for no rhyme or reason. A highly respectable person whose first name was Bhupendranath was described as just plain Bhuto and this infuriated his family members so much so that they did not cast their votes. And very often the heads of families were left out and all sorts of imaginary persons were mentioned as being, his or her children or employees. During voting time almost all voters or the party touts spend a fair amount of the nation's money to get the votes cast. Why cannot government introduce a system of cards of identity for all persons above the age of 21 with photographs and thumb impressions complete? This will push the ghost voters out as well as make it easy to compile useful and complete list of voters.

A. C.



THE DEFINITION OF MANAGEMENT

A New Historical Perspective On The Changing Norms And Values of Management

By NARENDRA K. SETHI

THE dynamic concept of management is essentially the product of our modern society and civilization. The ideals that it upholds, the beliefs that it supports and the practices that it propagates are basically parts of our own way of life. In it we find the institutions of our western culture truthfully reflected and in it, again we observe the values of modern civilization sincerely portrayed. Fundamentally, it has a dual edge on our economic society: first, it expresses faith in the vital concept of "controlling man's livelihood through systematic organization of economic sources"[1] and, secondly, it believes that "economic change can be made into the most powerful engine for human betterment and social justice."[2] Thus, it would appear that management, as a social activity underlines two distinct human phenomena: those of sustainment of human energy and of human development or growth. Both of these ideals assume economic dimensions under management, but they still are the products of a free modern society, thinking in terms of free man and energy.

Management, in order to be effective and successful operates in the framework of organization. It entails social co-operation and acceptance. An organization is, indeed, "a system of co-operative activities of two or more persons."[3] It presupposes at least a duality of action because there will be neither organization nor management if there were only one person. When the wills and actions of several people combine together, there should be a co-ordination of those otherwise the management pattern will be an unintegrated one. Co-ordination is "the orderly arrangement of group effort to provide unity of action in pursuit of common purpose."[4] Thus, it follows that management seeks to integrate the organizational activities of the group it maintains.

Though the nucleus of the concept of management can be defined in the foregoing terms yet the application of the same has assumed such breadth and comprehensive treatment that different writers have tried to define the same in various different and sometimes varying manner. The reason is not far difficult to comprehend either. Like all social sciences, management too cannot be expressed in absolute terms which would be acceptable to all. It is, indeed, a social process which admits of wide variations, relative thinking and conceptual approach.

E. F. L. Brech defines Management as: "A social process entailing responsibility for the effective (or efficient) planning and regulation of the operations of an enterprise, such responsibility envolving—(a) the installation and maintenance of proper procedures to ensure adherence to plans; and (b) the guidance, integration and supervision of the personnel comprising the enterprise and carrying out its operations."[5]

Mary Cushing Nile says: "Good Management . . . . achieves a social objective with the best use of human and material energy and time, and with satisfaction for the participants and the public."[6]

Lawrence A. Appley says: "Management is the development of people and not the direction of things. . . . . Management is personnel administration."[7]

Stanley Vance says: "Management is simply the process of decision making and control over the action of human beings for the express purpose of attaining predetermined goals."[8]

Harold Koontz and Cyril O'Donnel say: "When co-operation of individuals towards a common goal becomes organized in a formal association, the fundamental and essential component of this association is management—the function of getting things done through people."[9]

Peter F. Drucker says: "The first definition of management is . . . . that it is an economic organ of an industrial society." And "it (management) means to taking actions to make the desired results to pass."[10] In the same vein a score of other definitions can be quoted from the abundant management-literature. But these definitions included here have been quoted with a specific purpose and aim. It is thought that each of these statements reveal to us a definite aspect of management theory, that each has developed on the previous one's approach, that each represents a full sector of a knowledge and that each of them translate the intangible values of management in an individual and different manner. These few definitions give us in varying measure an understanding of some managerial concepts.

E. F. L. Brech, a noted British management-consultant defines management both as a social process and a functional field. He tries to strike a balance between these two ideals by adopting a socio-economic attitude. For him, management constitutes a "process of planning and regulating the activities of an enterprise."[11] At first, he calls it a, "social process" but later he seems to limit his implications by stating that management is the "regulation" of the enterprise. Thus, it appears that Brech is trying to relate the concepts of management through the workings of an enterprise on the level of social consciousness. But he still does not quite attach to management the same economic and industrial dimensions which later American thinkers did.

Mary Cushing Niles, an associate of Dr. Lillian M. Gilbreth and a well-known lecturer on managerial aspects, follows the same path as Brech but somewhat on a different footing. She also calls it a "social objective" but qualifies this by thinking through the newer fields of energy and time. For her, the concept of management has a three-dimensional character. It uses human power, material energy and time. Further, she believes in universal acceptance and satisfaction as a keynote of sound management. She advances on the theory of Brech by introducing the ideal of human satisfaction. She has admitted that management "must utilize the resources of nature and of human nature for the benefit of mankind."[12] In this way, she is hinting at a new idea —that of human welfare and benefit. But it cannot be denied that Mrs. Niles is approaching the question of managerial performance from the viewpoint of a "philosophical entity" rather than as a sustaining economic factor. This is why she claims that "in a sense, both management and technology are means, not ends."[13] She fails to conceive of the situation where the powerful pull of management, by its vitality and vigor can become the very "end" of our economic society and national strength.

Lawrence A. Appley gives to management its abundant human appeal and social character. In his definition, we observe two diverse factors: there is a positive acceptance of human development on one hand and there is a negation of all other responsibilities involving "direction of things". For him, the concept of management revolves solely around "Man" and he is ready to relieve management of all other assignments. This appears, on the face of it an exaggerated assumption, but as we think over it, it appears that Appley's concept of human development embraces all other fields of social activity. Thus, Appley affords a yet another dimension to the definition of management and enlarges the field of managerial performance in a sizeable manner, though on a single unit.

Stanley Vance reverses the process completely. First, he finds nothing modern in the essence of management theory; he states, "The concept of management is universal and as old as the human race."[14] Second, he divides the concept in two related fields that of decision making and of control. Further, he holds that management puts "a control over the action of human beings": in this way, his ideal of management is far different from the standpoint of other writers discussed above. Control implies a degree of determinism, a touch of suppression and a hint of force. Vance considers management along these lines and puts his faith in controlling of human actions. For him, management ceases to be a social process but a mere organ for the "express purpose of attaining predetermined goals." There is nothing of human welfare, social responsibility or moral obligation in this approach. Vance's definition is strangely both cool and terse.

With Koontz and O'Donnell we move on a

different plane. It is one of intellectual understanding and academic discussion. There is none of emotional jargon or social talk. In stimulating phrases they try to define the function of management. But then, as with all academic studies, their definition too has sematic questions about itself. There are at least 3 words which are difficult to define in themselves, "common goal," "organization" and "formal association." It appears, however, that the writers follow the approach suggested by Chester Barnard, one of the greatest writers on organization theory and managerial aspects.[15] But in suggesting that management implies "getting things done *through* people" they have voiced an idea which is passive as well as destructive. It implies that management does not act: it only sets into motion a set of forces or pressures which get things done. Therefore, the writers in propagating this school of thought have unconsciously presented management as a passive sepectator but a forcible 'driver' and 'motivator.[16]'

Drucker has carefully refrained from providing a full definition of management. Never once in his writings[17] has he defined management in its comprehensive characteristics. In the definition quoted above, he has mainly tried to consider it as a modern product of an industrial civilization. According to him there are at least 3 functions of management, managing a business, managing managers and managing work and workers.[18] He does not consider it as an age-old task (as Vance does) but calls it a "new institution"[19] and "something new, distinctly modern, distinctly Western."[20] In this way, without ever defining management, Drucker gives us a new understanding of the concept. His interpretation is unconventional but penetrating, anti-traditional but stimulating and distinctly prejudicial but convincing. However, Drucker does not try to think through in terms of a broad concept of international management where the values of different countries and cultures may be integrated; he is primarily a spokesman for the Western world and Western Management.

It this way, we find that the definitions given above by various writers and management-consultants reveal to us those aspects and facets of management which according to the writer's understanding and perception constituted the vital nucleus of the whole concept. They are all approaches and viewpoints only, as none of these definitions has any pretensions for being either correct or perfect. They only express the facts that their corresponding writers saw in the field of management. Whilst Brech approaches the question with the temperament of socio-economic analyst, Niles brings to the problem a philosophical intellect and sympathetic perception. Appley's interpretation is entirely 'human' in character and moves on the integral level of 'common mankind.' Vance handles the realm of management definition with the dissecting brain of an engineer and cold reason of a scientist. Koontz and O'Donnell treat the issue with the all-embracing intellect of a sound academician and the passivity of a scholar. Last, but not the least, Drucker's is a sure touch of a fresh and original economist. He brings to the issue the conception of a political leader and the understanding of a forecaster.

From Brech to Drucker is indeed a far cry. The social consciousness of one seems to have crystallized in the cultural awareness of the other. Similarly the engineering precision of Vance seems to melt in the moving human lines of Niles. Scholars and students of management will turn to these writers for a definition of their chosen field and will be amazed at their diversification and (at times) complete similarity. But they will never find two definitions alike both in terms and sense. Yet these definitions go a long way in building up a framework of study and reference. They help us in developing a perspective for the concept and an outlook for its ideas. We can decide for ourselves the approach hat we have to follow and the general state of writings on that field. It may either be the humanistic definition of Niles. the cultural definition of Drucker, the engineering definition of Vance and|or the sociological definition of Brech—they all serve as our guideposts and signs, guideposts for further development and signs for points of departure.

As a matter of fact, the relative breadth of management concept is so extensive that every passing decade and generation has seen something 'new' or 'different' in its meaning. Ever since the scientific school of Taylor[21] introduced the "technological determinism" of early 20th

century in the concept of management, each successive generations of writers have been seeing in the concept the characteristics of their age and society. Fayol[22] saw in it the "French thesis of universality;" Sheldon[23] observed in it the 'traditional love of post war British love for broad compromise" and Drucker the "economic dimensions of an industrial society." The same process would continue indefinitely and management will continue to be defined in the broad cultural terms of the age.

How does this pattern fit in the present state of our society and its cultural norms? What type of an approach is needed today to difine management in the context of present age and its acceptances? Should we be content to consider it as a mere "Western phenomenon" as Drucker does or should we try to enlarge its frontiers by defining it in terms of an international society and culture?[24] And further, will the definition of management in the United States be the same as one to be adopted in India with a radically different social system and national polity? How are we going to answer these questions in terms of modern human development and present organization? Well, in order to understand these areas thoroughly, we have to start with a few assumptions regarding the present concept of management and its application.

(a) Management is something more than planning, staffing, direction, control and organization.

(b) Management permeates all levels of industrial undertakings and enterprises, irrespective of their functions and sizes.

(c) Modern management can no longer be looked at from the viewpoint of national benefit alone: it has got to be related to the ideal of international understanding.

(d) In accordance with the dynamics of our society, newer values have to be assigned to modern definition of management.

Therefore, in the context of these ideas, modern management emerges as a social entity which is at once both positive and comperehensive in character. It is neither science nor art, nor instinct and nor practice but it is all combined in one single concept. Again, it responds to the cultural ideals of the age and nation but also retains its international perspective. In short, it represents the climax of human activity as it gives a sense of purpose and direction to the greatest of all positive factors of society—human work and effort. As our thoughts about business, organization and profits change and as we begin to grow more conscious of the concept of "free man and not so free corporation" management also undergoes a corresponding change both in its vitality and adaptability. As our political sensibility and economic perception deepens, our concept of management also varies in proportion to our mental adjustment. With every shift in our civilization-patterns, population-trends, income-standards and product-appeals, management undergoes a shift too. This process of adjusting to our "outer life" goes on and management has to keep attuned to it. It is because of this very reason that writers quoted above, saw in their understanding of management, the image of their social norms.

Management for us, living in the first quarter of the sixties has a far different meaning and direction than it had for writers living in earlier decades of this century. No longer can we be content to call it a "social process" or "a satisfying agency." It is far more than a set of "rules, laws and principles;"[25] it is no longer a field to be summed up in "fourteen points or principles;"[26] it has outgrown the area set by "its phases of administration"[27] and it has now so broadened its application as to make the epithet "distinctly Western"[28] meaningless.

Now, we no longer look towards management as a pure and simple economic organ meant for providing economic performance[29] (for, if we did, we would tend to shorten its grasp and impact). It means much more than that for our modern society. We no longer talk in terms of functional management related to production, finance, science and marketing. We try to express the broad entity of "management as a whole" rather than express it as a set of functions. And, further, we cannot limit its implications to the working of a 'company' only because the big business of today, generating a multitude of forces has outgrown the concept of a solitary company organization. Today, when we talk of managerial concepts we do not mean the formal, detached working of an administrator but the vital, energetic thought-process of a long chain

of events, actions and reactions. Without this broad perspective, the corporation of today will not only lose its dynamic growth but also its sustaining vitality and vigor."[30]

Considering these various aspects and facets of management in the context of modern society and understanding, we can state that the present economic structure of our life demands of management at least three duties: retaining equilibrium in socio-economic patterns of society, attempting growth in national welfare and international relations on the level of productivity and infusing new life in the character of its immediate organization though on a sympathetic level of understanding about others. In other words, it performs a triangular activity: first, it appeals to human society, then to international understanding and finally to its own self. It is a very broad and comprehensive assignment requiring a sense of purpose and a feeling of participation.

How will management set about in performing this three-fold task? First, as far as the society is concerned management will have to develop avenues of human energy and action by performing its socio-economic duties conscientiously. Secondly, by the process of co-ordinating, integrating and moulding the efforts of people will be channelled; the business enterprises around the entire free-world will be afforded a new cultural dimension through which to extend their business horizons and by active participation in the problems of others a better business climate will be effected. Thirdly, by emphasizing the concept of increased productivity, the management of today will enable the immediate organization to which they belong to develop and grow on the lines of free economy.

The application of this triangular process calls for a new approach, based more upon the socio-cultural pattern of organization rather than purely economic one, pertaining more to "effective co-ordinating agency" rather than "administrative agency alone."[31] Management, in its modern definition therefore, comes closer to being a sociological organ rather than an ecnomic organ. Further, it should not be confused with 'administration.' It is seen that these two terms are used almost synonymously by students of management theory. But there is an underlying difference between these two aspects. Whilst management is conditioned by the influence of "human dynamics"[32] administration is conditioned more by "group politics and public opinion." In the present values of society, both these ideals are quite different from each other though (of course) they may be the segments of the same social circle. Yet, in all fairness to the broad implications of management today, it will be much better to differentiate it from administration which may (or may not be) concerned primarily with distinct groups, separate customs and varying moods.

Conclusion

Management is a human activity of such an attitude and characteristics that no absolute presentation or interpretation of the same can ever be acceptable to all. Every age, every country and every society reads into it its own norms, moods, desires, hopes and growth. In the modern set of human values, management will continue to mean something more and something less than it did a few decades back. It is something more than planning and controlling, something less than administering or channelling. It is more than an economic organ, less than a social process alone. In positive terms, it can be said that the definition of management, in its modern conception must revolve round its socio-cultural ideals, must deal primarily with its contribution to national as well as international growth of understanding on the level of productivity and should be concerned with its emphasis upon the dynamics of human development.

Footnotes :

1. Drucker, Peter F. *The Practice of Management*, Harper & Brothers, New York. 1954, p. 4.
2. *Ibid*, p. 4.
3. Barnard, Chester I. *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass), 1953, p. 75.
4. Mooney, James D. and Reiley, Alan C. *Principles of Organization*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939, p. 5, quoted by Niles, Mary Cushing. *The Essence of Management*, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1956.

5. *Organisation—The Framework of Management,* Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1957, p. 10. The author draws the attention of readers for a lengthier discussion on this definition in his book, *Management—Its Nature and Significance,* Pitmans, London, 1953.

6. *The Essence of Management,* Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1956, p. 20. In an earlier book, *Middle Management,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1949, the authoress had defined the management's job as "to achieve the common objectives with the resources available."

7. *Management the Simple Way,* Personnel, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 595-603, 1943. Quoted by Paul Pigors and Charles A. Myers in *Personnel Administration,* McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., New York, 1956, p. 4.

8. *Industrial Administration,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1959, p. 3.

9. *Principles of Management,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1959, p. 3.

10. *The Practice of Management,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 8 and 11.

11. *Op. Cit,* p. 10.

12. *Op. Cit,* p. 20. Mrs. Niles attributes this remark to Dr. Lilliam M. Gilbreth's addresses in India during 1953. Mrs. Niles accompanied Dr. Gilbreth on this trip.

13. Niles, *Op. Cit,* pp. 20-21.

14. Vance, *Op. Cit,* 3. Note how Vance's definition is sharply opposed to the definition given by Appley. Dr. Vance is the Dean of the Kent State University College of Business Administration. In his writing, we find a predominantly engineering approach.

15. *The Functions of the Executive,* Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass, 1938. Refer especially to his interpretation of 'formal' and 'informal' organization.

16. For an interesting discussion on this aspect see, Douglas McGregor, *The Human Side of Enterprise.* This article is included in Pigors, Myers and Malm: *Readings in Personnel Administration,* McGraw--Hill Book Publishing Co., New York, 1959, pp. 194-204. The author introduces his *Theory Y,* in opposition to the conventional theory of motivation, drive and pull.

17. Drucker's writings include the following:

1. *Future of Industrial Man,* John Day Co., New York, 1942.
2. *American's Next 20 Years,* Harper & Bros., New York, '55.
3. *Practice of Management,* Harper & Bros., New York, 1954.
4. *Landmarks of Tomorrow,* Harper & Bros., New York, '58.

18. Drucker, *The Practice of Management,* p. 17.

19. *Ibid,* p. 3.

20. *Ibid,* p. 4.

21. *The Principles of Scientific Management,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1911. For a rewarding study of Taylor's ideas see, H. S. Person: *The Genius of F. W. Taylor,* in *Advanced Management,* Vol. 10, January-March, 1945, p. 4.

22. *General and Industrial Administration,* Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. Ltd., London, 1949.

23. *The Philosophy of Management,* Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. Ltd., London, 1923.

24. For a recent interpretation of this idea see, Myers and Harbison, *Management in Industrial World,* McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1960.

25. Taylor, *Op. Cit,* p. 7.

26. Fayol, *Op. Cit,* Chapter 4.

27. Alvin Brown, *Organization of Industry,* Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 1947.

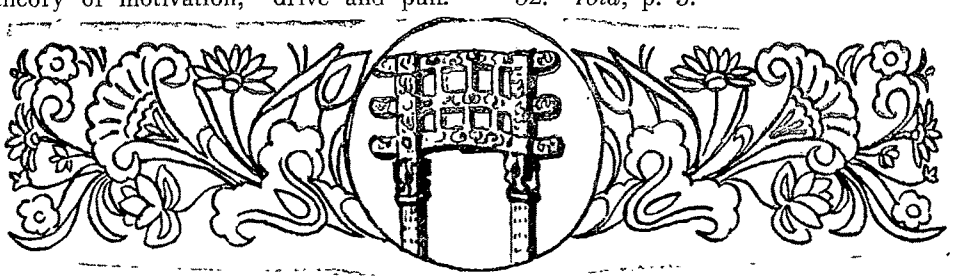
28. Drucker, *Op. Cit,* p. 4.

29. *Ibid,* p. 7.

30. The writer is especially indebted at this point to *Mr. Frederick R. Kappel,* President: American Telephone and Telegraph Company. In his McKinsey Foundation Lecture (1960) at Columbia University, he referred to this point in his speech titled, *A Concept of Vitality.*

31. For an interesting study of this aspect and other related fields about administration and management see: Catheryn Seckler-Hudson. *Processes of Organization and Management,* Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C., 1948, pp. 39-55 and 56-75.

32. *Ibid,* p. 5.



LEGAL STATUS OF CIVIL SERVANTS IN INDIA

By A. R. TYAGI

GOVERNMENTAL tasks have acquired today a very dynamic and positive character. Activities like the regulation and conduct of trade and commerce, administration of public health and social security, promotion of agriculture and industry and conduct of scientific investigation and research, etc., involve continuous processes and hence, radically differ from the old time governmental activities which occurred only occasionally. These processes make it necessary to have administrative offices filled with the employees who may handle things day in and day out on the basis of their special knowledge. It is because of the superior capacity for keeping these processes going, without showing favour or accepting favours, that the merit civil service superseded the patronage bureaucracy. In order to attract and retain promising aspirants in civil service, to maintain and promote competence and to husband the accumulating practical experience, a place of occupational security is accorded in the modern government to its civil servants. This status of occupational security may be secured either through civil service laws, as in U.S.A., and the continental countries or by protective traditions and executive regulations as in England. In India the general principles have been provided in the Constitution, while details have been left for executive regulation.

LIFE TENURE

Subject to some special provisions of the Constitution all posts, civil or military, permanent or temporary and falling under general rules or under a special contract, are held at the pleasure of the President and the Governor respectively.[1] This principle is derived from the British Constitutional Law where all public posts are held at the pleasure of the Crown. This principle there has the following connotations :—

1. The service is terminable at any time.[2]
2. Damages cannot be recovered for any wrongful dismissal.[3]
3. Arrears of pay cannot be recovered by suit even when the public servant's dismissal is held to be void.[4]
4. The right of censure and disciplinary action is included in the right of dismissal, and hence no action for defamation lies against the Government or the superior officer for any order of censure or adverse remark entered in the service records.[5]

But "during the pleasure" principle, has, by convention been converted into the "during good behaviour" principle. The pleasure of the Government ordinarily remains latent and is exercised only in cases of misconduct and gross negligence or incompetence. Normally, recruitment, conditions of service, rate of pay and emoluments and mode of discharge and disciplinary action, etc., are determined by Exceutive Rules and Departmental orders. Public servants stay in service ordinarly until the age of superannuation, and even after their retirement from service, continue to get a retirement allowance, called pension, regularly every month.

1. Art. 310 Cl. (1).

2. Shenton V. Smith, 1895, L.T. (N.S.) 130 (1895 A.C. 229). Herein Lord Justice Hobehouse had observed, "useless in special cases where it is otherwise provided, servants of the Crown held office during the pleasure of the Crown not by virtue of any special prerogative of the Crown, but because such are the terms of their engagement, as is well understood throughout the public service. If any public servant considers that he has been dismissed unjustly, his remedy is not by a law suit, but by an appeal of an official or political kind." *Ibid*, p. 132.

3. Dum. The Queen, 1896, 12. B. p. 116.

4. Leaman V. The King, 1920, 3 K.B., p. 663.

5. Canterbury V.A.G. 1842, 12 L.J. (Ch), p. 381.

Thus, in the words of Wade and Phillip, "convention requires that civil servants shall remain in office, despite any change in government. There is, thus, ensured continuity of the administrative machine and without it something like chaos might follow with each change of Ministry."[6] During the course of their active service, they are also entitled to all the privileges and facilities of allowances and emoluments and advancement and promotion. In the event of denial of any of these privileges, the aggrieved employee has a right of departmental appeal.

But all these privileges are only conventional and have only a departmental sanction behind them. They are not enforceable in a law court. The legal position, as already stated, is this that any Government servant can be removed from service at any time, as fixation of tenure and conditions of service are purely a matter of administrative discretion.

But 'during the pleasure' doctrine has not been fully accepted in India. Explaining the position, the Chief Justice of India in a recent case observed, ". . . . the rule of English law that civil servants hold office at the pleasure of the Crown has not been fully adopted in Section 240 (of the Government of India Act, 1935, which corresponds to Article 310 of the present Constitution). Section 240 itself places restrictions on the exercise of that pleasure and those restrictions must be given effect to. They are imperative and mandatory. It follows, therefore, that whenever there is a breach of restrictions imposed by the Statute, by the Government or the Crown, the matter is justiciable and the party aggrieved is entitled to suitable relief at the hands of the court. As pointed out earlier in this judgment, there is no warrant for the proposition that the relief must be limited to the declaration and cannot go beyond it. To the extent that the rule that Government servants hold office during pleasure has been departed from by the Statute, the Government servants are entitled to relief like any other person under the ordinary law, and that the relief, therefore, must be regulated by the code of the Civil Procedure."[7] Thus, in India, the rule of English Law, that the Government cannot be sued by a civil servant for money or salary or for compensation, is not applicable.

Therefore, there are important limitations upon the doctrine of 'during the pleasure.' This puts the Indian civil servants legally in a far better position than their counterparts in Britain. Firstly, the Indian Civil Servants have a right to recover arrears of pay from the Government just as any ordinary citizen has, for example, in a case of wrongful dismissal, the aggrieved civil servant is entitled to recover arrears of pay since the date of such dismissal by ordinary action against the Government.[8] This claim, however, applies only to those claims which have already accrued and does not apply to those which might accrue in future.[9]

Secondly, though the services of the civil servants are terminable at the pleasure of the Government, yet they can be terminated only in accordance with the procedure as laid down in Article 311 of the Constitution (which we shall discuss presently).

Thirdly, notwithstanding the "during the pleasure" principle, the President of India and the Governors of States may appoint any person, having special qualifications, to a civil post in their respective jurisdiction other than to the Defence Service, All-India Service and the civil services of the Union or a State, under a contract, if they deem it necessary to secure the service of that person because of his special qualifications and may, by that contract, stipulate for the payment to him of compensation if before the expiry of that period that post is abolished or he is, for reasons not connected with any misconduct on his part, required to vacate that post.[10] Even in such a case, the Government is not restricted from removing its servant from its service within the contracted period. What it is obliged to do in that eventuality is only to pay him compensation for the rest of the contractual period. If, however, the employee is removed from service, due to misconduct, then he is not entitled to compensation,

6. Constitutional Law, p. 64.
7. State of Bihar *Vs.* Abdul Majid, A.I.R. 1954 S. C., p. 245.
8. Punjab Province *Vs.* Tara Chand, A.I.R. 1947, F.C., p. 23.
9. V. K. Dass *Vs.* Union of India, 1955, Cal., p. 45.
10. Art. 310 Cl(2).

but he has the advantage of Act 311, to be discussed later.

Fourthly, the Government cannot alter to their disadvantage the conditions of service of those persons who were appointed by the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State-in-Council to a civil service of the Crown in India and who continued in service under the Government of India or under a State after Independence.[11] This provision was made in the Constitution in order to secure the existing rights and privileges of the members of the higher civil services who had entered Government service during the British regime.

Lastly, the Government cannot alter the conditions of service of those officials whose conditions have been laid down in the Constitution itself. These officers are: The President and Vice-President of India, the Chief Justice of India and the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Comptroller-General of India, the Chief Justices and Judges of the High Courts of States. They are officers of the Constitution and are not subject to the authority of the Government. Their salaries are charged upon the Consolidated Funds of India or the State, as the case may be, and there is special procedure for their removal from Government service.

Administrative Rights and Privileges

We saw above that while the service tenure of all Government servants is constitutionally at the pleasure of the Government, by convention this pleasure becomes active only in cases of misconduct or gross negligence or utter incompetence. Normally they hold office during good behaviour and their terms of service are regulated by Executive Rules and Administrative orders. In fact, Art. 309 empowers the Parliament and State Legislatures to regulate, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, the recruitment and conditions of service of all public servants of the Union and State Governments. In the absence of such Statutes, the Constitution empowers the President and the Governors to make rules for the same purpose in their respective spheres of jurisdiction.

11. Art. 314.

While framing these rules, the Government must consult the Public Service Commission.[12] And though the Government is not bound by the advice or opinion of the Commission, yet it has to note the points of its difference with the Commission's advice in the annual report, which is to be placed before the Parliament or the State Legislature, as the case may be, for discussion. Ordinarily the Government frames these rules with the concurrence of the Public Service Commission.

The Government is, further, required to place these rules on the table of the Parliament or the Legislature, as the case may be, and thus the Legislature may change or require any rule to be changed.

Remedies for Breach of Service Rules

As a corollary to the doctrine of 'during the pleasure' of the Government, the Civil Service Rules are under the fullest discretion of the Government. The Government may change them at any time they like. In the words of the Madhya Bharat High Court, "these rules are merely administrative rules for the guidance of the officers of the Government" and they do not vest any legal right in the employees.[13] But for the accurate analysis of the position as it exists at present, we should draw a distinction between those rules which confer a right or privilege upon the civil servants and those rules which relate to disciplinary action against them.

So far as those rules which confer any privileges like seniority, promotion, etc., are concerned, they do not confer any right of legal action upon the aggrieved civil servants. They are only for the guidance of the Government and its officers and it is within the competence of the Government to confer any departmental benefits or privileges to its employees and, similarly, to withdraw them at will.[14] In all cases of non-com-

12. Art. 320, Cl (3).

13. Lilawati V. State of M.B., A.I.R. 1952, M.B., p. 105.

14. See for example, Ram Saran V. Union of India, A.I.R. 1954, Panj., p. 142; State of M.P. V. Mandawar, A.I.R. 1954, S.C., p. 493; and Des Raj V. State of Panjab, A.I.R., 1954, Panj, p. 134.

pliance with any existing rules or of modification or alteration of any existing rule, the only remedy to the aggrieved civil servant is a departmental appeal and not any legal action. In fact, the Government of India considers it a matter of indiscipline on the part of a civil servant who goes to a law court without first exhausting all the departmental channels of redress.[15]

With regard to rules relating to disciplinary action against government servants, there appears to exist a conflict of judicial opinion. The position before the commencement of the Constitution was that all rules were within the discretion of the Government and hence no action lay in a court of law, unless the administrative order contravened any specific law.[16] Some High Courts have followed the rule laid down by the Privy Council in Venkata *vs.* Secretary of State for India. For example, the Madras High Court held in Krishnamoorti *vs.* State of Madras that the rules framed under Art. 309 are only administrative rules for the guidance of the Government and, therefore, they do not confer any legal rights upon the civil servants.[17] The Madhya Bharat High Court held the same view.

But the Calcutta and Patna High Courts have taken the view that all rules framed under the proviso to Act 309 have a force of law and hence are binding upon the Government as well as upon the civil servants.[18] The Assam High Court also appears to have taken a similar view.[19]

Procedural Safeguards in the Event of Removal or Dismissal

As pointed out, the 'during the pleasure' principle has been adopted in the Constitution in order to enable the Government to promptly get rid of its incompetent or corrupt employees. But for even such cases, the Constitution provides some important procedural safeguards, lest injustice might unintentionally or intentionally be done to anybody. These safeguards are provided under articles 311 of the Constitution. They fall under three categories, viz :

(1) the requirement of disciplinary action to be taken in consultation with the Public Service Commission,

(2) the requirement of action to be taken by a competent authority, and

(3) the requirement of proceeding with the case of taking action in accordance with the procedure as laid down in Art. 311(2).

Firstly, prior consultation with the Public Service Commission on all types of punishment, except in some cases excluded under the proviso to Art. 320, is mandatory upon the Government. Under Central Regulation framed under proviso to Art. 320, the President has excluded the following types of cases from the purview of the Public Service Commission :

(a) any case relating to a person belonging to a Defence Service (civilian),

(b) any case where the President proposed to make an order of dismissal, removal or reduction in rank after being satisfied that such action is necessary in the interest of the Security of the State, and

(c) any case where the President proposes to make an order under Rule 3 of the Central Civil Services (safeguarding of National Security) Rules, 1953 or rule 3 of the Railway Services (safeguarding of National Security) Rules, 1954.

Consultation with the Commission is held, at two stages, first to determine whether the Government servant is guilty of the charges and second, to determine whether the action proposed should be taken against him, after he has shown cause.

Secondly, the Constitution requires that the order of dismissal, removal or reduction in rank against a Government servant can be taken only by an authority which is not lower in rank to the appointing authority. A disciplinary order passed by an authority subordinate in rank to the one, who has the appointing authority to that office,

15. M.H.A., Memo No. 25|52-52 Ests.

16. Venkata *vs.* Sec of State, A.I.R. 1939, P.c., p. 31.

17. A.I.R. 1951, Med., p. 882, also see Lilawati *vs.* State of M.B., A.I.R. 1952, M.B., p. 105.

18. Chatterjee *vs.* Mathur, A.I.R. 1954, Calcutta, p. 187.

19. Bhugiram Hazarika *vs.* Supdtt., of police, Assam, A.I.R. 1954, p. 18.

is null and void.[20] It is, however, not necessary that the dismissing authority should be the appointing authority himself. He may be an officer equal or higher in rank to the one who appointed him.

Thirdly, a civil servant cannot be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank unless he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him. This opportunity to show cause is given twice, first when a charge has been framed against him, and second, when a definite action has been proposed. And it is necessary to give the disciplinee reasonable opportunity irrespective of the fact whether he is permanent or temporary and whether he holds the post according to general civil service rules or under a special contract. But the Article conferring this right is not attracted unless the action proposed by the Government is 'penal' in nature. And whether the action is penal or not will be determined in each case by the court on the basis of the attending circumstances and not merely on the language of the administrative order.[21] The disciplinee also gets the benefit of a regular inquiry, conducted either departmentally or under the Public Servants (Inquiries) Act, 1850. In either case he is supplied with a copy of the inquiry report.

Remedies for Breach of Constitutional Safeguards

Art. 311 is mandatory and the Government cannot contract out of the provisions of the Constitution. If a civil servant is removed or dismissed from service otherwise in accordance with the procedure discussed above, he is entitled to a declaration from the court that he had a right to the Government office at the time of the institution of the suit, and also to a decree for arrears of pay, for damages and also to the judicial writs as provided under Art. 226 of the Constitution.

The constitutional safeguards, however, are not applicable in three different circumstances. Firstly, they are not available to a civil servant who has been convicted by a law court under a criminal charge. Secondly, they are not applicable when the Government is satisfied that it is not reasonably practicable to give the disciplinee an opportunity to show cause and he records his reason in writing for denying the civil servant an opportunity to show cause. The authority should be personally satisfied that it is not practicable to give the disciplinee an opportunity and must record this fact in writing before passing the order of dismissal. Thirdly, the President of India and the Governors of the States can dismiss or remove from service any person without giving him an opportunity to show cause if he is satisfied that to do so is not expedient in the interest of the security of the State.

3. Code of Conduct

These, in brief, are the safeguards to strengthen the civil service status. But while status guarantee is an essential factor in the growth of security and competence within the services, without a corresponding sense of responsibility and restraint it may become a clog in the administrative wheel. A democratic dynamic society has, therefore, on the one hand, to ensure its civil servants a status of permanence and respect, and on the other, it has to enforce amongst them a code of conduct which binds them not only in their official capacity but also in their personal and family life. Several of the fundamental rights which the State guarantees to its ordinary citizens, are denied to the civil servants. Besides the external restrictions, governments also try, through indoctrination and psychological incentives, to inculcate in them a sense of self-control and self-discipline.

Personal Rights

The individual's private life is mostly a matter of his conscience, freedom for which is guaranteed by Art. 25 of the Constitution. But in regard to the civil servants, the State regulates even their personal conduct and private relationships in so far as they tend to affect

20. See, for instance, State of Bihar *vs.* Abdul Majid, *S. C. R.* 786.

21. Sabestian *vs.* the State, A.I.R. (1955) Trav. p. 12.

their integrity and reputation or the dignity and respect of and confidence in, the public office. The Government expects of its servants "to maintain a reasonable and decent standard of conduct in his private life and not bring discredit to his service by his misdemeanour." It enforces monogamy amongst them, even though it might be permitted under their private law.[22] It restrains them from engaging, directly or indirectly, in any trade or business or undertaking any employment or canvassing in support of the business of an insurance agency, commission agency, etc., owned or managed by his wife or any other member of his family.[23] Further, there are severe limitations upon his right to contract. For example, he or any member of his family cannot indulge in any speculative trade, cannot lend or borrow money to or from any person possessing land or valuable property within the local limits of his authority.[24] He cannot, without the previous knowledge of the prescribed authority, acquire or dispose of any immovable property by lease, mortgage, purchase, sale, gift or otherwise, either in his own name or in the name of any member of his family.[25] He cannot even raise funds or subscription or associate himself with the raising of any fund, in pursuance of any object whatsoever. Furthermore, he is precluded from having recourse to a law court or to press for the vindication of any of his official acts which have been the subject-matter of adverse criticism or any attack of defamatory character.

Political Rights

The Government of India also regulates the conduct of its civil servants in the civil and political sphere. Its system of Government demands from its civil servants perfect neutrality in politics and unimpeachable integrity and impartiality in conduct. Therefore, many of the Fundamental Rights, guaranteed to ordinary citizens under Art. 19 of the Constitution, are denied to the civil servants.

In the first place, there are restraints upon their right of freedom of speech and expression. Rule 6 of the Conduct Rules lays down "No Government servant shall, in any radio broadcast or in any document published anonymously or in his own name or in the name of any other person or in any communication to the press, or in any public utterance, make any statement of fact or opinion—

(i) which has the effect of an adverse criticism of any current or recent policy or action of the Central Government or a State Government, or

(ii) which is capable of embarrassing the relations between the Central Government and the Government of any State, or

(iii) which is capable of embarrassing the relations between the Central Government and the Government of any foreign State."

In the second place, civil servants have no right to join political parties and engage in any type of political activity. They have, of course, a right of vote even which they are obliged to exercise as not to give any public indication of their choice. They can neither stand in any parliamentary or legislative election nor canvass any person's candidature. They may, however, with the previous permission of the Government, seek election to, or serve on, a local body. But in actual practice, Government has never allowed any of its employees to stand in any local elections.

Trade Union Right

Civil servants have only a limited right of trade unionism. They may organize themselves into civil service associations and get them recognized by the Government within six months of forming the association. But no civil servant can belong to an unrecognised association. And the conditions of recognition are :

(i) The association must ordinarily consist of a distinct class of Government employees.

22. Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1955, p. 18.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 12(1).
24. Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, p. 13.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

(ii) Every Government employee of the same class must be eligible for membership of the association.

(iii) No outside person should be elected office-bearer or member of the association.

(iv) The association should not adopt strike as a means of furthering its interests in any case.

(v) The association should not maintain any political fund or lend itself to the propagation of the views of any political party or politician.

Civil service associations cannot seek affiliation with non-Government employees' unions. They can, however, seek affiliation with other Government employees' associations with the previous permission of the Government.

Civil Service Associations have a right of collective representation, but subject to two conditions. Firstly, no representation or petition can be made to Parliament or any committee thereof. Secondly, representations can be made only through proper channels in the prescribed manner. No representation can be directly made to the Minister or the Cabinet or to any higher officer over the head of another officer.

Staff Committees

A limited right of collective bargaining also has been introduced in the Central Civil Services administration. In every Departmental and Attached Office of the Union Government there are two types of staff committees, one representative of the Class IV employees and the other of the Class III employees. Each type of committee has an equal number of representatives of the Government and of the employees of that department or office. On each of these committees, the Chairman is from the official side and the Secretary from the staff side. The staff representatives are annually elected classswise. These committees meet at least once in three months. Presence of one-third of the members of the staff side is enough to form a *quorum*. Decisions are taken by majority of votes on the staff side and unanimity on the official side. The main objects of the committees are :

(i) to consider suggestions for improving the standards of work,

(ii) to provide to the members of staff a machinery for making their point of view known to Government on matters affecting their conditions of service, and

(iii) to provide means of personal contacts between officers and staff with a view to developing cordial relations between them and to encouraging them to take keener interest in their work.

These staff committees are authorized to negotiate on conditions under which the members of the staff are required to work, general principles regulating their conditions of service, welfare activities of the members of the staff and on the improvement of efficiency and standards of work. They have only an advisory power and their decisions are not binding upon the Government. In fact, the system is still at its infancy stage and it has not yet developed into an effective negotiative machinery, as its counterpart in the British Civil Service is.[26]

The Indian Civil Services have no right to arbitration—a right which is so well-recognised in the trade union world. The Second Central Pay Commission has recommended to the Government the establishment of Arbitration Tribunals for civil services at an early date. But the Government has not accepted this advice. Therefore, when normal machinery of settling civil service disputes fails, the civil servants have no other recourse but to go on strike. That is the reason why strikes or threats of strikes occur so frequently in India.

But Government has met this threat of frequent strikes in an unimaginative way. It has made strikes in public service unlawful by passing the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance. This ordinance was promulgated recently when a very large number of central civil services associations had given a strike notice to the Government. Even prior to this Ordinance, there existed a rule in the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rule which restrained civil servants from indulging in strike or abetting others for strike.

26. Whitley Councils.

Conclusion

This, in brief, is the system of civil service status in India. It evolved under the doctrine of authoritarianism as developed under the colonial regime. The State here has an absolute right of controlling the job and all its attributes, that is to say, the Government, as the public employer, determines whether the position exists, how long it continues to exist and what its duties are.

As such, the public servant has no claim in his post. Since public office is not a private right, its occupant can acquire no interest in it and the protections of the right of property and contract cannot apply to it. No doubt, the Consititution under Art. 311 provides certain safeguards against the arbitrary use of the disciplinary authority by the Government, but these give no tangible right to the employee in his post. The civil servant is, therefore, without independent rights concerning his office and all such claims, as may accrue to him under departmental rules, are only voluntarily recognised by the Government.[27]

So, the public office is outside the scope of the Fundamental Rights. As such, public employment can be regulated through governmental process in any way for the public convenience and interest. The Government has specifically laid down that "a Government servant has no fundamental right to insist that he should be retained in Government service."[28] If he wants to enjoy his fundamental right, by all means he can, but as he does so, the Government may also exercise its constitutional right of removing an unwanted employee from its service.

In contrast to the public servant's helplessness in public employment, the State has plenary rights of a constitutional order. It has control over qualifications and tenure, salaries and emoluments, classification and re-classification, and subject to certain procedural safeguards, even over removal and dismissal. The order of these rights is revealed fully by the fact that their exercise is not limited by the Fundamental Rights. The citizen's right to speech, assemble, etc., for example, does not overcome the State's right to determine the eligibility of civil servants for employment. By the same claim, the State may disregard whatever rights would otherwise be reserved and protected for public employees under Part III of the Constitution. Whatever rights he retains are of a minor nature, while the rights which the State possesses in relation to him are independent in source and plenary in character. The State submits to no obligations except those voluntarily assumed.

The concentration of rights is, thus almost entirely, on one side, the onus of responsibility correspondingly, on the other. Such is the doctrine of civil service status in India.

But the doctrine suffers from a serious flaw. On the one hand, the State says that its relation with the employees is not like that of private employer and employee. But on the other, it emphatically assures the employee that the job is "voluntarily taken" and "voluntarily surrendered." If the terms of public employment are unsatisfactory, the person can decline the appointment, or if already employed, he can resign the job. In view of this condition, the plenary power of the Government is justified.

But the choice is unreal. Even if the public servant had freedom of contract, he cannot have, as we have already explained, a contractual interest in the office. Moreover, if he could contract with the State about his office, then freedom of contract has no practical meaning when the contracting parties are not equal. The Labour Law of this country, as of other countries, has accepted this principle. Then, the ability to resign also is, in actual practice, insubstantial. For certain official acts, the public employee's liability would not be removed by resignation. Moreover, several skills are unique to public service and do not find an easy market in private service. Further, after years of service in the Government, an employee is understandably reluctant to give up an earned seniority and pension privileges. Thus, the freedom which is supposed to be held by the public servant and through which his service is voluntarily taken and voluntarily surrendered, does not exist in reality.

27. For example, see Krishnamoorti *vs.* State of Madras, A.I.R. 1951, Mad., p. 882, and Naibat Rai *vs.* Union of India, A.I.R. 1953, Pay, p. 140.

28. M.H.A., Memo No. 141|51 Sasts., dated 11-8-1952.

When the power of the Government could be enlarged by stressing its public role, the Government has readily done so and the public servant has been deprived of all contractual rights in his employment. But when the same rule might prove restrictive, the doctrine looks away from the Constitution and takes, as its guide, the private master-servant relationship. Thus the State takes no responsibility for the commissions and omissions of its employees made in their official capacity. Here the employee is left, for the most part, on his own resources. In Germany and France, the State does not only shoulder the vicarious responsibility of its employees but also incurs other obligations as a public employer. For example, the German Civil Service Law recognises, as a counterpart of the obligations of the civil servants to the State, the State's obligations to its civil servants. The State, there, is duty bound to return fidelity of its servants by being faithful to them. This duty of fidelity is not limited only to those civil servants who are in active service of the State but extends also to those who have resigned or retired. For example, when a civil servant resigns, and the State accepts his resignation but later on, he changes his mind and petitions to be reinstated, the State cannot refuse him because, as the Supreme Administrative has held, the State has an obligation to find out the circumstances which compelled the civil servant to tender his resignation. If it did not do so, while accepting his resignation, it has no right to refuse his petition for reinstatement. Not only this, but there the State's duty of fidelity towards the civil servants carries with it also a duty of care, in the sense of attention to their well-being. This, for instance, implies an obligation in law for the government to provide working conditions that would not impair the health and safety of the employees. Although temporary overwork, in unforeseen circumstances, is not exceptional, the State's duty of care would not permit unreasonable strenuous work.

According to the Supreme Administrative Court, the degree of consideration, to which a civil servant is entitled, depends in part on his general physical condition and the particular circumstances.

The existence of such a system of mutual obligations would place the whole problem of employer-employee relationship in altogether a different setting. Questions of conditions of service, employee's welfare, etc., would then not be viewed by the government and the employees from different angles, as is the case at present. But they would be viewed in the same perspective by both the sides. The State, as employer, would care for the health, safety and welfare of the employees and the employee, being free from the personal worries, would devote his best self in the service of the State. There can be no better measure of increasing efficiency in public service than establishing a system of fair remuneration, good conditions of work and a system of employer-employee relationship which gives the staff a sense of dignity and contentment. This is exactly the situation in Germany. There the rights—either of the State or of the employees—are not emphasised but the obligations. The State, on its part, cares for its own obligations towards its employees. And if ever it falters, the Administrative Court is there to correct it. Likewise, the public servants, on their part, care more for their obligations. Never has there been a tussle between the State and the civil servants on the question of rights.

In contrast with this, France has, ever since the Napoleonic regime, followed an authoritarian attitude towards its civil servants. Napoleon had mad eauthority as the taskmaster of efficiency and also the source of relationship between the State and the civil servants. The State-employee relationships were unilaterally determined there. The State not only denied its employees ordinary rights but did not even care for their well-being. The rank and file of the civil service resented this practice and "employed aggressive trade union methods to further their collective interests. When in full force, it was able to threaten cabinets and to negotiate parliamentary promises without being much bothered by the State's proprietory stake in their souls."[29] The French civil service trade unionism developed into a hard-driving force which became notorious abroad as well as at home. The administrative courts

29. Fritz Morstein Marx. The Administrative State (University of Chicago Press, 1959) p. 118.

helped them in asserting their rights and thus ultimately, the French Civil Service was able to get its relationship put on a legal footing in 1946. The legal position, at present, is not very much different from that of Germany. But there is a vast difference between the spirit in which the system is working in the two countries. While in Germany the civil service is guided by a code of professional ethics which exercises internal restraints upon its members; in France each side quarrels with the other and tries to stretch the arm of law to its own advantage.

Professional ethics plays a very prominent role in personnel management. For the growth of harmonious state-employee relationship in India, it is, therefore, very essential that the government should put more stress upon its obligations to the civil servants. The rank and file of civil services here are seething with discontentment. Strict disciplinary measures that are being employed by the State since 1954 or so, are merely aggravating the situation. The State can only overawe the employees by using repressive methods. It cannot win over their hearts—a condition so necessary in a social welfare administration.

For the establishment of a sound system of employer-employee relationship, it is desirable that there should be arbitration boards in every department which should adjudicate state-employee disputes regarding salary, grades, hours of work, leave, allowances and other conditions of service. The Central Pay Commission, 1957-59 also has made a recommendation for the establishment of compulsory arbitration machinery. At the Centre there must also be a supreme administrative tribunal to review, and hear appeals from the decisions of, the departmental tribunals. Probably, the best scheme to suit our Rule of Law system would be to constitute this tribunal as a separate Administrative Branch of the Supreme Court.[30] This would give us a further guarantee of judicial review of administrative decisions.

30. Such a recommendation was also made by the Law Commission of 1958.

HUNGARY REVISITED

By GEORGE A. FLORIS

You get the impression that Hungary begins at the *Westbahnhof* in Vienna. Hungarian words are heard everywhere, on the platform and in the railway compartments.

Among the travellers there were Hungarian government servants on their way home from missions abroad and Hungarians living overseas returning for a visit to their country of origin.

"There are two real pleasures for us these days," a Hungarian civil servant told me after I had joined the conversation. "The one is to go abroad, the other is to return to Hungary afterwards."

By the time we were approaching the Hungarian frontier the home-coming civil servants became busy preparing or revising their lists of duty-bound goods for the customs. They could not possibly miss the chance of doing some shopping in the West. However, they knew it better than risking their jobs—and their opportunities for future travel—by making a false declaration on the border.

The "iron curtain" is still a reality in the most literal sense of the term. From the window of the train we could see the broad strip of minefield enclosed on both sides by barbed wire running along the Austro-Hungarian frontier. It was not an altogether pleasant feeling to arrive with the train on the wrong side of it.

Eventually we screeched to a halt at the frontier station *Hegyeshalom*,—known to the cinegoers from the recent Richard Wydmark film, "The Secret Ways".

"Talk to them in English," one of my travel companions suggested. By "them" he meant the green-uniformed passport and customs officials about to shamble across the train.

I did not follow the suggestion. Why complicate things? So, I refrained from using the English language at *Hegyeshalom*,—the only place in the world where my accent might have passed for genuine.

In any case, the border check went off fast and smoothly. The officer complimented me on my knowledge of Hungarian and they did not even make me open my suitcase. Soon we were on our way on the last lap of the journey to Budapest across cornfields 90 per cent of which are by now under collective cultivation.

The inverted logic of the railway companies in Austria and Hungary is at least consistent. The Budapest Express, going Eastward, leaves Vienna from the Western Terminus and it arrives in Budapest, coming from the West, at the Eastern Terminus.

It was as well that we arrived in Budapest by night. So it was easier for me to register at once the difference between the Budapest I had left behind almost 20 years ago and the Budapest I was about to meet. Gone are the huge neon lights, the resplendent, illuminated shopwindows, gone the enchanting venality, the easy-going gaiety that once earned Budapest the title "Queen of the Danube".

The erstwhile prostitutes no longer roam the streets in the centre of the city. It would, of course, be far too optimistic to attribute their disappearance to a kind of moral revival. It is rather to the contrary. The free love-making combined with cheap, legalised abortion among considerable sections of the materialistically educated young folks did more to drive the "professionals" out of business than the police measures.

It is not only neon lights and gaiety that the new Budapest is sorely missing. There is also a lack of hotel rooms during the season. Many of the old hotels had been destroyed, others were converted to serve other purposes. The luxury establishments that did remain from the "reactionary past" had all been taken up by V.I.P. visitors bigger than poor me.

So I was directed to a comparatively small hotel on a noisy thoroughfare. That was also an old building which—to my misfortune—had survived the fierce fights of 1945 and 1956. Even in that humble place it took quite some time until

the corpulant, jovial man behind the receptionist desk managed to fix me up in a room on the third floor.

The term "room with bath" was conveniently translated into Hungarian as "room with *the use* of bath". As a matter of fact, my entire room, complete with an old-fashioned huge bed and an even more old-fashioned, clumsy cupboard, was hardly larger than a bathroom in a modern hotel. The door to the corridor opened inward and I was bound to knock it against the upper edge of the cupboard whenever I came or went. Under such circumstances I could not very well comply with the pious warning on the notice board: "Please observe the nocturnal silence".

The food was good and copious for tourists equipped with the vouchers issued by IBUSz—the Hungarian equivalent of the Russian Intourist.

Next morning, after a hearty breakfast, I went for a walk only to discover that the present Budapest is not more jolly during daylight than after sunset. People hurry to their work wearing drab clothes and mirthless faces early in the morning; they travel in crowded streetcars and buses.

As early as in 1896, the first underground railway of Continental Europe had been inaugurated in Budapest. Though now a historic curiosity, it still operates in full swing the same single line between Vorosmarty Square near the Danube and the City Park. The construction of a new underground transport system on the pattern of the Moscow Metro had been started with much ado by the Communist authorities some years ago, but ended in dismal failure. The methods suitable for totally different conditions did not prove viable in Budapest. The abandoned building sites still mar the centre of the city.

In spite of the anthill-like hustle and bustle of Budapest's two million inhabitants the streets of the city do not appear particularly busy by Western standards. Only four to five years wages could buy a car for an average worker and therefore few people can afford such a luxury. So, apart from delivery vans and the public transport there are not many vehicles on the road, even bicycles are scarce. It is the police, not the traffic that the pedestrians have to worry about. A lady I met operated a highway code of her own: she crossed the road whenever the policeman looked the other way.

The harassed housewives do their shopping —many of them go out to work and must shop early in the morning or during lunchtime—in state-owned establishments that can at best be described as "utility". The goods are frugal and so is the general outlay of the shops. There is nothing grand style about them, except perhaps for the prices they charge. Clothes are dear and there is a recurrent difficulty in the butter and meat supplies. The only reassurance Comrade Janos Kadar could give the food-conscious Hungarians was that the meat shortage had developed as an aftermath of land collectivisation and was likely to continue for many months to come.

The buildings—including the once glorious palaces—are just as drab and worn-out as the people who surge in and out of them. The few blocks of flats which have recently been re-decorated are not much better off for the change. Too vivid-coloured, low quality paints were used, making the houses reminiscent of old women who try to rejuvenate themselves with haphazardly applied cheap lipstick.

Within the houses most of the flats had become smaller during the post-war years. To do away with the hated system of "co-habitation" whereby the one-time owners of large flats had to admit strange lodgers into their homes, the dwelling units had been divided up. The familiar furniture and the old portraits on the walls still evoked the past memories when I was visiting the shrunken homes of relatives and friends.

After a day or two in the hotel, things changed to my favour. To my surprise I learned —one of the cases of "life being stranger than fiction"—that the Manager of the hotel was an old school-friend of mine. In the course of a brief yet cordial chat we revived some 30 years old memories of our time-honoured picturesque grammar school in an odd, feudal corner of pre-war Hungary.

"Pack your things," my friend told me as a sequel to our revived acquaintance. "You can't remain in the worst room of the whole establishment."

So I moved into a larger room. There the door could be opened to the full without knock-

ing against any cupboard and so I stopped interfering with the cherished "nocturnal silence".

Circulating in contemporary Budapest you don't need to spin a network of espionage to discover the true mood of the people towards their Communist masters. Admittedly, there are no open signs of defiance, people don't broadcast their discontent in the streets and even the hated Red Stars on the facades of houses and factories are left undisturbed. However, the official Communist address "Comrade" is practically confined to the higher echelons of state administration these days. Ordinary folks call each other "Colleague" or "Fellow Craftsman".

To ladies the traditional form of greeting, "I kiss your hand", is still very often said, though seldom carried out. Catholic priests are still addressed in the old Hungarian manner as "Very Reverend", not simply as "Father" in the Western fashion.

Members of the former high society can still be seen in the elegant catering establishments. The waiters treat them with old-worldly courtesy, even if they cannot afford to order anything but cups of coffee or bottles of fruit juice.

The public flocks to the occasional Western films which are shown in Budapest, while the Russian pictures often run in front of empty houses. For the benefit of those fond of reading "reactionary literature" clandestine lending libraries are being operated, circulating books which are banished from the shelves of state-owned bookshops and public libraries on account of "bourgeois decadence".

Aware of the sullen hostility of the vast majority of the population, leading Communists and fellow-travellers seek to justify themselves discreetly whenever they hope to find sympathetic audience.

I heard an important civil servant explain that although he was entrusted with momentous decisions, he was not a member of the Communist Party. Another of whom I knew full well that he was in-charge of an important department in a Ministry tried to belittle in front of me the part he was playing in the run of things.

Upto October 23, 1956, the population was afraid of the Communist masters; since the uprising, the fear has been mutual.

The Communists have most probably always been aware that they would never quite convert Budapest into a red city. So they began to build the new industrial townships for reasons of economics as well as politics. *Sztalinvaros,* "Stalin City", was the first and best-known among them.

When I went to the main Budapest office of the IBUSz state travel agency to inquire about a trip to *Sztalinvaros,* by a queer lapse of the tongue I asked for a ticket to "Stalingrad".

Noticing the bewildered gaze on the face of the pretty young brunette behind the counter I quickly corrected my error, adding however, in way of explanation, the old Hungarian saying: "He who says 'A' shall also say 'B'."

If she had a sense of humour, that was not the place to show it.

The bus ride from Budapest to *Sztalinvaros* was pleasant early in the morning. On the way we stopped in a "co-operative village" and that enabled me to take a brief look at a small centre of collective farming. On the whole, the village appeared like any Hungarian village in the past. However, in all fairness I must admit that there were not so many shops in rural areas in olden days as there are today.

The huge steelworks and the new township of *Sztalinvaros* are impressive feats of human endeavour, particularly because they have created more problems than they have solved. According to the original plans the new steel city should have been erected more to the South, near the Hungaro-Yugoslav border and the coal deposits of the Mecsek Mountain. However, Tito's secession from the all-Communist fold rendered far too risky such a venture. So a new site was picked at about 30 miles distance South of Budapest.

Sztalinvaros has, therefore, neither coal, nor steel supplies anywhere near-by. It has been built on a steep hill above the Danube and that will necessitate a costly system of elevators or conveyor belts to lift the supplies from the boats to the Works,—when the harbour installations will be completed. The soil consists of sand and clay and a great deal of grouting has been required to enable it to sustain the vibrations caused by the heavy machinery. Even so, it is still uncertain, how the artificially reinforced ground will hold in the future.

At the end the Communists—after the usual blunders comparable to those committed at the abortive underground railway construction in Budapest—did reach their goal. Now they have 30 to 40 thousand working class people living in a model township of functional architecture complete with schools, nurseries, places of entertainment and relaxation—and with the conspicuous absence of any church.

Now the people there go quietly after their business, avail themselves of the amusements to gather strength for the continued robot, just as anywhere else in Hungary. But is this new type of man really so dependable from the Communist point of view? Five years ago the freedom fighters in *Sztalinvaros* continued to defy the Russians and their Hungarian minions at a time when the resistance had practically been broken anywhere else in the country.

On my roundabout trip back to Budapest a peasant woman sat next to me in the cross-country bus. We began to talk and soon reached the problem that pained her most: the collectivisation of the land, the renewed drive for which had started in 1959.

"We cried, when we signed our entry into the collective farm !" she said.

"Why did you sign then ?" I asked naively.

"Why ! They forced us."

It was part of wisdom to abstain from pressing for details regarding the nature of coercion applied to them. We were not alone in the bus.

Russian soldiers are seldom seen in Budapest, but you can encounter them in some of the provincial townships. Their number is estimated to be in the region of 50,000, most of the time they are confined to their barracks, only their officers are allowed to visit Budapest on a strict rota system. Occupation duties in Hungary cannot be very popular with Russian servicemen nowadays.

At the end of my stay in Hungary I spent the last night in Budapest in the company of a very intelligent skilled worker. He is an interesting case altogether: a practising Catholic, yet a sympathiser of the regime. On Sundays he fulfils his religious obligation in a small chapel where not many people are likely to spot him.

He has found a compromise solution for the religious education of his children as well. He did not sign the declaration form demanded from those wishing their children to attend religious instruction at school, because that might have jeopardised his good standing with the Red masters. However, he arranged for a nun—one of those numerous nuns who go about in civilian clothes and earn their living by nursing, teaching or menial work these days—to come to his house and hold private catechism classes there.

"The priests should confine themselves to religious matters," he repeated the usual cliche, "without meddling with politics."

However, when I brought up the thorny subject of the "peace priests"—clerics openly co-operating with the Communists who at times are indistinguishably intermingled with the loyal priests in the Hungarian churches today—his answer was worth consideration by all of us, be our home East or West of the Iron Curtain :

"We should see in the priest at the alter the vicar of Christ, without scrutinising his personal character."

Upon leaving the country I talked in Hungarian at the frontier again. My British passport had already been examined by a green-uniformed frontier guard. However, hearing me talk in Hungarian, the guard's superior officer, a hard-faced, powerfully built man, turned on me : "What is the purpose of your journey?"

The cool, penetrating voice, so typical of the political police whatever its up-to-date disguise, made me lose a good deal of my poise. It was left to the first guard to enlighten his superior that I was a departing foreign tourist, not a Hungarian citizen going abroad.

This little incident made me all the happier when, a few minutes later, I re-crossed the Austrian border.

CREATIVE WRITING FOR CHILDREN

By Dr. DONALD L. BARNES
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I. Introduction

At heart we are all story tellers. Each of us has a story to tell, and everyone is seeking an audience which is really interested in him. Childhood is a time when impressions are coming fast. The child is eager to tell his story. He wants to share his impressions of his home, his family, his pets, and himself. He needs only to be inspired with confidence and to be assured that you are eager to hear from him. When every child feels that he as an individual is interesting and is contributing something that is valued by the teacher, even the most timid will want to express his thoughts and feelings.

Many people have thought for a long time that it is difficult to get children to express themselves in writing. Many will say that they have nothing to write, but we know that this is not so —children do have ideas to express.

It is the purpose of this discussion to point out some of the many things which may inspire children to express their thoughts in the form of creative writing.

II. What Is Creative Writing

It might be well to see if we can first define creative writing.

Applegate says that creative writing might better be called recreative writing, since it recreates for the reader the experiences of the writer. In general, creative writing tends to appeal more to the senses.

Mitchell says that creative writing by definition demands first subject-matter. This subject-matter is drawn from innate ideas or from the material world transmuted by imagination, emotional understanding, quickened perception, observation, and experience.

In its early stages creative writing should be creative first and writing second. It has its beginning in kindergarten when some little boy says, "I'm Tommy Clark. I got a dog, home, and a baby. I like my dog." Such a story was not made up to fit a specific order given by the teacher. It grew out of a child's natural impulse to share something with new acquaintances. It is not a lesson in composition nor an exercise in grammar.

Creative writing is the spontaneous translation of experiences into words. It is differentiated from other forms of compositions by the absence of external motive, for it is done primarily for its own sake, and comes from experience possessing intrinsic rather than practical value.

McKee tells us that there are three forms of creative writing to guard against. The first kind is that in which the teachers believe that just any self-expression is enough. Here any kind of writing is considered creative, whether or not it has originality, ideas, or expression. The second is the situation in which the teacher offers the child no help or guidance in order that the quality of his writing might grow. The third kind of writing to avoid is the copying type, where the child is asked to write a story that merely copies the form of another story that he happens to be studying.

III. How to Get Children to Write

All normal children can write. But the experience is certainly not limited to the above-average or even to the average group of children. The retarded child can also write. After all, he has many experiences which are meaningful to him and he can be stirred just as much as anyone.

How is story writing begun in the first place? When a teacher has a new class, how does she go about stirring into action this story-telling power? During the first days, she may try gathering the group around her to share stories that other children have written. By doing this, we are lay-

ing the ground work for future story growth, establishing good listening habits, and perhaps creating a desire within the student to want to write. This whole process of initiation is of great importance. Whether we are working with a third or a sixth grade, we should use this warming-up process until their inner desire to write is promoted into action. With some groups, two or three weeks may be enough. With others, a whole sesmester may be necessary. Finally in a casual way, we may suggest that they begin writing stories. One who wishes, may write while the others carry out another kind of activity. No one is forced to write, but those who try are given praise.

Children will want to write if the atmosphere and the environment are conducive to creative writing. The writing must be within the child's realm of experience. The teacher can't possibly know what will have meaning to the child. He cannot be told when to write. When an experience has deeply impressed the child, or an idea is struggling for expression, then is the time for the child to do his writing.

One teacher with the use of cardboard and a small amount of lumber provided what the children called a writing castle in the room. She equipped it with a comfortable desk, some paper, and a pencil. Whenever the children felt they had something worthwhile to write, they could go to the writing castle and translate their ideas into words.

The teacher's attitude toward creative writing is very important. Without a sympathetic understanding teacher who gives much encouragement, few children will try or even dare to express themselves. The child does not bring his innermost feelings to a person who will not listen sympathetically. A discouraging word or lack of interest may disrupt any creative urge a child may have.

Ball says that the teacher constitutes one of the important motivations in creative writing, one who is always trying to gain personal enrichment. If the teacher is very enthusiastic, the enthusiasm can and will be transmitted to the children. This enthusiasm will help elicit responses from the children.

This kind of teacher believes that in the beginning of creative work, this joy and confidence gained from writing is all important. Later, there will be time for correction of spelling and form.

The kindergarten teacher has a golden opportunity to lay a good foundation in creative writing. The child coming to school for the first time is filled with a wealth of new experiences and vivid impressions. He seeks to reflect his feelings in pictures and oral stories; consequently, his earliest attempts at creative writing may be in the form of pictures with long oral explanations.

In the first grade pictures are still drawn, but before many weeks, labels begin to appear on these pictures. The labels are then replaced by stories telling about the pictures.

In order that a child may write, he must have experiences or imagination. To start there working, the teacher might do several things. She might begin by showing the child pictures, taking walks for trips, studying pets, having gardens, or anything to make the child sensitive to things around him.

Some teachers in attempting to develop writing ability resort to more practices, more drill, more dictation, more lessons in how to write a letter. The development of craftsmanship should come later. We should cease to interfere with the flow of ideas and words on to the paper. We must omit drill at first and encourage respect for a variety of ideas.

Mitchell states that one device for helping children develop the desire to write is a test to find out how many words each can write in ten minutes. The children are simply told to write as many as they can in ten minutes without regard for spelling. Most think this is an amusing game, and wish to share the results of their paper with others. Reading aloud what they have written is fun for them. It also reveals their interests. Usually children ask to do it again. As they repeat the game, their awkwardness disappears and they are ready to write. Having a large chart in the room where each child may be able to keep a record of his writing aids in the stimulation of more writing.

If each child has his own wordbook, he can enter in it the words he needs to write. This helps him to become more independent in his work. After children have written several stories, they naturally want to improve. One teacher helped the children in this way with their spelling. She

provided an alphabetized address book for each child. When the children asked for the spelling of a word, she would write it in their books rather than on the chalkboard and there it would remain for future use.

Group work in creative writing stimulates the children in individual writing. Sharing experiences, ideas, and thoughts in a group situation usually encourages individuals to think of experiences about which they might write. Group work helps timid or self-conscious children forget themselves. It also helps them see value in their own thoughts and interpretations.

It is sometimes helpful to ask children about the thoughts they have before they go to sleep at night. Some fascinating thoughts come to children during the twilight hours. Sometimes only one word is needed to help a child initiate a train thought.

Too many teachers are shocked by what children write. The child must feel free to say what he feels. Youth should be encouraged to express feelings without fear or rebuke. It is better for children to say what they think, than to keep all of their thoughts locked inside. Creative writing is one way children may express themselves in an acceptable manner.

Burrows explains that some children can write in the midst of activity while others want to be alone. Some like notebooks, while others choose the freedom of one sheet of paper. Some have thought out the story in advance, while others write the story as they proceed. Sometimes children like to write with a partner. After experimenting, it may become apparent that a child feels freer and more secure in this situation. Some children who have produced very little alone, have created unusually well with others.

One teacher, on a pretty September day, took her class outside to enjoy nature. They looked at the clouds, talked about them and then the teacher read a poem about the clouds. She asked the children what they would do with a cloud if they could lasso it and bring it down to earth. They had many ideas. One child said he would mount the cloud and ride around. Another said he would make the cloud his sail-boat and sail over the ocean. When they went inside they wrote their stories. This was the teacher's first attempt at creative writing. The results were very pleasing. Two or three of the children expressed themselves beautifully. It is not to be expected that every child in a class will create something unusual the first time, not even the twelfth time. If one child expressed a truly original thought, creative writing is worth the time given to it.

IV. Evaluating Creative Writing

We should never hold a child to adult standards in creative writing. When the creative urge has spent itself, the correct spelling, punctuation, language usage, and form can be refined. If the child is forced to try to make a perfect copy, much of his creative urge may be destoryed. Many children will realise that their spelling is incorrect and will ask for help; others may realise that this slows down their thinking and they cannot get their thoughts on paper. For this reason the child should be led to see that he can refine his writing afterwards.

V. Topic or Interest Areas

In the American kindergarten, the favorite topics are related to the home and family, pets and toys, and children's immediate experiences. But by the second and third years, children begin to look out into the community for their subjects. They may write about the policeman, the fireman, or any of the other community helpers.

Many children are interested in writing letters to children in other cities. Some may write news articles or stories for the room or school newspaper, lables or explanatory statements for exhibits, notes to parents and friends, or stories to be read to the other children just for fun.

Many children like to write make-believe stories about fairies, giants or witches. Some write autobiographies or scripts for radio. Other groups seem to enjoy creating poems. Actually, no sharp dividing line between prose and poetry need be made. If rhyming seems to come rather naturally for some children, it is well to let them go ahead with this.

Children often write about things they have enjoyed touching, smelling, or seeing. Sensory impressions are very important to children.

VI. Values of Creative Writing

In our anxiety to keep unpleasant things from children, we sometime put them in solitary confinement with the things they fear most. Children are very frank. What may appear to be poor taste to us, is often an honest statement of fact from an eight year old. We may overlook the fact that the more disturbing his experiences, the greater may be his need for sharing them.

As many children become interested in creative writing, their personalities develop. Even the very timid child who has nothing to say in class may have something to write and in writing he may reveal clues to deep emotional problems. All children release thoughts and feelings when writing. Belief of emotional tensions which have accumulated over a long period of time may be achieved through creative writing.

The rewards of creative writing are many, and they reach into many fields. There is usually a great increase in vocabulary and spelling accuracy. It develops children's abilities to reason and interpret, to examine thoughts and feelings. Even children who never learn to express themselves will develop a greater appreciation for the world around them.

VII. Summary

Writing can be satisfying to the child only when he has felt a need for it. Sometimes the need is practical; sometimes it is putting into words unique ideas and feelings. In any case, teachers should realise that forced situations can bring little success.

The child that is creating is learning. He is doing something in which he is interested. He doesn't have to be driven to work. He will spend hours creating because he enjoys creating.

The teacher may be the most important person in the creative writing program. With praise and planning, she can look forward to rewarding experiences.

PAINTINGS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE THROUGH WESTERN EYES

By MRINAL GHOSE, M.A.

Long after his universal appreciation as one of the greatest of poets that the world has ever seen, towards the last phase of his dazzling career, Rabindranath Tagore the versatile Nobel Laureate suddenly expressed himself in lines and colour.

The highest tributes of appreciation were offered to the poet-painter by the most eminent art-critics of the West when his paintings were first exhibited in 1930 in France, United Kingdom and Germany. Tagore's pictures at the Paris Exhibition elicited unstinted praise from Mousieur Bidout, the celebrated French art-critic :

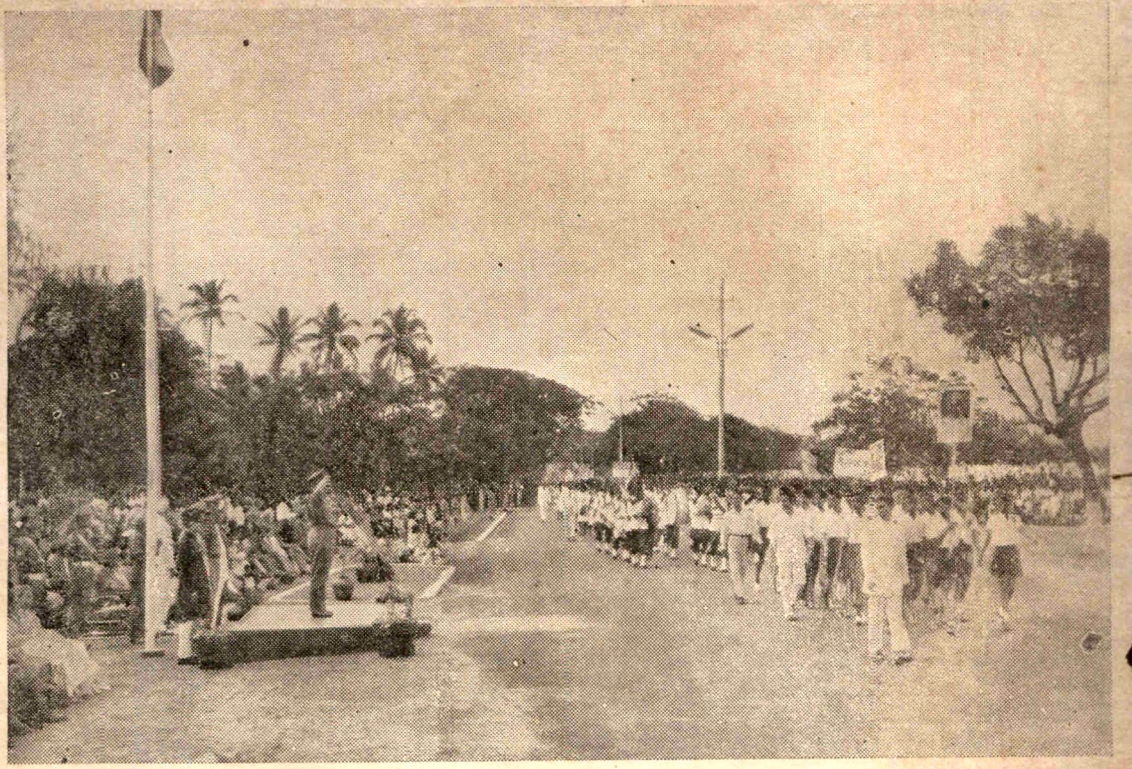
> "A latent genius was asleep, ... For almost a life-time, this genius has been kept in the shadows, for the highly developed faculties of the conscious mind left no room for the expression of this hidden force. One fine day it revealed itself, and the poet felt that another person was being manifested in him, but the new minister has not changed the laws of the state."

Contesse De Noaille, the poet and art connoisseur of France observed :

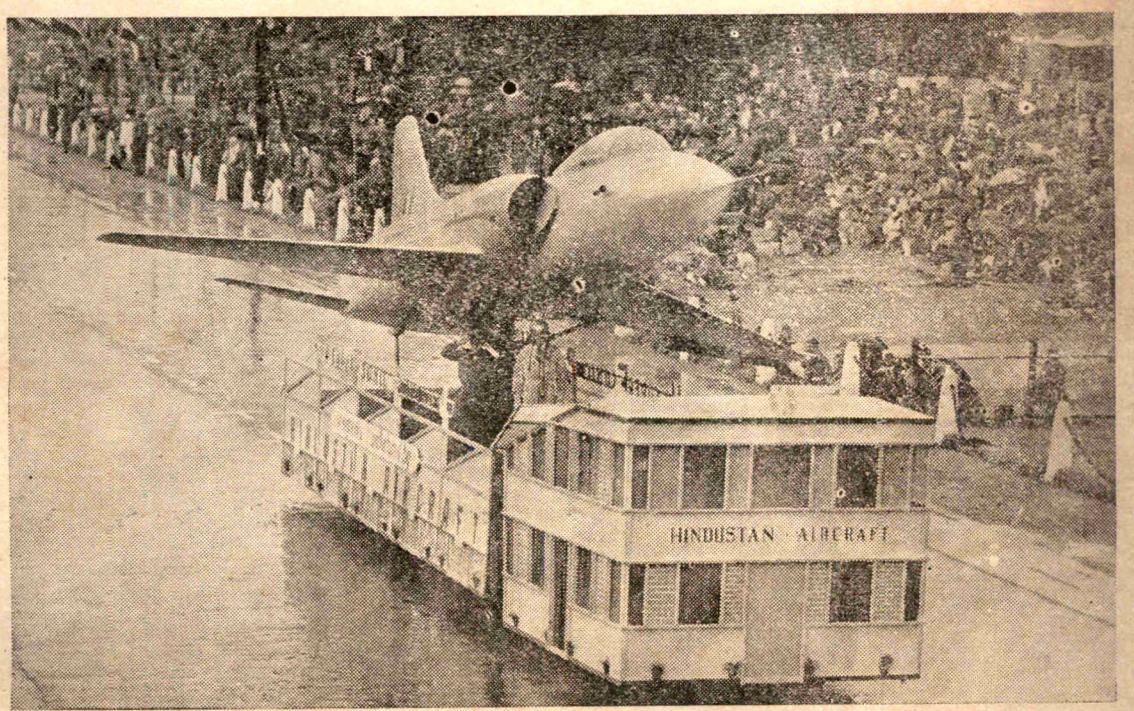
> "Tagore . . . . is timid before his creation, to the fineness and brilliance of which each one of us is a witness. We praise him quite naturally as for him he doubts, questions, hesitates and smiles."

The noted British critic Mr. Kaynes-Smith wrote in the Birmingham Mail :

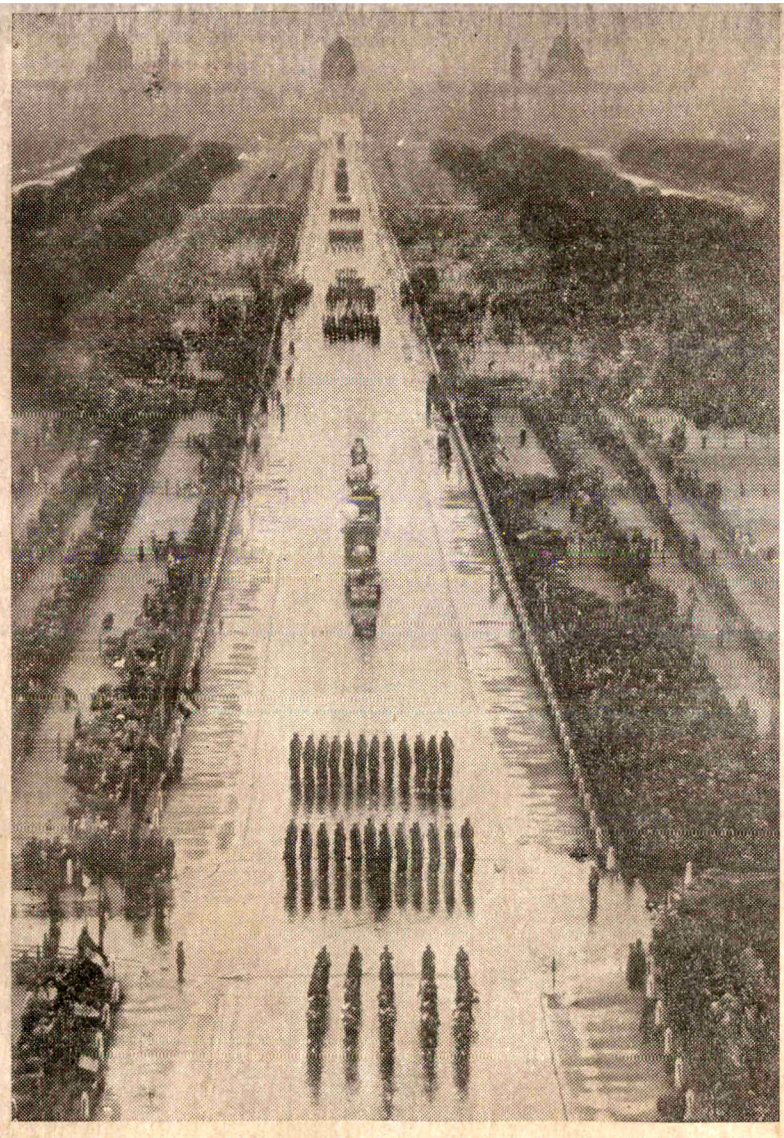
> "There is an immense amount of enjoyment in this group of drawings . . . . exquisite handling of line and form in which human figures derive their beauty and their value as a design, not from direct resemblance to human figures, but rather from the quality of the line by which those figures are expressed. . . . . .



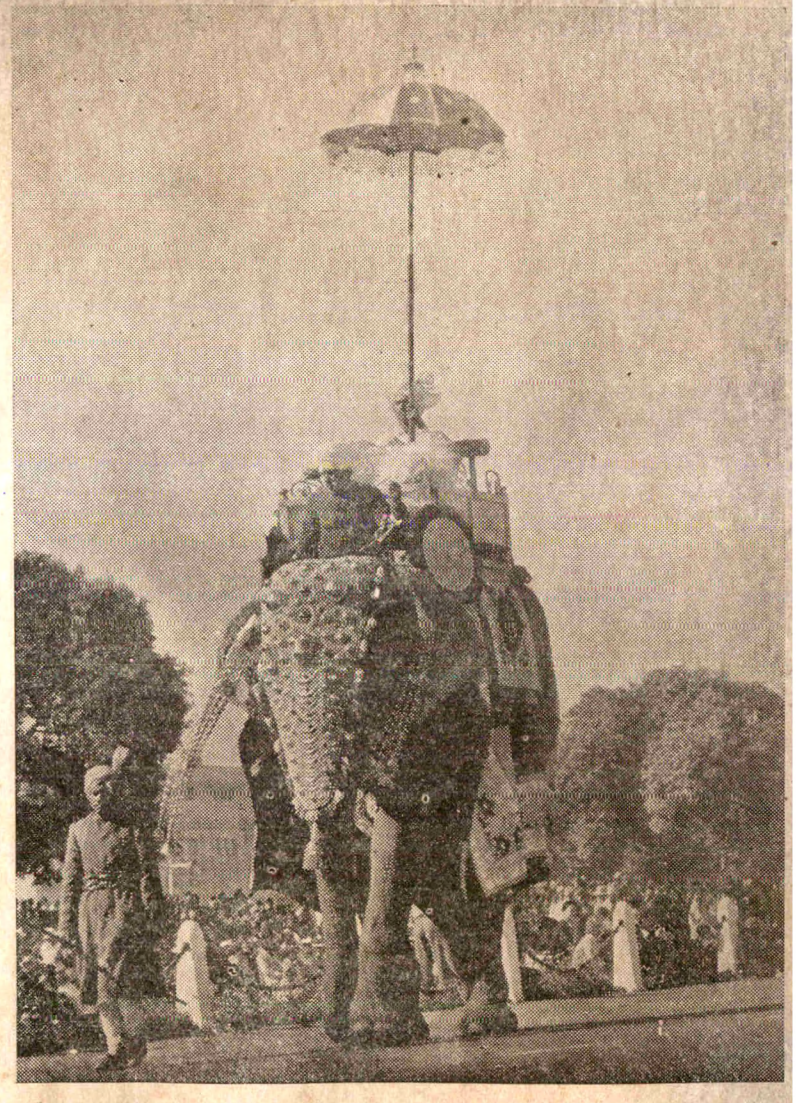
Major General K. P. Candeth, Military Governor, Goa taking salute at Panjim



A glider model of the supersonic jet fighter displayed on Republic Day in New Delhi



A view of the Republic Day Parade of the Air Force in New Delhi



A richly caprisoned Elephant at the pageant on the Republic Day in New Delhi

Some of these latter are of astounding power, their very deep tones and wonderfully harmonious sequence produce exactly the same effect of rhythm as that which is to be observed in purely linear work and we might sum up the whole of this exhibition as being a marvellous example of the sense of balance and of harmony, even in the most fortuitious of its forms."

The eminent art-critic Joseph Southall of Birmingham commented thus :

"The drawings of Rabindranath Tagore prove that the poet though a master of the use of words, feels that certain things can be better expressed, or perhaps only expressed in the language of line, tone and colour.

These things are not outward facts such as those of anatomy and perspective, and the rules that can be taught in Academies which became too often a hindrance to the freedom and vitality of imagination. Tagore's drawings are, as I see them, the work of a powerful imagination seeing things in line and colour as the best Oriental sees them . . . . . The colour sense is indeed superb . . . . We look and look silently, and immerse ourselves in these pictures, and thus here and there if we are humble enough deep answers into deep."

The critics and connoisseurs of U.K. and France have spoken highly of Tagore's superb colour sense, marvellously rhythmic lines, bold, masterly and facile brush-sweeps etc., etc. In short the great vigour, vitality and originality of expression, masterly skill and wonderful technique of Tagore's Art Studies impressed the British and the French critics very much.

But in the continent the German critics were loud in their applause to observe the inward and transcendental appeal of Tagore's paintings. To them these masterpieces of Tagore were not mere 'fantastic creations,' but they had a language of their own. Regardless of anatomy and perspective and all the formulated techniques of the art academies, the great poet painter in his seventieth year expressed himself in line, tone and colour in moments of ecstatic trance. To them his paintings were as if reflectious of form, type, colour, tone, rhythm and line visualised in the dreamland deep down in the subconscious region of a Great Oriental Mystic's mind.

The German critics were filled with rapturous amazement to find certain resemblance of Tagore's art with those of some famous German artists of the day. In "Vossische Zeitung," Berlin, dt. 16-7-30, we find :

"Most remarkable is how this way of Tagore's to look behind the object of this world meets with European and especially with German artists of our days. Some of the animals might be illustrations of Christan Morgenstern. Then occur special allusious of human figures that remind us of Munch. There are groups and heads that let us think of Nolde—the head of an Indian in black and white looks like one of his early wood-cuts. Free play of humour reminds us of Paul Klee."

Again in another German journal "Mannhcimer Tageblatt," dt. 22-7-30 :

"Tagore has brought with him a surprise this time . . . . He paints. Dreamy formalism . . . . signs of Nolde, Kleen and Kubin are everywhere apparent. All is full of rhythm and inner melody. Tagore shows an amazing taste in colour."

It may be mentioned here that some German artists including those refered to above, after World War I, being completely disillusioned at the traditional Greco-Roman ideal were ushering in a new revolution in the realm of European Art. They were celebrated artists and professors of art academies and were too familiar with new 'Isms' in art then sweeping over all Europe. But the case of Rabindranath Tagore was entirely different. He was neither an artist by profession nor a man to be led away by all these cross-currents of new—fangled 'Isms.' Moreover, in this connexion we should never forget what the Great Master, Dr. Abanindranath Tagore had said about the art of Rabindranth :

"His art was his very own. One cannot imitate it, nor can one explain it to one's own satisfaction."

But then, why this spontaneous comparison of Tagore's inimitable art-studies with those of the famous continental artists who at that time were the great exponents of abstract paintings in Germany ? Regarding this an art-critic of Berlin wrote in "Vossische Zeitung" dt. 16-7-30 :

"Again we perceive how the intellectual

movements of the time go around the earth, again we see how necessary it was for the revival of imagination to descend down to the depth from where life comes, so as to get rid of the aweful routine of illusional realism."

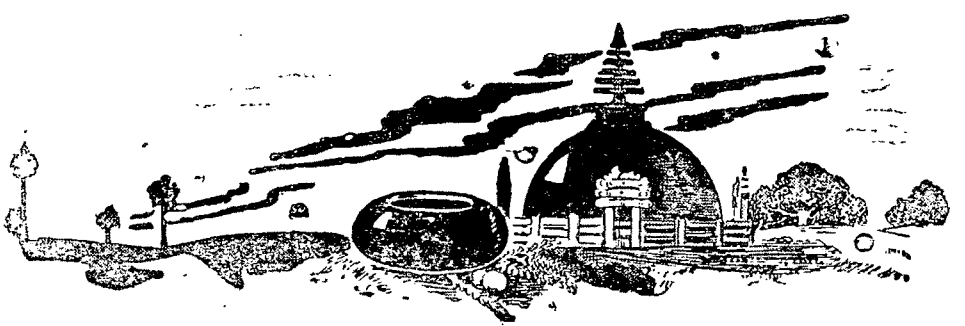
In 1930 when 300 Tagore's paintings were exhibited in 'Galerie Moeller' in Germany, the country was already inundated by Impressionism, Expressionism, Futurism, Collectivism, Suprematism, Post-impressionism, Cubism, International Dadaism and Surrealism, etc., so called art movements of the West.

During those days the members of "Der Blaue Reiter" a well known art-association of Germany assiduously painted hidden things behind the veil of Nature's outward appearance and consequently man and nature in their material aspects were completely erased in their apparently intangible shadow pictures which were as if composed of dream and memories. To a certain extent they were under the spell of Picasso and Cezanne. Franz Marc, Paul Klee, Augustus Macke, Vincent Van Gogh, Wassilij Kandiusy were the most remarkable representatives of this school of abstract painting. Marc and some of his artist friends throwing aside brush and colour, palette and easel marched to the war-fronts. There in the trench of the Western Fronts, fire-arms in their grips, choked with the gun-powder smoke, almost deafened with the thunderous roar of the death-dealing shot and shell, clash and clatter of the tanks, these artist soldiers witnessed the unspeakable horror and devastation—the direct outcome of World War I.

After the armistice, returning home from the blood-bath of the Western Fronts, these artists reembraced their old profession. But this time a thorough change of outlook on man and things had come over them. Now the visible Nature failed to appeal to them any longer and strong enough in the post-war period they began to portray creatures and objects alien to Nature, but seen as if in their own ego. A few lines of Marc published in a German magazine quoted below would serve as a pointer to the above:

"We are to day seeking behind the veil of Nature's outward appearance hidden things which seem to us more important than the discoveries of the Impressionist."

The horror and devastation consequent upon militarism engineered by the so-called war-mongers disillusioned these artists completely and they were filled with exuberant joy and wonder to find Tagore creating in his own inimitable way a Great Art regardless of anatomy, perspective and other traditional rules and technique of the art academies of the West and the East. Moreover the latent Nordic culture of the Germans, their Teutonic urge to leave the beaten track and to court the New and the unknown drew them instantly towards the masterpieces of Tagore then exhibited in the Galerie Moeller. Great was their amazement and joy to find in Tagore's hand the illuminating, flaming torch of that new light and fire which they were trying to enkindle in the realms of art. Hence in Europe the German appreciation of Tagore's art was so hearty and so spontaneous.



THE IDEA OF THE NATION IN EXTREMIST POLITICAL THOUGHT

By O. P. GOYAL,
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Historians in the west are generally agreed upon a modern origin of the idea of a nation. The idea of a nation which is the basic term for Nationalism is generally considered to be a product of the French Revolution and is believed to imply 'a common political sentiment'.[1] The western idea of a nation may be understood as to mean a body of men who have a distinct desire to constitute themselves into a separate state with a sovereign status for the pursuance of their material ends. It was this idea of a nation which influenced the Indian Moderate leadership in India. In fact, their idea of a nation was a complete imitation of the west. This was criticized by Indian extremist leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipinchander Pal and Aurobindo Ghose. Their main contention was that this wholesale imitation of the idea of the Nation as it existed in the west only lead to denationalisation rather than to the organization of an Indian Nation. Thus, B. C. Pal criticized the standard of judgment which the Indian Moderate applied to the examination of his own country and culture. Judging them (the Indian masses) in the light of the history and achievements of Europe, he wrote, he (the Indian Moderate) constantly condemns his own country and culture and with the relentless pity of the missionary propagandist seeks to ruthlessly improve them more or less after these alien ideals.[2] Lala Lajpat Rai also lamented that the English-knowing Indian prided himself in imitating his master. He took his dress, he took his cheroot and pipe and also his cup and beefsteak. He began to live in houses built and furnished in the English way. He detested Indian life and took pride in being anglicized. Everything Indian was odious in his eyes.[3] Similarly Tilak hated the imitation of the western idea of a nation.

However, the Indian Extremist Leaders did not merely condemn the western idea of a Nation, but also evolved a distinctly Indian idea of a Nation which was unique and clearly distinguishable from the western idea of a Nation. "The fundamental difference between European Nationalism and Indian Nationalism", wrote B. C. Pal, "lies in the excessive emphasis of one on territorial and of the other on cultural unity."[4] He continued, "Economic conflicts, industrial competitions, greedy rivalries for the acquisition of unappropriated territories and the possession of unexplored markets, these are what have contributed to the quickening and preservation of nationalism in Europe and have kept the nations apart from one another."[5] And he commented that, "a nationalism of this type must inevitably become narrow and selfish, intolerant and aggressive"[6] which according to him was the general characteristic of nationalism in Europe. "However, this type of narrow, selfish and pathological patriotism (and B. C. Pal uses patriotism and nationalism as synonymous terms) was never developed in ancient India."[7]

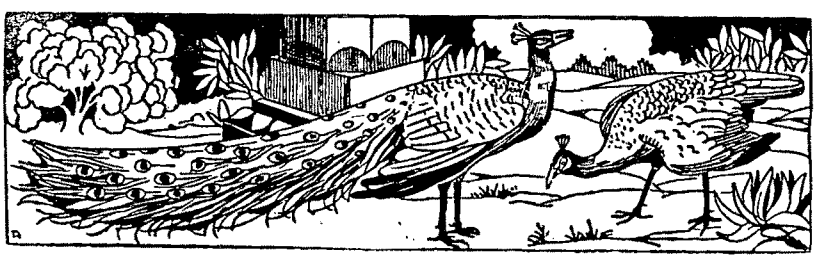
According to the Extremist leaders, the nation was conceived not as a territory but as a spiritual being and the nation was to be organised not on the basis of common self-interest but on the basis of common feeling that "we are all sons of one common Mother."[8] The origin of this concept of the Land as Mother can be traced back

1. See H. A. L. Fisher. *The Commonwealth*, London, 1924, p. 196. See also Hayes Carlton J. H., *Essays on Nationalism*, New York, 1941, p. 3. Hans Kohn. *Force or Reason*, (Cambridge Mass), 1937, p. 198. Barker, Earnest, *National Character and the Factors in its Formation*, London, 1927, p. 7.
2. B. C. Pal, *Soul of India*, Calcutta, (Chowdhry and Chowdhry n.d.), pp. 73-74.
3. Quoted by D. V. Tahmankar, *Lokmanya Tilak*, p. 59.
4. Pal, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 134.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 134-35.
6. *Ibid*, p. 143.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Aurobindo Ghose, *Speeches of* p. 140.

to the Vedic conception of the Earth God. This concept was now revived. Thus Aurobindo pointed out that land the Mother was a living thing. ". . . . . Your common Mother that is not merely the soil. That is not merely a division of land but it is a living thing. It is the mother in whom you move and have your being."[9] Similarly, B. C. Pal, believed that the Mother is a Personality, is a living being. Talking of the Personality of the Mother he wrote, "The mountains, these rivers, these extensive plains and lofty plateaus are all witnesses into the life and love of our race, in and through which the very life and love of the Mother have sought and found uninterrupted and progressive expression. Our history is the sacred biography of the Mother. Our philosophies are the revelations of the Mother's mind, our arts, our poetry and our painting, our music and our drama, our architecture and our sculpture, all—are the outflow of the Mother's diverse, emotional moods and experiences. Our religion is the organised expression of the soul of the Mother."[10] He continues later, "We are born in this land. It receives us into its bosom even as our human brothers do. It supports our life with its own substance even as the nursing mother supports the growing life of her own baby. This land is literally the Mother of our physical existence. It is, indeed, the physical body of the soul of our land and nation."[11]

Moreover, the cult of the Mother among the Hindus is part of our general spiritual culture. Therefore, the concept of the land as a Mother has a distinct spiritual basis. For them the love of their land and people was "an organic part of our ideal of the love of God."[12] This is completely different from the secular nationalism of the west which is a mere civic and at best a mere political sentiment. On the other hand, for the Indian Extremist Leaders, nationalism was a religion that had come from God. Aurobindo Ghose identified it with *Dharma* itself. Thus, he said, "The Hindu nation was born with the *Sanatana Dharma*, with it, it moves and with it, it grows. When the *Sanatana Dharma* declines then the nation declines and if the *Sanatana Dharma* were capable of perishing with the nation it would perish. The *Sanatana Dharma*, that is nationalism."[13] The spiritual basis of this Indian idea of the Nation strikes to be typically Hegelian. However, one major difference with the Hegelian line of thinking is to be noted. The Indian Extremist leader, in line with the trend in modern Indian political thinking, do not isolate their idea of the nation with their idea of humanity. Actually, "Both individual humans as well as the collective entity called Humanity are equally manifestations of Narayana. They are both equally Divine. The one is inseparable from the other and both from God."[14] Thus, Aurobindo Ghose explained that "our ideal of patriotism proceeds on the basis of love and brotherhood and it looks beyond the unity of the nation and envisages the ultimate unity of mankind."[15] It is this ideal of human unity or that of universal brotherhood which is implicit in their idea of the Nation, that separates the Indian Extremist leaders from Hegel and keeps them apart.

9. *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.
10. Pal, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 199.
11. *Ibid*, p. 191.
12. *Ibid*, p. 192.
13. A. Ghose, *Uttarpara Speech*, p. 20.
14. Pal, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 193-94.
15. Aurobindo Ghose, *Speeches*, p. 175.



LIMITATIONS ON PARLIAMENTARY SUPREMACY

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THE Parliament is the legislature of the country. It is an assemly of representatives where discussions take place about the affairs of the nations. It functions as the spokesman of the people and has necessarily the final word in the Administration of the country and her colonies. The Indian Parliament consists of the President, and the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. It has its powers co-extensive with 97 items in the union list and 47 items in the concurrent list. Art. 246 of our constitution clearly lays down and it has been interpreted by the Privy Council that the powers of the Parliament are not limited by those of the State-legislatures. Thus the Indian Parliament in the supreme Legislature for India. The Parliament makes laws, amends them and the constitution, controls the purse, ventilates grivances of the people, controls the Executive of the country and elects the highest national Executive and can investigate cases against them and can impeach them. The Parliament is the nation-in miniature. Prof. Dicey in the 19th century said that the British Parliament is a Sovereign body. When 'the Sun never set in the British Empire' and 'Britannia ruled the Waves,' the Parliament could make "everything except making a man a woman and a woman a man." The Supremacy of the Parliament is unlimited, inalienable and unquestionable. Sovereignty admits of no other organ or individual either above it or to control it. The British Parliament can remodel the British constitution. It is not only the law-making body but also the constituent body for the country. It can confer dictatorial powers. It can change the religion of the country. It can pass the Act Indemnity to legalize all illegation. It can declare war as well as conclude peace. Indian parliament could even reprimand the Blitz-Editor for the breach of privilege of an M.P. The British Parliament can introduce Communism in Great Britain. It can make and unmake anyhow it likes. Thus unlimited legislation is the most outstanding characteristic feature of parliamentary system. So Prof. Dicey went to the extent of saying that the British Parliament is sovereign in character. But things are not so as they appear to be. There are several limitations. The difference between surface appearance and inward reality is to be noted.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The modern-parliament owes its existence to the Anglo-Saxon and Norman times of the Ancient days. The British Parliament has been the mother of parliaments as the American Congress has been the father of federalism. The earliest document which contains the word "Parliament" is the Eleventh Century Chanson de Roland meaning the talk between two persons. King John granted charters to the barons in 1215. However, by 1258 the 'parliament' had evidently continued to acquire a definite meaning. The essence of parliament became discussion and deliberations. From the 19th century onwards popular control over the Government started; and as the Legislature was the repository of popular sovereignty Government responsible to the people remained responsible to the Legislature both collectively and individually. Thus the Legislature had the responsibility of direction, supervision and control and the executive organ functioned under the legislative organ.

CONTROL OF THE CABINET

The modern executive, is in a miniature, the old absolute monarchy. The Cabinet more than the parliament is sensitive about the powers and the functions of the parliament. Because the Cabinet gets its powers enhanced by the submissive parliament of today. In the 19th century, popular sovereignty and the sovereignty of parliament were paraded so much so that Herbert

Spencer lamented that if divine rights of kingship was bad, the omnipotence of the parliament is worse. People wanted to curtail the growing powers of the parliament. Due to the First World War and the emergence of the Soviet State every State assumed more and more powers. The Cabinet acted as the main-spring of the machine to exercise them. The divine rights of parliament have been replaced by cabinet dictatorship. Instead of the cabinet remaining responsible to the parliament, modern parliament is submissive to the power-hungry cabinet. The decision of the cabinet and the formulation of their policies are just formally approved and passed by the parliament. When the Crown has been reduced to "a magnificent cipher" or "a convenient working hypothesis," the prerogatives of the crown are now enjoyed as the powers of the cabinet. Because the cabinet cannot be turned out and no vote of want of confidence can be moved against it. The cabinet dictates according to its sweet will. Therefore, 'bureaucrecy thrives under the cloak of ministerial responsibility.' The parliament actually works as a general post office and approves the papers and stamps them formally. Again the decision of the cabinet is the result of the ruling of one-man—the Prime Minister. He is the leader of the Nation and his personality silences all criticism inside the country. The cabinet is not the whole but a part of the parliament and it actually rules. The democratic Governments are party-Governments. Parties have affiliations with several economic and political organizations of the country. So the party cannot ignore their interests. The direction of the party in power, appears as the decision of the cabinet. The decision of the cabinet is the decision of the Nation. Thus the modern parliament legislates on agreed matters. The cabinet thus controls the parliament and acts for it and gets things passed by the help of majority support.

The Force of Conventions

The customs, conventious, practices, precedents, usages and traditions play a very great role in checking the parliamentary affairs of the country. Law Courts safeguard the laws but the public opinion safeguards the enforcement of the conventions. Violation o conventions may result in revolution in the country. They are the bases of democracy, spirit of the Nation and they clothe the dry bones of the constitution and are inherent in the flesh and blood of the citizens. The older the Government is, the more is its number of conventions. The Swiss Federal Council reflects the will of the people. The British people are very conservative by nature and will never allow a slight tinkering of their conventions. They think their past as glorious, future uncertain and present disgraceful. The Prime Minister is the representatives of the people. As Dr. Jennings says "the General Election of England is primarily the election of Prime Minister." So he looks to the enforceability of that which appeals to the people's will and mind most. A convention is that, the secrecy of parliamentary papers must be maintained for which a man like Dalton had to resign. If the parliament is not convened every year to annul the Army Act and to pass the Budget, the Navy, Army and Air Force of the Government will become illegal and the Government cannot spend a single naye Paisa. The office of the Prime Minister as well as of Her Majesty's opposition are examples of conventions. Thus the parliament will never legislate on matters which will violate the conventions of the country. The conventions are on organic principle of the constitution as the sovereignty of the parliament itself is and hence beyond the possibility of the competence of the parliament. The parliamentary enactments should not hurt the sentiments of the people or act contrary to it. Legally it can, but practically does not.

Delegated Legislation

The device of delegated legislation and administrative adjudication have also limited the powers of the parliament. Due to the overburdened functions of the parliament and the technical and complex nature of the modern problems delegated legislation has come into being. The parliament only decides the skeleton laws but the administrative Departments formulate the necessary rules, and regulations, etc., to make the laws work. Thus the parliament delegates a part of its responsibility to the

executive both for the sake of relieving its crowded programme and also for adding to the efficiency of the executive. It is justifiable due to the enormous growth of the sphere of State-action. Lord Herwart calls this device as 'New Despotism.' If the parliamentery supremacy was worse, the new despotism is the worst. This is a vital check on the parliament's functions.

Judicial Review

In the United States, the Acts of the parliament (Congress) are subject to judicial interpretation and review. The Judiciary can give the final verdict regarding its validity and constitutionality. It can make the Acts illegal and hence invalid. In England, due to the unwritten nature of the Constitution and supremacy of the parliament the scope of the Judicial Review is less. Still then the Judges have their own contributions. They interpret the laws and make Judge-made-laws. The parliament takes note of it also.

International Law

The parliament is circumscribed by the practices, agreement and treaties of International Relations. The law of the land cannot be contrary to the principles of International law. This is a recognised principle of British constitutionalism and so also is the case with the parliaments of other civilized nations.

Constitutional Limitations

The powers and functions of the parliament are limited by constitutional limitations in regard to ligislation both for the country and her colonies. The Constitution prescribes the scope and manner of law-making and so on. Thus Dicey's statement that "the power of the parliament extends to every part of King's dominions" is fundamentally unrealistic. The sovereignty of parliament thus seems to be a legal fiction and not a practical one. The modern parliament merely acts as the trustee of the people. It is said, "the American Congress is non-soverign, the British Parliament is sovereign, but the Indian Parliament is semi-sovereign.

Rule of Law

The Rule of Law implies the equal application of law and equal treatment of all before the eyes of law. So the parliament cannot legislate some thing which is contrary to the Rule of Law. Thereby it imperils its own sovereignty. Rule of Law is thus a significant check on the legal sovereignty of the parliament.

Voice of Press

The Press moulds the public opinion. Under the currents and cross-currents of propaganda and counter-propaganda the affairs of the modern world are conducted. Democracy can only succeed by the vigilance of public opinion. Because eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. So the people get the press they deserve. The modern parliament is careful about the comments of the press and modifies its decisions accordingly. A comment of the *Blitz* could move the Indian Parliament to reprimand the Editor due to breach of privilege.

No Government likes to be unpopular. The party in power has a hope for future to come back again to power. So no parliament will like to wound the feelings of the people or to encroach upon their life, liberty and property.

On the whole, these factors cast a great influence on the activities of the Parliament everywhere to an unlimited extent. The Parliament consists of persons who are also subject to the same law. Each M.P. has a hope to come to power again. So his action of the present will count a great deal for future considerations. His act of betterment will enable him to receive fresh petrol from the people to keep his vehicle of political career on motion. Thus the real sovereign power rests with the people. To determine the membership of the Lower Chamber of the House and thereby decide the policy of the House and then of the Nation as a whole. The parliament legally can make and unmake any law it likes. But actually it cannot ignore the morals of the community, wishes and interests of the people, common law, and expediency of the country, etc.

RIFT IN THE LUTE—TAGORE'S DRAMA

By JOGES C. BOSE

BRILLIANT in quiet incisiveness as the dialogues of Tagore's *Vidai-abhishap* and *Karna-o-Kunti* struck me, I thought how immensely great he must be as a dramatist as well. I was then too young to have the sense of appreciation that in a drama it is the tenseness of the situation which gives edge to an utterance and, besides, there are other ingredients to make it pass muster. This is why I witnessed Tagore's *Raja-o-ranee,* the first in my way, with a high expectancy. It did not, however, at all affect me such as the depiction of a tragic incident on the stage haunts the susceptible. Drama is essentially the impression; and I have failed all these long years to get over the handicap of that impression of my boyhood.* Truly, it has acted as a bar to my proper appreciation of Rabindranath's dramas. What is it he lacked which pinched my untutored imagination? I found no satisfactory answer till I read Shakespeare's tragedies.

Making a due allowance for the fact that the impact of a drama through perusal is less intimate and gripping, with Shakespeare I was ill-at-ease and puzzled as to how he who smells so much of brass, brawl and buffoonery could be the greatest dramatist in celtic letters, nay, of the world. It was all the more an uncomfortable position for me, because I dared not breathe what was, obviously, a rank heresy. But as I began to read his tragedies, I was, straightaway, entrapped by their epic depth. In fact, over my pathway some fleeting figures began to cast their shadows, silhouetted in their deathless excellence. I took to spoutting about them, much like one suddenly in possession of something very extraordinary. This is, possibly, one sure test of immortality; that I have read them good many times is the other.

I visualise Othello, stuck up in the tortures of suspicion in his wife's fidelity and in their shade Iago asking of those near-by, 'Is my lord angry?' : Hamlet, a glorious promise, wasting himself on the barrenness of 'To be or not to be': King Richard pathetically panting for a wink of sleep to weigh eye-lids down and steep senses in forgetfulness: Lear, the doting father but every inch the King, as 'he sleeps well after life's fitful fever', the rumbling peals of his swearing against filial ingratitude still then audible as it were: and, what is classic for all time, the blasted heath, where the weird sisters were preparing charms by which to read ahead the destiny roll —the Judas' Kiss, the coup and the husband's forlorn hunt for 'a sweet oblivious antidote' to raze out the troubles of his wife's brain. These are landmarks of human drama for all time. What, however, is particularly thought-provoking is that they standardise the Hindu conception of the Law of *Karma.* It is, in a nutshell, that every event is the effect of a cause operating in conjunction with an invisible force. It confuses the average westerner, at one with Bernard Shaw, holding that 'Shakespeare's characters are life-like, but their actions are forced from without'. Boris Pasternak, rather, bears close to the viewpoint of the Law of *Karma,* when he speaks of Lear using the language of the Old Testament prophets. Anyway, the ease and happiness with which Shakespeare works out the balance between man's will to do things leading to a catastrophe on the one hand and the compulsion of circumstances in which he cannot help doing them on the other is his irresistible appeal to an Indian. It is the absence of this overriding fascination of the balance, which stands in the way of Rabindranath's tragedies bring a success. As the reaction to an artist must be open and frank, I feel, for what it is worth, no sense of recoil to tar them all with the same brush, more or less.

And, yet, when Tagore makes his drama the vehicle of a thesis, whatever be the merits of the drama as a drama, I maintain that he acquits himself well. To take his *Prakriteer Pratishode,*

*This explains why Rabindranath, the dramatist, is not in accord with the writer's articles on Tagore, the poet, patriot and philosopher, published in *The Modern Review.*

Nature's Revenge, we have the clash of two forces—one ascetic, shy of worldly attachments and the other rooted deep down in the affections of human breast. Written at the age of twenty-one or so, Tagore gives us the story of a hermit, who stole away from human habitations for an undisturbed contemplation of God. One day the hermit happened to stumble upon a small young girl on the footway, hovering between life and death. He succoured her back to life and would not leave her to the freaks of fate. In the process he realised that one concrete attribute of the Infinite is his faculty of zest for the finite. The hermit exclaims—and this is the pith and marrow of what the dramatist stands for—

> With eyes shut and all worldly things left out,
> Where really had I gone in search of thee, oh
> my Lord !*

The drama, with its songs delivering the sense of tranquil restoration, slips by, but the underlying thought saturates the audience fibre to fibre.

Nateer Pujah, which signalises the willing, reposeful surrender of the devout, gathers momentum in the compactness of a sonnet. The heroine of sweet calm is a stately granite against all assults on her faith in Buddha. By her death she hearlds the birth of a new, transfigured life, brought home by a song tuned to a dance, symbolised by the bodily existence narrowing down to a flicker of ecstacy.

Tagore's controversial *Chitrangada* is truly representative of the dramatist and calls for a more or less elaborate dealing. It woefully lacks the elements which make drama a success, but it has, all the same, held the floor with the elite for over sixtyfive years. People have before them a woman, who, born in the full blaze of Victorian morals, confesses unabashed to her sex, because she is proudly conscious of her mission that she is out to secure her rightful place of love and honour as a wife to double the joys and lighten the burdens of her husband culminating in her fulfilment as a mother. The conception, in sober prose, is as old as the beginning of the world. But the sense of beauty, which abides, is in Tagore investing the woman with power to attract the man, despite his traditional, innate, nomadic turbulence, to cling to hearth and home.

Chitrangada is the daughter of a King of Manipur in Assam in the days of the *Mahabharata.* For reasons we need not bother about, she grows up in habits and other pursuits, which become a man and not a woman. At one arresting snatch of undeniable youth, however, she meets Arjuna, whose tales of valour have coloured her imagination since the days of childhood. She pauses to read in the stir of her blood that she is a woman, and is in the intriguing presence of a man—no other than the idol of her dreams. In fact, she realises that she is smitten with a craving for Arjuna. The moments are precious and bid fair to fleet by. She cannot, therefore, rest content to rely on her resources unaided and invokes Madan, the God of Love—the same as Greek Eros—to help her work the chance. She is now made lovely beyond compare, and is clothed, with a raving appeal, but on condition that the glamour is to last for one year only. Fully aware that it is to wear out as the year completes its cycle, what in Chitrangada mounts the top is the serenity of her wakefulness that increasingly as physical charms fade out, inwardness is to develop compelling attachment. Her sense and sensibility and level-headedness would not let the secret of love sag or volatilize. In the spring-tide of life, when reflectiveness has little sway, she is cool and circumspect. She cautions her impetuous lover to look facts in the face, lest the summer that woos is not too soon the winter when wed. There was hardly time for romance and a mutual understanding. It is virtually a case of one throwing into the arms of the other after a few twinkles of the eye. We have not, therefore, in Chitrangada the idyllic felicity of Tennyson's 'Ask me no more'. She has, however, what is Tagore's own, the strange, solemn satisfaction of founding a home, whose moral and social values she is to guard with a painstaking devotion.

> She told the God of Love,
> If I had had the time, I would not have
> besought thee.
> But inch by inch I would have my ground
> gained to conquer him.
> I would have been an associate by his side;

*All translations are mine.

A charioteer in the field of battle fierce;
An attendant in arms while a-hunting;
A guard keeping watch over the tent at night;
And, at all times, I would fain assist him in rescuing the oppressed, which so eminently befits him the true soldier that he is.

To Arjuna she said,

I am Chitrangada, no Goddess for worship or for lodgement in bonnet high.
I be sure, I am not the common type that thou should in proud disdain tend in the rear.
If it be thy choice to let me function as thy life's companion in weal and woe, and make me share thy problems hard in all strenuous undertakings and journeys, that danger spell, shalt thou truly assess what I am.

The poet makes, Chitrangada's longings for Arjuna tone down to idealise into a feeling of adequacy as she says, to her spouse,

Should the child I bear thee be a son,
I shall so rear him up in arts which a warrior become that he shall be Arjuna, the Second.
I would then make a gift of him to his father, who would then and then only appraise me correctly.

Passion, says Schopenhauer, depends on an illusion, which represents that which has value only for the species is of value to the individual; and the deception must vanish after the attainment of the end of the species. Rabindranath introduces Eros and the atmosphere of illusion. Here also the veil of deception is withdrawn after the species has attained the end. Yet the difference is fundamental. Schopenhauer's individual discovers that he has been 'the dupe of the species'. Rabindranath's individual is assured of his or her completeness over an enduring line of moral greatness, which sustains society and what it stands for as the gifts of civilization.

There was at one time a determined bid by a few literati, acting in concert, to ferret out obscenity in Rabindranath's *Chitrangada,* where the heroine is given an upper hand to finalize a biological necessity, was the target at point-blank range. I would not dispute that in *Chitrangada* there are some frank touches on the woman's anatomy—'the wonder', as Rabindranath says, 'of divine art wrought in a fragile human frame'. The real point for determination is whether they have been emphasized. Is not Beatrice, in the classical picture of her first meeting with Dante, displayed somewhat bare in pose and habits? Were it immoral on the score it could not have conquered time and space.

There is, then, the charge of those who discern Ibsen's Hjordis in Chitrangada. As Hjordis meets Siguard, her lover of pre-marital days, five years after marriage, she harps upon his desire for a woman willing to follow him on a Viking's quest armed in steel and spurring him on to the fight. She says, 'I will put on my armour and follow you wherever you choose to go. Like a splendid Valkyn will I follow you, and urge you on to the fight and to heroe's deeds, so that your name may be famed abroad. When swords are flashing, I will stand by your side'. She prefaces it by her outspoken avowal, 'I love you and dare say so without a blush'. This thrumbing on the string of wild abandon bears no comparison with Chitrangada's pursuit for Arjuna to make him accept her as his wife, fit as well to follow him to the hazards of a warrior's life. One breaks down the home she had by an act of treachery; and the other offers herself, with all the fostering which belongs to her maiden breast, to build up a home, cemented layer to layer by a community of interests. In all fairness, it needs to be stated, by the way, that Ibsen either is a radical, nay, a rebel, but no iconoclast. In the very *A Doll's House,* the representative book on woman's revolt, he makes Mrs. Linde pine for 'a home to bring comfort into'. In *Ghosts,* he makes Bishop Manders chide Mrs. Alvin 'not to pin all faith in the happiness that was bound with the spirit of revolt.' Nora, the heroine of *A Doll's House,* was up in arms against her husband, because he as much sought to capitalise the helplessness of his wife, and nothing more. Tagore is firm and pronounced against the woman ever neglecting or abandoning the sphere, where by the qualities of her personality, it is her privilege to dominate. *Chitrangada* is a fine work of art, instinct with

the urgency and absoluteness of a protest in support of a common dedication with man, shoulder to shoulder.

As I do not attempt any study in criticism but do only state my primary reaction, rather, emotion recollected, I forbear discussing any drama of Tagore I have not seen on the stage. This, however, I would not withhold that his much-talked-of *Rakta Karavi* leaves me cold. By the time Rabindranath wrote it, machinery and what it stands for and the many bad things accruing from it to the society had been argued to the dregs. Rabindranath adds nothing new. In fact, much of what he says is trite and of jaded interest. I read and re-read the book to find out what light this master-mind might possibly vouchsafe, but I did not advance a bit from where I started. Be that as it may. I would better turn from any such acid delineation to his delightful, ever-green comedy *Chira Kumar Sabha*, The Council of Confirmed Bachelors, who, really, did not, at all, seek confirmation.

Chira Kumar Sabha has had of all the dramas of Rabindranath the highest run on the public stage. The story, I am afraid, is not set on hard lines. There is, from the very start, something absurd lurking, but nothing wishy-washy to water down its sparkling animation. The characters breathe vivacity, but are just pulled in time from lapsing into boredom. As the inevitable to the inevitable corruscates, we are regaled with some tight moments of joy and laughter; and the story develops crisp into a class comedy. What, again, is a factor of vast import is the pointer background. The portrait of Pundit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, of the earth but not earthy, is the only picture in the bald setting of the council-room. Did Rabindranath seek to counterweight Swami Vivekananda, laying down celebacy as an indispensible term of service to the motherland by looking at Vidyasagar, who served her as though it was an obligation, he owed to himself? *Chira Kumar Sabha* is in no sense a rehash of *Love's Labour's Lost* or *The Princess.*

What, finally, in Tagore, the dramatist, is an insuperable error—I might say a bane on the public stage—is his high intellectualism. His fine subtleties elude the audience. They have to be on the tiptoe to follow their significance. A pun, a twist or an antithesis is often the button to press for light. To appreciate his drama played, one has, in fact, to rise to a certain height. The other drawback is his constitutional incapacity to rivet attention, for any length of time, on the seamy, unseemly and what is basically violent. Lacking, therefore, in passions of the rough and tumble, what he presents in respect of them is a fake—inasmuch as his Vaishnov songs, under the pseudonym Bhanu Singha, despite their boundless felicity of expression, have not the intensity of Vidyapati or Chandidas. This is because love has for him no lure of the forbidden or out-of-bounds. He does believe in it as neither a game of steeplechase, where the zest is in clearing the hurdles. Over and above, Tagore —and this is like the lump of leaven which leavens the whole lump—is too much of a lyrist, with harmony as the breath of his nostrils, to be a dramatist having had to portray a life of lived reality. Where, however, he can well afford to be free from such inhibitions, as in a social comedy, he is, I should think, at his best.

MIGHTIEST U.S. ROCKET ENGINE TESTED

PROGRESS toward manned flights to the moon and distant planets is seen in the successful performance of F-1, the mightiest rocket engine ever developed in the United States. In more than 25 recent test-stand firings, the new single-chamber liquid-propelled engine has met and even exceeded its designers' power goal of 1,500,000 pounds (680,000 kilograms) of thrust. After flight tests in 1963, the F-1 is expected to become the nation's basic booster engine, with the power and versatility to advance space flight during the next decade.

U.S. scientists are planning a booster powered by a cluster of eight F-1 engines to propel large, heavy vehicles far into space. The first U.S. rocket to be powered by a cluster of engines is the Saturn C-1, which was test-launched with great success recently. The F-1 has demonstrated thrust equal to the Saturn's eight engines. A cluster of eight F-1 engines will generate the equivalent of 220,000,000 horse-power—equal to the power of 2,400 big jet planes of one million automobiles. By comparison with the Saturn, which is expected to place a 45,000-pound (19,412 kilogram) space vehicle in low orbit around the earth, an F-1 eight-engine cluster will be capable of propelling a 400,000 pound (181, 440 kilogram) vehicle into outer space.

The F-1 engine, developed by Rocketdyne, a division of North American Aviation, Inc., Canoga Park, California, is part of the logical, step-by-step space program being carried out by the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration. This program began with the series of Explorer, Pioneer and Discoverer satellites and is being continued with the Project Mercury man-in-space flights. The next steps will be Saturn C-1 and C-2 and finally, powered by the F-1 engine cluster, the Saturn C-3 and Nova rockets.

Progress toward manned flights to the moon and distant planets is seen in the successful performance of F-1, the mightiest rocket engine ever developed in the United States. In more than 25 recent test-stand firings, the new single-chamber liquid-propelled engine has met and even exceeded its designers' power goal of 1,500,000 pounds (680,000 kilograms) of thrust. After flight tests in 1963, the F-1 is expected to become the nation's basic booster engine, with the power and versatility to advance space flight during the next decade.

Members of Rocketdyne's Design Review Board view a drawing of the F-1 rocket engine flashed on a big screen. They are discussing a proposed change in one part (at end of pointer). In numerous sessions during the development and testing of the engine, these scientists made final decisions on every design detail to assure the safety and reliability of the F-1. Employees of North American Aviation, Inc., have had eleven years of experience, during which nearly one thousand rocket engines have been designed and built by the Rocketdyne Division.

With a thunderous roar, fire belches from the F-1 rocket engine on a test stand in the Mojave Desert, California. In more than 25 captive firings, the engine has performed perfectly, even exceeding its designed thrust of 1,500,000 pounds (680,000 kilograms). These captive firings have been carried out on three different test-stands, one of which is the nation's largest, capable of accommodatng the entire cluster of F-1 engines planned for space-launching.

Rocketdyne engineers monitor on closed-circuit television a test of the F-1 rocket engine. They are in a concrete underground control center, but they have a clear view of the test being conducted overhead. The center is equipped with many types of instruments, which enable the engineers to analyze fully the performance of the engine.

The F-1, is the mightiest rocket engine ever-built in the United States. Although it looks tremendously complex, it actually is an incredibly simple booster engine. It has less than one-sixth as many moving parts as an airliner jet engine. An important feature of this rocket engine is its ability to operate in flight without electrical power. On the launch pad, electricity will be

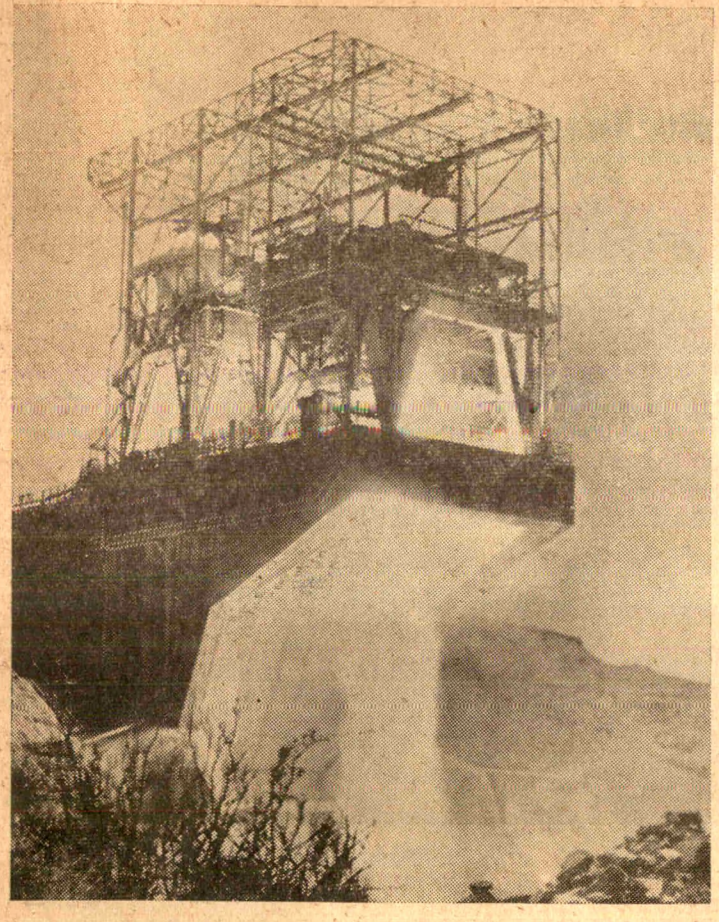
used to start the power plant, after which the engine will operate without the danger of electrical malfunction during flight.

the thrust of the Redstone rocket engine which launched the first U.S. astronauts on their suborbital journeys into space.

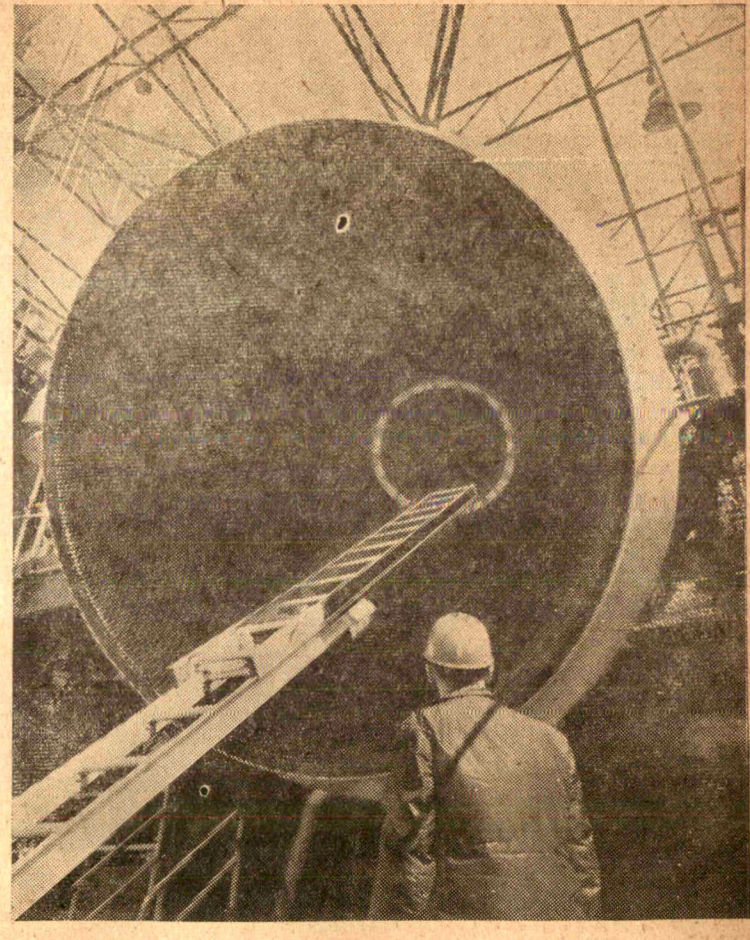
Water under high pressure flows through an engine down in one of the many different tests performed before the F-1 was fired at full thrust

At night under the lights, the thrust chamber and nozzle of the F-1 (lower left) glow brightly in their cradle on the test stand. In captive tests, this engine has demonstrated four times the thrust of the Atlas ICBM and 20 times

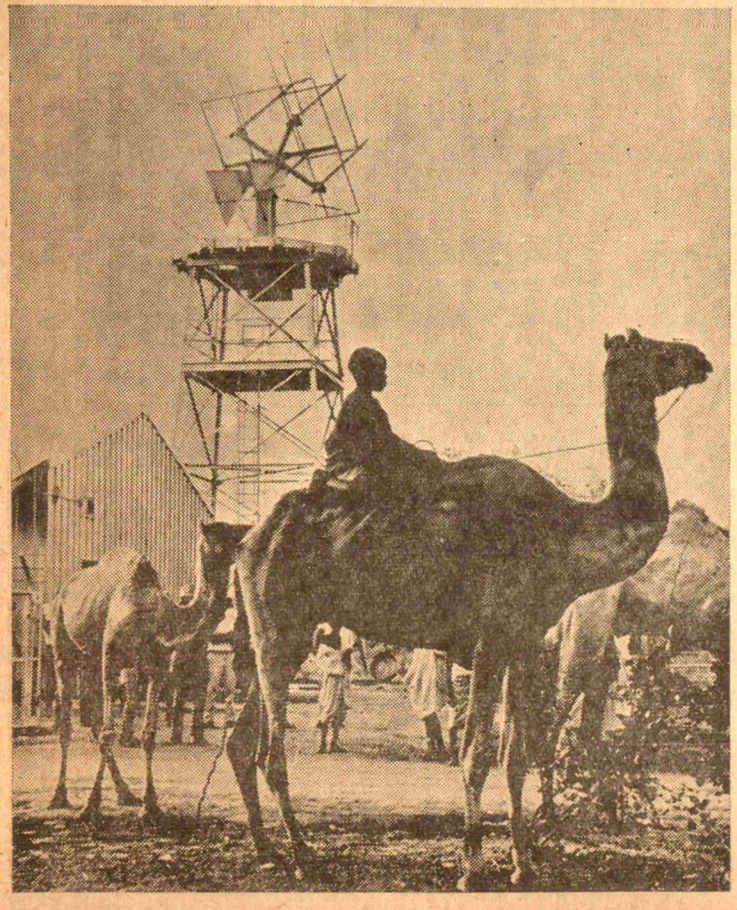
The "business end" of the F-1 engine through which a fiery blast will escape as three tons (2.72 metric tons) per minute of liquid oxygen and propellant fuel are fed to the engine [illegible] turbopump operating at 6,000 revolutions



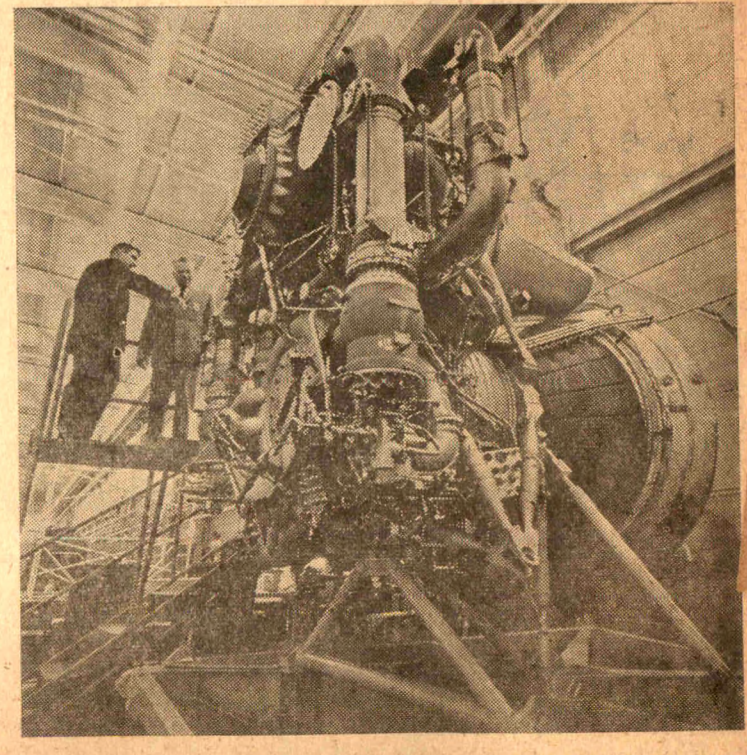
Fire belches from the F-I rocket Engine at the time of a test in the Mojave Desert, California



"Business end" of the F-1 engine through which fiery blast escapes liquid oxygen



Camels pause in front of the project Mercury communications station at Kano, Nigeria



F-1, the mightiest rocket engine built in the United States

per minute. When the F-1 engine is fired, flame and hot gases are thrust downward and then turned outward at a 90-degree angle by a 2.60 ton (235.57-metric ton) water-cooled flame deflector.

The large circle of metal for the thrust chamber of the F-1, like other parts of the giant engine, required special handling techniques. Many metal-working experts were specially trained in new welding and brazing methods. Fantastically accurate measuring devices were used to maintain quality control of fabrication. A tape-fed fully automatic milling machine speeded construction, with the result that one milling job formerly requiring 300 hours was completed in 30 hours.

Brazer-making tubes for the chamber of the F-1 engine is working in an inert atmosphere, an important development in the fabrication of safe, reliable engines. Fabrication of the F-1 presented Rocketdyne with an imposing array of challenges. The size of engine parts, materials used and tolerances necessary posed problems more difficult than had existed in the past during fabrication of nearly one thousand rocket engines. The huge gas and electric brazing furnaces used to build the F-1 dwarf the men who created them.

Rocketdyne worker cleans the welds of an F-1 engine dome. Through the domes shown here under construction a 42,500 gallon-per-minute torrent of liquid oxygen and kerosene fuel will be channeled to the firing chamber, where their ignition will bring the booster to life with a thrust of 1,500,000 pounds (680,000 kilograms.

Water under high pressure flows through an engine dome in one of more than 100 different tests performed before the F-1 was fired at full thrust on one of the high test stands. A technique known as statistical test design was used to obtain maximum information from each test. All test procedures were designed to assure the safety and reliability of the rocket engine and to speed it to completion without waste effort and needless expense.

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SOCIAL OBSTACLES IN OUR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

By S. CHANDRA SEKHAR, M.A.,
Research Scholar in Economics Andhra University, Waltair.

THE skilful combination of land, labour and capital which are the three requisites of production makes possible the satisfaction of our wants and they form the bases of economic society. But society itself should be in a favourable position to make room for such an effective organisation of production and labour before attaining the stage of economic society. The problem of organisation is more acute in countries that largely depend upon agriculture. In these areas, vigorous frontal attacks on the agrarian front are a precondition for a sustained economic growth and the ultimate triumph of the social revolution.[1] Social revolution is a subject of the change of outlook which engages the society for adopting better ideals. These areas are far behind the type of cultural that is required to solve the interminable agricultural problems. There is great need for a pragmatic approach to the problem in order to proceed in full consciousness of the immediate and ultimate perils and obstacles and judge the success of our experiments by results from time to time as we proceed with our schemes of development. Pragmatism is the doctrine that estimates any policy solely by its practical bearing upon human interests.[2] Rationality in human interests can develop only when their culture is improved. Culture enables the people to develop themselves and their surroundings, as well as their society which is an imprint of their interests.

Social and cultural factors play a great role in agricultural development as agriculture has been the only activity of people in the immediate reach of the underdeveloped nations. The interaction between the amount of land and the culture is an important factor for agricultural economy. Recent United Nations Monographs indicate to what extent land ownership is largely a product of social structure.[3] On the one hand,

purely cultural factors, such as the form of inheritance of land, determine, along with the rate of population increase, the size of farm unit. On the other hand, the types of crops produced react in turn to the social structure. In most part of the world, in the past, there has been either a tendency for farms to get smaller and smaller as equal division of land among children is the ruling family practice, or for farms to get bigger and bigger with primogeniture, under which the oldest son inherits and occasionally families die out.[4] In the Indian society former had come true to a great extent. Nevertheless, though the system of inheritance is by no means the sole determinant of farm size, the productivity aspect of agriculture is not unimpaired by the inequalities in the size of possessions, to a large extent resulting in subsistence farming, rather than large-scale farming for exporting that would have signified economic development.

Cultural aspects influence agriculture from a different age wherein different crops have different impacts on the population, developing completely different rhythms of life and social patterns; sometimes bringing about seasonal unemployment as in sugar and sometimes giving full employment as in tobacco.

The isolated occupational aspect of agriculture has done a great harm to it due to lack of constant communicating society of advanced knowledge and techniques. Farm labour is attached to land and immobile, while communication is limited. Farmers are conservative in outlook, and change occurs slowly. The social legislations and land reforms attempted to weed out the socio-economic evils hardly touching the base let alone their penetration. Though climate determines civilization and customs which affect agricultural activitity, the people almost refuse to adapt themselves to modern methods of increasing production. It is due to their laziness and lack of ambition, traditional outlook engendered in many ways by the social setting that the disparities in income between the rural and urban have only been greatly palpable.

Another socio-economic factor working as an obstacle to agricultural development is—Education. Economic development rests upon capital accumulation, but the process of accumulation is not only physical, it is also mental. Skill and knowledge are as important as buildings and plants; and in a developing society, which is therefore, a changing society, the sort of skill, the type of knowledge which is required, is perpetually new, perpetually different from those which the society is accustomed to teach and to which its institutions are adjusted. Each new development means a new educational curriculum. To make farmers out of peasants, they must be taught elements of all relevant agricultural sciences.[5] This sad lack of uniformity has kept the peasant of underdeveloped countries on the dark side of life. The peasant is either ignorant of the idea of family planning to help live at ease or he is adamant to learn any such good thing. He is a spendthrift either by nature or by virtue with no belief in the idea of saving if at all he has any capacity to save. Much of Asia's saving today goes, directly or through loan by the saver, to someone less provident, to unproductive purposes, to hoarding and jewellery, ceremonies and festivals, display, and other religious and social functions, and lastly the buying of land.[6] More often than not the possibility for investments in production is ruled out. Given a predominantly agrarian structure, savings cannot be diverted into productive enterprise, and are invariably used unproductively.[7]

Social relationship in the community as a whole is no less an obstacle in agricultural development. Attitudes are so complex amidst religious dogmas and social stratification bringing about more and more of dissociation rather than association between man and man especially in underdeveloped countries. Though many writers have singled out the economic motive as the underlying and basically important motive of individual behaviour, as well as the principal motive force of historical change itself, and though it has played a gigantic role in economic changes, an uniformity in the peoples attitudes is yet to be achieved to suit the exigencies of the times for co-ordination in the economic organization. The Indian rural sector is well-equipped with internal dissensions motivated by factionalism.

In developed countries, technological advance has initiated social change by making it possible for people to achieve certain results with less effort or at less cost, at the same time providing

new opportunities and establishing new conditions of life. The underdeveloped nations that largely depend upon agriculture have to first think of bringing up the desired social change and then try at new agricultural techniques to make the task of development simpler. In the course of development many objectives become obligatory. The improvements in the breeds of cattle, in the use of fertilisers, in the variety of seeds, in mechanical labour having devices, and so forth, the objective of increase is the quantity and quality of agricultural production. But as concomitants of the attainment of this objective, in advanced countries, there have gone some changes in farm economy and in the manner of life of the farming household.[8]

Vision, leadership and co-operation are the predominant lacunae on the rural side in the nations that are lagging behind. The aspect of co-operation limits many modern developments in the field of large-scale agricultural farming and collective activities to be implemented, due to lack of agreement and conflicting ideologies. The complexity of the problems involved in co-operation and conflict is indicated by the fact that in every community these processes assume forms that distinctively reflect the local social and cultural conditions.[9] A social change leading to an understanding of the various groups of the community will certainly be a superior force to inflict the ideals of co-operation. Vision and leadership are often mere great expectations without disinterestedness. Disinterested and far-sighted leadership side-by-side with self-reliant and mutually helpful members intimately acquainted with each other in villages and unions alone can promote the spirit of co-operation. Given leadership, and the public-will to push on, all problems are soluble. If leaders are reactionary, selfish and corrupt, the masses in turn are discouraged and seem to lack initiative. But if the leaders win the confidence and prove themselves to be vigorous in eradicating privileges and gross inequalities, they can inspire the masses with an enthusiasm for progress which carries all before it.[10]

In the backward nations, the choice of economic development by the State is forced on it by all the entire constellation of economic, political, and social forces.[11] A prerequisite of growth is the scrapping of senile social institutions, the disintegration of caste and the separation engendered by race and religion as pointed out by the United Nations Experts.[12] Drastic social and political surgery is necessary to guarantee this transformation, and it is at this juncture the state is called upon to play a decisive role.[13] Mere land reforms may not be sure of bringing about the desired social change. Stating the case of land reforms, Prof. Galbraith notes that it constitute "a revolutionary; its passed power, property and status from one group to another in the community. If the government of the country is dominated or strongly influenced by the land-holding groups—the one that is losing its prerogatives—no one should expect effective land legislation as an act of grace."[14] But the types of techniques adopted in various countries may differ in order to suit their own conditions. Social revolution through education and right type of reforms guarded from vested interests help bring about a desired cumulative social change. It was felt that the very nature of an agrarian reform, hitched to other social and institutional changes, is a mighty impulse in harnessing the psychological enthusiasm of a peasantry fossilised by ignorance, starvation and exploitation.[15] Land reforms have their significance in the national plans not only as a pre-condition for raising productivity in agriculture, but primarily as a means of shattering the foundations of the old class structure of a stagnated society.[16]

Finally, the fact that the underdeveloped countries lag behind in the field of agriculture due to seasonal inactivity, is explicable in terms of lack of suitable avenues of employment for the farm labour, and lack of interest in sub-ordinate occupations such as handicrafts; though the latter had been a part and parcel of culture especially in India which is now a rare feature. The inactivity and zeal to produce more of the peasant in these areas through intensive cultivation and by adopting advance methods, reaches an early set-back before the works to full capacity. His stage of supreme contentment and of "idyllic felicity" is perhaps very near, the moment he fulfils the immediate obligatins such as his maintenance, production costs and redemption of his regular debts. The explicability of the "back-

WANTED—A FAR-SIGHTED ROAD POLICY

By S. C. TALUKDAR

At a time when the industrial capacity of the country is being augmented, it is disconcerting to note that not enough importance has been attached to the development of roads in the Third Plan. The following observation from the Report of the Working Party of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and Far East on Co-ordination of Transport may be of interest in this connection. "The Working Party emphasised that it was not enough for Road Transport merely to maintain a rate of development that just equalled that in the other economic sectors. In a developing economy, the rate of expansion in transport had to be greater than in other sectors, as the total demands for transport and particularly of road transport tended to be progressive, not proportionate to the increase in production."[1]

The mileage position in India in relation to area or population is extremely low as compared with most of the advanced countries of the World. This will be borne out by the following figures:[2]

Country	Year	Road Mileage	
		Per hundred square miles of area.	Per one lakh of population.
India	1956-57	26	85
Japan	1957	63	100
U.S.A.	1957	114	2018
U.K.	1957	215	382
France	1957	338	1630

There is undoubtedly a need for the extension of new road mileage in the country and there are many areas which need to be opened up by motorable roads.

In the past, organizations such as the Indian Road Congress and the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association have been studying and collecting valuable statistics and marshalling facts pertaining to roads and road transport in this country and abroad in an effort to rouse the consciousness of both Government and the public to the vital needs for providing more and better roads. The formulation and fulfilment, if belated, of the Nagpur Plan owed not a little to these efforts. But the Planned pace of our economic growth is so fast that even the system of roads thus completed is utterly inadequate to meet its requirements. This is why the Chief Engineers of States formulated another plan, a twenty years plan to run from 1961 to 1981 to cope with expected rising demand of traffic during this period. The broad objectives of this plan is that no village in a developed and agricultural area should remain more than four miles from a metalled road and more than 1½ miles from any type of road. The plan takes into account the special requirements of underdeveloped and undeveloped areas. Under the plan, the surfaced and unsurfaced road mileage are to be increased from 1,44,000 and 2,50,000 in 1961 to 2,52,000 and 4,05,000 respectively in 1981 at an estimated cost of Rs. 5,200 crores.

The plan was formulated on the basis of a careful study of a vast amount of economic data collected for the preparation of the national Five-Year Plans. The requirements of transport, as a whole including road transport, can obviously be estimated from the tragets of production of various industries such as steel, coal and cement, as well as from the targets of agricultural production in the coming years. It has been found that whereas only 182 million tons of goods were moved in 1960-61, this figure would jump to no less than 800 million tons in 1980-81.

What is of even greater moment, however, is the fact that whereas railways carried as much as 80 per cent of the traffic in 1960-61, they would carry only 65 per cent of it in 1980-81. The

1. Report of the Working Party of United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and Far East on Co-ordination of Transport (No. E|Cn 11|Trans|137, dated 2nd Jan., 1959.)

2. Preliminary Report of the Committee on Transport Policy and Co-ordination, 1961, p. 124.

burden that roads would have to carry would correspondingly go up from about 11 per cent or 20 million tons in 1960-61 to 30 per cent or 240 million tons, *i.e.*, twelve times as much, in 1980-81.

The Twenty-Year Plan was devised to meet this urgency. The authors of the Plan visualized its implementation with a gradually rising pace of construction and expenditure during the periods of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Five-Year Plans being Rs. 590 crores. But unfortunately, the Planning Commission have not seen eye to eye with this modest proposal. They stated categorically that "it will not be possible, owing to limitation of resources, to add new road mileage and to undertake the development of the existing roads in the next five years at the rate envisaged in the 20-Year Plan,"[3] and proceeded to allocate a meagre sum of Rs. 250 crores for roads in the Third Plan. After a host of criticism from both the industry and press, now it has been increased to Rs. 297 crores in the final Plan.[4] This too appears to be insufficient when the vast needs of the country are considered and when it is taken into account that the railways are unable to move all the coal, cement and other products. The $60-million loan from the I.D.A. for the road construction programmes, however, is a welcome feature as it would help the construction of 660 miles of Nationol Highways in the States of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Maharashtra.

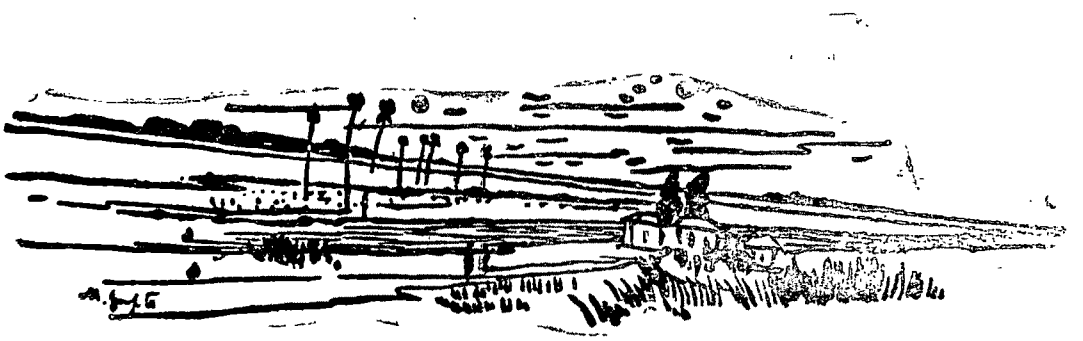
3. Planning Commission, *Third Five-Year Plan;* A draft outline, 1960, p. 247.

4. Planning Commission, *Third Five-Year Plan,* 1961, p. 541.

But all these are utterly inadequate, particularly when our traffic is increasing by leaps and bounds under the impact of the successive plans, and often—a little too often Railways are unable to carry it. In consequence huge losses are inflicted on trade and industry particularly and the country's economy generally.

It is not either that roads do not contribute their due share to the National Exchequer that could be the reason for caution in expenditure upon them. The 20-year Plan expects that the revenues derived from Motor Transport Taxation will total upto Rs. 6,150 crores in the course of the Plan period against a development expenditure of Rs. 5,200 crores. During the period of the Third Plan itself, this revenue is assessed at Rs. 900 crores. In this context, the sum of Rs. 297 crores allocated by the Planning Commission seems to borrow the words from the Presidential Address to the Indian Road Congress at Bhopal, "obviously not fair."

There appears, therefore, to be no escape from the conclusion that the real reason for the lesser importance attached to the development of roads in the Third Plan is a lack of appreciation of their true role in relation to our growing economy. The Planning Commission cites the familiar 'limitation of resources' as its plea for reducing the level of expenditure on roads. It can be best replied by quoting what late Mr. T. H. McDonald, Commissioner for the Bureau of Public Roads in the United States, once said to a Committee of the Senate—"a country will pay for good roads whether it has them . . . . or not—but it will pay rather more it does not have them."



known as the Moti Masjid), within the Agra Fort, built by Badshah Shah Jahan in 1653, the seat of every worshipper is marked off from another by inlaid black borders on white marble. The area of such a seat is 16.75 sq. ft.

Shah Jahan was not as liberal as Akbar or Jehangir Vinient Smith speaks of the excessive Muslim zeal which induced Shah Jahan to undertake a distinct persecution of the Christians as such, and to take severe action against his Hindu subjects. Shah Jahan gave orders that

> "at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad that 76 temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares."

"No record of the destruction in other parts of the empire has been preserved, but it must have been considerable." (Cf., Vincent Smith's **Oxford History of India**, p. 397).

We may, therefore, presume that Shah Jahan in marking off the seats in the Pearl Mosque must have consulted the learned in Islamic traditions, and followed the traditional practice as to what is the proper amount of space to be allotted to an individual worshipper.

When the religious zeal was great, and all the early converts to Islamism were zealots and fanatics; when the prophet himself preached, they, perhaps, crowded together and occupied a lesser area. For, in the **Iquama** or standing up for prayers, "it requires those assembled for the congregation service to stand up shoulder to shoulder in a straight row, or in several rows if necessary." (Khwaja Kamaluddin's **Islam and the Muslim Prayer**, p. 68).

For these reasons, we make a deduction of 10 per cent from the area of a seat in the Moti Masjid of Agra; and we get 16.75—1.67=15.08 sq. ft., 15 sq. ft. as the space required for an individual at Medina.

Dividing the area of Masjid-al-Nabi at Medina, viz., 22,500 sq. ft. by 15 sq. ft., we get the strength of the congregation to be 1500 at the time of the prophet.

Now only the adult males in health are required to come to the mosque on Fridays for prayer. We may, therefore, take the above number to be the number of all adult males at Medina in the time of the prophet.

We are strengthened in our conclusion by the following facts. "In the beginning of the seventh year of the Hegira, he (Muhammad) departed on an expedition against Khaibar, at the head of twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse, accompanied by Abu Bekr, by Ali, by Omar, and other of the principal officers." —(Irving—**Life of Mahomet**, p. 150). He could muster 1,400 men altogether.

Those who on account of old age, illness, infirmity or other causes cannot come to the mosque for prayer, may pray at home. The prophet is reported to have said that the whole of the earth had been made a mosque for him, indicating that no place stood in need of being consecrated.

The number of such persons is not likely to exceed by 10 per cent of those who came to pray in the healthy, salubrious climate of Medina. The total of adult males would be 1500 plus 150 = 1,650. This is the upper limit.

The population in ancient and mediaeval times increased slowly. The population of the Roman Empire at the death of Augustus (14 A.D.) has been estimated by Cavaignac to be 80 millions. It was "over 150 millions at the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D. This gives a rate of increase of 5 per cent per decade. This was during the heyday of the glory and universal peace of the Roman Empire. The increase stopped later on, and then declined.

Outside the Roman Empire, the population growth was slow. The Arabs practised female infanticide. "For, when the birth of a daughter is announced to anyone of them, dark shadows settle on his face, and he is sad. He hideth from the people because of the ill-tidings: Shall he keep it with disgrace or bury it in the dust?" (The Koran, Sura 16, vv. 60, 61). It is said that the only occasion on which Othman ever shed a tear was when his little daughter, whom he was burying alive, wiped the dust of the grave-earth from his beard. All this

was stopped by Muhammad. In pre-Islamite days there was consequently great shortage of women; and low birth-rate.

The shortage of women was aggravated by the Sheikhs and richer men marrying as many wives as they liked. "A man may marry many wives, for, Rabba saith, it is lawful to do so, if he can provide for them." Muhammad restricted the number to four, thus easing the consequences of shortage of women. It is a fact that the average number of children born to a wife in a polygamous family is less than when the marriage is monogamous; for older and non-beautiful wives are often neglected.

The consequences of shortage of women were that the Arabs became addicts to certain vices; and that people resorted to what we regard as incest. Muhammad stopped this: he said, "And marry not women whom your fathers have married: for, this is a shame and hateful, and an evil way—though what is past may be allowed." (The Koran, Sura IV, v. 26).

Then there was blood-feuds between families and tribes running over several generations; and frequent, rather too frequent, armed clashes between different tribes leading to murder and slaughter of able-bodied men.

For all these reasons, we think the Arabs of Muhammad's time to have been of the stationary type of Sundbarg. Its age distribution was:

0—15	15—50	50 & over
330	500	170
	670	

As the number of males and females are generally almost equal, the number of adult males (i.e., all those who are 15 and over) is about **one-third** of the total population. In view of the actual shortage of women among the Arabs at that time, the number of adult males was surely more than **one-third.**

In the hot climates of the East, a male becomes major on attaining the 15th or 16th year of his age, as against the usual 21st year in West European countries. In Hindu law, "according to some writers, minority terminates at the completion of the 15th year; according to others, at the completion of the 16th year. The former view is held in Bengal; the latter view in other parts of India." Mulla's **Hindu Law,** p. 576).

"According to the Islamic law, the minority of a male or female terminates when he or she attains puberty. Among the Hanafis (who form an overwhelming majority in the Islamic world) and the Shiahs puberty is presumed on the completion of the fifteenth year." (Mulla's **Muhammadan Law,** p. 253).

So, all those, who are above 15, may be treated as adults.

The population of Medina at the time of Muhammad (C. 630 A.D.) was, therefore, at most:

$$\left(1650 + \frac{330}{670} \times 1650\right) \times 2 = 4{,}926, \text{ say } 5{,}000$$

in round numbers.

By the time of the death of the prophet, the Jews were expelled from Medina; and a few years later from all Arabia; and all Arabians were converted to the new faith of Islam. There were patches of Christians and Pagans here and there; and some of them may have been normally resident at Medina, or came there for trade, etc. Their number must have been very small; and we have made no allowance for them.

We have estimated the population on the basis that those who came to pray were all males. A study of the Hadis literature reveals beyond doubt that women, just in the same way as men, used to frequent the mosques and there was not the least restriction on them. (Al-Sahi Al-Bukhari, 11 : 12). Within the mosque they were not separated from men by any screen or curtain; the only separation was that they stood in separate rows behind the men during prayers. (Cf., K. M. Yusuff—**Moslem Women and the Purdah**).

If, therefore, at the time of the prophet, women prayed at the mosque, the number of males would be less than what we have postulated,. And the total population would be much less than 5,000.

In any case, our estimate differs very much from that of Edward Atiyah.

MOVING FORCES IN WORLD POLITICS

By PANNALAL DHAR

Since war is the final arbiter of the fate of the nations and power the prerequisite of survival, a nation's foreign policy according to some is largely influenced by power. Human history shows that from the time of Ancient Greece to the League of Nations wars occurred on the average every two years. Pitirim Sorokin in his book, "Society, Culture and Personality," have worked out the exact percentage of war to peace. Since historically war has been at least as frequent as peace, a country which fails to regulate its foreign policy according to the basic principle of power is likely to head towards disaster.

Foreign policy, therefore, aims at acquisition of maximum accumulation of power. Bertrand Russell classifies power into power based on physical and traditional authority, economic power based on legalised control over economic resources, and power based on religious or social propaganda. Of these, the pursuit of political or economic power has been the main dynamo of international movements. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., engaged in conflict for world supremacy, control international loans, technical research and industrial production. In a completely socialistic state like Russia, primacy of politics over economic policy is understandable. But in democracies also the primacy of politics is becoming more and more manifest. Thus the U.S.A's Marshall Aid Plan is more a political move to aid underdeveloped countries to contain communism than to profit the American Shipping, Cotton and Tobacco concerns. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. by extending financial aid to Afro-Asian and other countries are trying to bring the uncommitted nations into their respective spheres of influence.

But this does not necessarily mean that power accumulation is the sole determinant of international relations. Thus geographical propinquity or remoteness from the centre of power competition may also become an important determinant of international relations. Thus countries like Luxembourg and Monace, geographically remote from the centre of power competition have succeeded in consistently basing their foreign policy on the principle of good neighbourliness. So also, the U.S.A. could follow Monroe Doctrine till its geographical immunity from the possibility of enemy action disappeared. Geographical contiguity may not allow countries to stay in isolation and may lead them to enter into alliances in spite of other differences. Thus after the Munich Pact, 1938, Russia concluded a pact with Germany, but on Germany's attack on Russia the latter did not hesitate to form alliances with the Allied Powers. Subsequent to the 2nd Great War, the possibility of German attack having vanished, Russia broke away from the Allied Powers but entered into what is known as Warsaw Pact with Poland and other countries contiguous to Russia. The United States of America also took lead in binding other nations in OAS, NATO, CENTO and SEATO because the U.S.A. after her disaster at Pearl Harbour does not want to take any risks in the Atlantic and Pacific by which she is bounded.

Geographical factor, however, is only another aspect of power politics in so far as it involves strategic considerations. Thus the U.S.A. could pursue Monroe Doctrine only so long as it enjoyed immunity from enemy action. The far-reaching inventions in methods of warfare have bridged distance. Moreover, the U.S.A. could pursue Monroe Doctrine only after it had successfully ousted Spain and France from the Western Hemisphere and eliminated the possibility of competition from other powers in those regions.

But besides power and geographical factors, there are other factors which motivate a country's foreign policy and these are ideas, ideals and ideologies which produce the fears,

sentiments and passions as motive force. An idea is the principle to govern a country's political action in international affairs. When an idea corresponds to man's hightest standard of value, it becomes an ideal. An ideal is not necessarily an unattainable goal, but a goal which is possible to attain under certain given conditions. Successful foreign policy, according to Bismarck, is the art of the possible and a country's foreign policy is directed to achieve short-term or long-term objectives. In other words, an idealistic policy must merge with a realistic policy. When political ideals of a country become a fixed body of doctrines, the ideals become ideologies. Ideologies form immutable guides to political action and become fixed principles. They come to denote a model according to which society should be constructed through a specific type of political action.

During the Middle Ages, the Christian "Crusades" and Islamic "Holy Wars" were motivated by religious ideologies. The centuries' old Jewish fight for a Homeland was also motivated by ideological considerations. Nationalism in European countries owes its origin to ideological concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity let loose by the French Revolution. During the 20th Century, the world has been rocked by the conflict of communist ideology with the ideology of liberal democracies. Islam taught mankind the elementary principles of democracy. Hinduism and Buddhism taught mankind the principles of charity, non-violence and co-existence. Confucianism taught man to take a rationalistic view of life. In the meeting of the East and the West, Christianity lost much of its originality. But out of the fusion of these religious principles, emerged what is known as Humanitarianism based on common ethical principles of charity and tolerance and, these in turn became crystallized into political principles of good neighbourliness and co-existence on the international plane. Both the League of Nations and the U.N.O. trace their birth to this Humanitarianism.

But politics being the art of possible it means that while on the one hand impractical ideals or ideologies should not be pursued in international relations, on the other hand it is possible to come to working agreements with countries differing in ideologies. While making such agreements it is not necessary to sacrifice ideals or ideologies. Communist dogma, for instance, has often made withdrawals and compromises with democracies as shifts in international situations have demanded. During the last Great War and before Germany attacked Russia the latter had entered into a non-aggression pact with the former. But when Germany attacked Russia the latter at once became the ally of the democracies. There is, therefore, scope for a change in a country's policy in international politics without a corresponding change in ideology. The Allies fought Germany and Japan during the last war, but are now utilising both to contain communism in Europe and Asia.

The limitation of power interpretation lies in the fact that the people react against suppression of their liberties and ultimately succeed in vindication of their inherent rights. This is specially true when people react against the rule based on an autocrat's personal quest for power. Secondly, Lord Acton has said, "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Unrestrained power intoxicates men and they forget the limitation of human nature and this brings their own downfall in the end. Nurembourg Trials and more recently the trial of Eichman have exploded the myth of infallibility of the great dictators like Hitler and Mussolini. Other evidences have also proved how they tried in vain to cover up their doubts and fears, anxieties and hesitations by skilful propaganda. Khrushchev has also exposed the blunders of Stalin who sought to maintain his position by carrying out purges of his opponents. Power interpretation cannot also explain the impact of small resurgent powers like India, Egypt, etc., on international politics.

The limitation of ideological interpretation arises out of the danger inherent in ideologies which tend to form into fixed and immutable dogmas. Opposition of ideological creeds is suppressed by accusing the opponents of political cynicism. Sometimes even within the same creed, differences arise out of its different interpretations. Thus Yugoslavia though communist in ideology

seceded from the influence of the U.S.S.R. Hungary tried to follow the example of Yugoslavia unsuccessfully. The most recent cases are those of Albania and China who do not see eye-to-eye with Khrushchev in the interpretation of Marxism. Khrushchev also exposed how Stalinism differed in essentials from Marxism and denounced veteran communists like Molotov and Voroshilov as deviationists.

Thus international politics is motivated not solely by power nor by ideologies, but by a host of conflicting forces of which power is one and ideology another. Most of the international conflicts show a mixture of power politics and ideological factors. Ideas do not fight each other in vacuum. They require human organisation to express themselves. On the other hand, power requires an ideology to promote and sustain itself. In the present bipolar conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. rival political and social ideologies are as vital as the conflicting power ambition of different groups of people.

In the ultimate analysis again ideologies are actually power in the sense that they move things, command people, and destroy and create societies. The competition of political ideologies is nothing else but a part of the overall contest for power. Ideas and ideologies give direction to the physical resources of nations. In this sense competition of ideologies is just another aspect of power competition.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
***Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati*:**
Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia:
Gandevi, Dist. Surat,
instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

IMMORTAL INDIA, Volume III: By J. H. Dave. Bhavan's Book University. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

The first volume of the book containing accounts of 24 places of pilgrimage was noticed in these pages in March, 1961. The present volume deals with about forty places, bringing the total to 84, the last title **Jyotirlingas** referring to more than one spot. The series will be useful to the general reader and especially to those who go to visit the places mentioned here.

Chintaharan Chakravarti.

SWAMI SHRADDHANAND: Edited by M. R. Jambunathan, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 2.

This is an autobiography of Mahatma Munshi Ram, better known as Swami Shraddhanand. Born in 1857 at Talwan, a small village in Punjab, he was one of the greatest Indians of the nineteenth century. As a youngman of those days he led a life of ease and pleasure. But he was reborn by his contact with Swami Dayanand Saraswati and accepted the Vedas as his rock of firm foundation. He saw a vision of new life. He dedicated himself to serve his religion, his country and mankind.

He founded the Kangri Gurukul and other institutions, to train the future citizens of India and to instill in them the noble ideals of ancient Rishis.

He guided his countrymen to elevate the untouchables. He infused the spirit of fearlessness into the people and roused them to stand erect and defy terror and tyranny.

He became Sannyasi in 1917 as Shraddhanand. On 23rd December, 1926, while he was convalescing and lying on his bed, he was shot dead by a Muslim fanatic. This Shraddhanand died a martyr's death.

The present book is a translation from the original written in Hindi, published in the Swarajya of Madras about thirty years back.

This inspiring autobiography deserves to be widely read.

A. B. Dutta.

Indian Periodicals

Social Security

There is a very interesting comparison of Indian and European approaches to social security in the annual number (published on 5. 1. 62) of *The Eastern Economist.* Certain portions of this are reproduced below :

In ancient times, risks like death, sickness, unemployment, incapacity to work, etc., inherent in a man's life, were looked after by the village community, the joint family or the friendly societies. But this concept of social security has changed with the times. Industrialisation on a large scale, which came first in Europe, changed the structure of society there, sowing the seeds of the modern social security system. That the European countries were first in the field in the development of social insurance stems from the fact that Europeans were also the first to develop an industrial society. The stepping of the State in the field of social security is based on such considerations as that individuals having small means cannot today stand up to the task by themselves or even in private combinations. The evolution in India of the modern systematised methods of social assistance and social insurance are, of course, the result of the influence and impact of the West, where various experiments have been made by the Community and the State to provide social security.

The methods can be broadly divided into three parts. First one takes the form of social assistance where the element of insurance is absent and where most of the money comes from the State Exchequer. Second one is that of voluntary social insurance and the third is of compulsory social insurance. India, following the Western European countries, has thrown her weight in favour of the compulsory social insurance. Although various measures have been enacted in the social security field, yet this country is far behind the West European and East European countries where the principle of comprehensive social security has taken deep roots.

One can count on one's finger-tips the social security measures that have been enacted in India. They take the form of Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, the Maternity Benefit Acts (1929-48); the Employees State Insurance Act, 1948, the Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Schemes Act, 1948; the Employees Provident Funds Act, 1952; and the Industrial Disputes Amendment Act. Of these, the first three provide security against the risk of employment, injury, maternity and sickness, the next two against old age and the last one against retrenchment and unemployment.

Great Diversity in Europe.

In Europe, there is great diversity. For example, in almost all the European countries it is the health insurance programmes which boast of the longest history dating back in some instance to the latter part of the nineteenth century. Many of the social security measures were enacted before World War I and many were enacted after World War II. The greater variety of services and the entire coverage of the population was, for instance, brought about in U.K. in 1948. Before that it closely resembled the system in France and Germany. In Britain now a person is looked after from the cradle to the grave. Western Europe, however, can be divided into three distinct groups in matters of social security. The first group is Greece, Spain and Portugal where social security, as an integrated system, is still in embryonic stage. The great majority of the population in these countries has not been covered as yet. One finds in these countries certain health and unemployment insurance schemes, pensions and even family allowances organised on corporative lines for a few occupations only, largely paid for by employers but offering a rather limited range of services and benefits. The second group comprised the West Central countries like the Netherlands, Belgium-Luxembourg, Germany, France, Switzerlands, Austria and Italy, though Italy in some respects belongs to the first group. Although in each of these countries quite a full range of social security facilities is offered to the insured worker (and to some extent to his dependents), various categories of the population are left uncovered and are expected to make their own voluntary insurance arrangements. The third group consists of the Scandinavian countries and

the British Isles almost all of which possesses comprehensive social security system. The United Kingdom and Sweden are probably the two European countries with the most far-reaching social security and welfare systems which provide for not only general medical care, sickness and unemployment benefits, etc., but also for birth, marriage and funeral grants, home services for the bed ridden and for working mothers, psychologists and child guidance clinics, special homes and schools for difficult children, convalescent homes for the nervously exhausted, the training for the unemployed or physically incapaciated, welfare programmes for the blind, paralysed or otherwise crippled and so on. These, of course, do not mean that they spend the highest amounts on social security programmes. An idea of how expenditure on social security has grown in various European countries and in India since 1949 can be had from the following table:

Country	Expenditure as percentage of National Income			Expenditure **per capita** at constant prices 1955=100	
	1949	1955	1957	1949	1957
1. Austria	7.4	8.5	8.8	88	104
2. Belgium	14.0	14.5	14.8	77	117
3. Czechoslovakia	—	—	—	77	129
4. France	14.0	17.0	17.9	62	120
5. Federal Republic of Germany	17.6	17.6	20.0	52	127
6. India	—	1.1	1.0	—	96
7. Italy	9.5	13.0	14.2	53	117
8. Norway	6.7	9.1	9.9	70	120
9. Poland	—	7.0	7.7	—	135
10. Sweden	9.9	11.8	12.5	70	112
11. U. S. S. R.	—	—	—	—	142
12. U. K.	11.2	11.4	11.4	91	105

Source: Report on the World Social Situation, 1961.

The Coal Crisis

The Eastern Economist in its February, 16, 1962, number analyses the coal position in the following manner:

Difficulties in regard to production and supply of coal have multiplied to such an extent that one need not be afraid of being dubbed an alarmist if one were to say that a coal crisis has been staring us in the face. That this should have come about in spite of all the professed awareness and the several emergency measures taken by the powers-that-be makes one wonder whether the policies adopted to meet the situation are at all correct and adequate. Whether one agrees with this reasoning or not, it is common ground among the industrialists that the situation calls for an immediate reorientation of the present policies even to maintain the present level of production, let alone taking up the expansion programmes contemplated.

In the past few days, two commercial bodies have come out with tales of woe of their members in the matter of coal supplies. Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, President of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, stated, at the first quarterly meeting of the Chamber: "The shortage of coal is causing anxiety to industry. It has been found that all estimates and arrangements for provision of fuel to industries go wrong and one industry or the other always faces a crisis on account of shortage of coal".

In a memorandum on "Coal Crisis and the Fuel Problem of Industries," submitted by it to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Committee of the All-India Association of Industries (A.I.A.I.), has observed: "The position regarding supplies of coal to industries has been causing concern. Several industries—large, medium and small in different parts of the country have been experiencing continuing difficulty of getting adequate and timely supplies of this vitally essential material and this is seriously coming in the way of expansion and even maintainance of the level of production. More recently the problem has assumed a serious proportion in certain industrial centres situated away from the main coal producing regions and some of the manufacturing units there have been facing the unhappy prospect of being forced to close down or to curtail production. The position regarding coal supplies has thus deteriorated and developed into what may be called "Coal Crisis".

The problem of coal supplies has been rendered difficult for a variety of reasons. It is so not merely because we are not able to raise as

much coal as the rising *tempo* of our industrialisation warrants, but also because the quality of the coal raised has been steadily going down, with the result that even in respect of those fortunate units of industry whose supplies have not gone down quantitatively, the same results in production are not assured. Quantitatively, while production during the Second Five-Year Plan fell short of the target by nearly 5 million tons, for the first 7 months, in the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan (our current Plan), total production has been only of the order of 23 million tons as against 30 million tons for the corresponding period of the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan. This means that even the higher *tempo* of output already reached is not being sustained.

Secondly, not unoften, the country is being faced with the anomalous situation of paucity in the midst of plenty. There have been several instances where factories in many parts of India had to carry on a hand-to-mouth basis, not because production by the collieries lagged behind demand but because the railways were not ready with the number of wagons required to move the coal to its destination. As often, again, it would seem that, when the railway wagons were there, the pithead stocks were not adequate. In other words, the gap between the wagons offered by the railways and the wagons required for the movement of coal has been considerable. In the year 1961-62, according to the Committee of the A.I.A.I. the railways allotted only 5,979 wagons, as against the requirements of 7,183 wagons. More often than not, the irregularity of wagon supply also seems to aggravate the difficulties.

Thirdly, to no small extent, coal production has been affected adversely by the unimaginative coal pricing policy of the Government. A curious thing has happened with regard to coal prices, in that, in so far as the consumer is concerned, prices (that is, the delivery cost of coal to consumers) have risen, whereas the coal industry has not benefited to any extent from this rise. As a matter of fact, the claims of the coal industry even for neutralisation of costs on account of (i) implementation of the grades and time-scales laid down by the Colliery Arbitration Award and (ii) the loss in the average weighted sales realisation—though these were accepted by the Coal Price Revision Committee for Fixing a Fair and Reasonable Return to the Coal Industry—have been turned down by the Government. Here is a definitely inhibitory factor as regards coal raisings.

Viewed against this background, one can readily believe the recent headline report in the Press that the "Plan to raise coal output target (the Planning Commission has proposed to raise the target from 97 million tons to 110 million tons) runs into difficulties". To be precise, it is not merely the plan to raise coal output that is running into difficulties; it is also the plan to provide enough transport to move the additional output, as witness the reported tussle between the Planning Commission and the Railway Board in regard to the funds required to provide more wagons, and the proposal to limit coal production in certain coal-producing areas while increasing it in others. The frantic appeal to the cement industry to take to the use of furnace oil in place of coal is an eloquent commentary on the unsatisfactory coal movements position in the country today. No wonder then that we are told that the Working Group on Coal will shortly be proposing major changes in the pattern of production of transportation of coal.

Stars In The Service Of Politicians

The excerpt published in **Mankind** of January, 1962, regarding the influence of stars and planets over mankind is reproduced hereunder which would surely be an interesting reading to all:

Man has retained the fear of the future from his primitive days and shrewd men have invented various methods, based on half-truths and lies, to earn money by playing upon this fear. There are face-readers, handwriting-readers, horoscope-readers, palm-readers, etc., etc., who are prepared to give you information in return for some money—the amount depending upon their place and method of work and even the language used, to reveal the mysterious future—your exploits in the future, examination results, love affairs, health of parents and wife, the course of your dysentery, your party's prospects, etc., etc.

Astrology is the king of all flings at the future because it alone gets far away stars and planets interested in the humdrum affairs of an ordinary man. Some later day protagonists of Astrology vehemently deny its so-called supernatural aspects and suggest that after all the sun, the moon and other stars and planets affect the climate of the earth and through it the temperament, character and, therefore, the future of man. These gentlemen forget that mountains, deserts, forests, lakes and rivers also affect the climate of a given area but they are not mentioned in horoscopes, that a man's tem-

perament is as much a result of heredity and social conditions as of anything else. From the fate of individuals to the fate of nations is an easy leap and Astrology in our times is turning more and more to the unveiling of "political mysteries." Of course the trouble is that Astrology not being a science has to depend upon still greater mysteries to unvail "ordinary mysteries." It is said that among the firm believers in Astrology today are Shri Sampurnanand and President Sukarno. One has only recently witnessed the fickleness of stars as also the fickleness of a Prime Minister.

But first we will take up the question of Astrology and its relevance to an individual's existence and see how much of it is science and how much "mysterious" nonsense. For Astrology, whatever else it is, is not a social science. Social sciences deal with problems which have their roots in human behaviour, Astrology deals with the behaviour of stars and it is more or less fatalistic. At the same time, as we shall see presently, its conclusions are so vague and even these differ so much from astrologer to astrologer, as to push it into the category of humanities and make it impossible to consider it as a science. If then it is neither a science nor a social science, what exactly are we going to call it ? We shall soon find out the answer.

A very respectable weekly (The Illustrated Weekly of India) features predictions by one Mr. P. I. H. Naylor. It features Birthday forecasts for the whole year, a fantastically vague **For Most of Us** and some very "sharp" information about the **Good Days** of the week. Let us start with the first category. All men and women born on December 4 are informed that "Health should be good throughout the year provided you can avoid tension." December fivers are told "Although your income will improve and a good standard of living will be maintained .....you will probably find that you are spending heavily in the near future.....you are likely to meet romance within a few months.....if you are settled ....." and so on and so forth. This certainly is the technique of something for everybody. It is impossible that such predictions will go wrong cent per cent. Buts and ifs take away whatever precise information these predictions pretend to contain.

But nothing can beat the vagueness of **For Most of Us,** not even the opportunistic politics of the PSP.

Sunday, December 4:

"**For Most of Us:** The more seriously you take life today, the easier the conditions will be. Try to get a new light on any family difficulties...." But who is this unfortunate you ? For these very astrologers tell us that accurate information about the time and date of birth is necessary for accurate predictions. But this particular gentleman has the audacity to make general predictions for all people born any time, any place and any date ! He also gives us information about the "goodness" of days for business deals, personal shopping, selling, entertainment, sports, etc. This information is obviously for all.

Let us examine a Hindi newspaper (**Indore Samachar,** 20-1-61) in this connection. It gives daily predictions according to the **Rashiphal.**

Mesh : Today is an auspicious day. You will attain spiritual peace. You will be victorious in a work connected with the government.

Can anybody including the learned astrologer make anything out of it ? Other predictions follow the same vague path.

An English daily (**The Indian Express**), in its Sunday edition (**The Sunday Standard,** October 9, 1960) carries this happy news "The present transit of Jupiter in Sagitarius is sure to make wedding bells ring for many born in Aries, Gemini and Leo." Again for those born between January 15 to February 14 (Capricorn) : It seems certain that you will have to decide soon on the extent to which non-essential activities can be eliminated. One expects you to choose rather than concentrate on your main ambitions. If this is not done, you will lose some advantages.

This again is like a pair of nylon socks.

But enough of marriages, sports, births, romances and middleclass ambitions. We will now take up another field so dear to the heart of an astrologer—politics. Here we should not be astonished at not so astrological tricks by which stars are made subservient to the two power blocs, even though, most of the time, their own Baby Moons seem to be out of their control. Thus we find the spectacle of Mars and Saturn working as

pimps of the cold war and astrologers bringing their subjective considerations in their "political predictions."

The Astrological Magazine edited by Shri B. V. Raman and published from Bangalore gives us varied examples of the astrological cold war. Writing under the title **World Predictions** in the January 1959 number he says: Obviously, Mr. Nehru's foreign policy no doubt becomes more realistic. In theory, he will continue to stick to his neutralism but in actual practice he will definitely veer more and more towards Western Democracies....the ecnomic and political swing would be more towards the right.

It is obvious that in Mr. Raman's view realism in foreign policy is associated with a pro-Western attitude. Writing in other numbers he has predicted bright future for the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party and a dark future for the Congress, obviously the Congress has a dark future, because it talks of socialism. Mr. Raman has more than once denounced socialism and talked with enthusiasm of free enterprise and the so-called free world making us feel that God is on his side. Of course, stars should be certainly kindly disposed towards Shri Rajgopalachari who has brought God down from the high heavens to the polling booth and turned him into a political figure of the first importance. And so God in gratitude to Shri Rajgopalachari, the upholder of Dharma, will certainly get votes for the Swatrantra Party, having already got for the party a uniform election symbol. What else can all this be ascribed to than divine interference which, through a harmonious movement of the stars has made the Swatantra Party and the Election Commission to be well-disposed towards each other?

Then there is the famous 1962 eight-planet combination which has provoked astrologers **(The Astrological Magazine)** to predict the destruction of either one or the other of the blocs according to the disposition of the particular gentleman.

While Dr. P. S. Sastri has impartially predicted all-round destruction, others have found the stars not so impartial. For instance, Mr. C. E. O. Carter says that, "there may be catastrophic floods in China and certainly there will be conditions of a catastrophic nature....very difficult time for the present regime of China." About U.S.A. he finds that, "an eclipse plus Jupiter-Venus on the natal U.S.A. Moon can hardly be unfortunite." As for U.S.S.R., "the present regime will undergo great changes and perhaps make way for something that is not so rigidly tied to materialist points of view."

Mr. K. M. Khareghat, however, finds that due to the 1962 combination. "A large part of India will turn communist and will oppose the established government." At last there is some cheering news for communists also! He also finds that "Australia, New Zealand and Russia in Europe are the countries that seem to be least afflicted."

In the same series there are some who feel that after the 1962 combination, U.S.A. will come out on top and others who feel that at least for the next thousand years Russia will be in an unchallengeable position.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

DICTIONARY OF AFRICA

Some particulars in respect of the present political situation in different countries of Africa, as mentioned in the **Arab Observer,** a weekly Middle East Magazine, are quoted hereunder:

Zanzibar

Zanzibar is a small island of 1,020 square miles situated twenty miles off the East African coast near the Equator. Together with a neighbouring island, Pemba they have one administration, and their population totals 300,000 Africans, 50,000 Arabs and 18,000 Indians who are widely interbred.

However, the Indians control retail trade, the Arabs the clove estates and the Africans work on the land. The dominant religion is Islam.

Arabs, mainly from Arabia and the Persian Gulf, occupied Zanzibar long ago, and from there they spread their domain to create the Zenj Empire which covered a long coastal strip all the way from Somalia to Mozambique.

The Arab region of Africa was infiltrated by the Portuguese after 1496, but two centuries later, the Arabs drove the Portuguese out.

In 1832, the Sultan of Muscat moved his capital from Oman to Zanzibar. European imperialism, however, had already discovered the strategic importance of Zanzibar as a base for penetration into East Africa, and European powers, particularly Germany, started grabbing at the crumbling Zenj Empire.

In 1890, a deal between Bismarck and Lord Salisbury resulted in declaring Zanzibar "an Independent Sultanate" under the protection of the British Crown, i.e., run by the Colonial Office in London.

A Legislative Council was set up with a majority of official members all of whom were appointed by the British Resident. In 1960, the Colonial office and the Sultan agreed to the formation of a new Legislative Assembly with an elected majority.

The Afro-Shirazi party and the National Party won all the non-official seats. Both parties call for unity with the East African Federation.

Zanzibar and Pemba live mainly on cloves: they produce 80 per cent of the world's cloves. The biggest markets for clove leaves, usually mixed with tobacco to make scented cigarettes, are Indonesia and India.

Oil from the stem of the tree produces vanillin a substitute for vinilla which is exported in considerable quantities to the United States. Coconut production constitutes about 15 per cent of the exports.

Tunisia

Tunisia known to the Romans as Afrikiya was one of the granaries of the Roman Empire. Today, Arab Tunisia is independent. It has an area of 48,195 square miles and a population of 3,500,000 which includes 255,000 Europeans — usually divided into three groups: the civil service (10,000), the garrison (85,000) and the colons (160,000). The capital is Tunis.

In 1525, Tunisia was part of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans were succeeded in rule by a series of corrupt and ineffectual autocratic Beys.

France acquired Tunisia in 1878 by courtesy of Lord Salisbury in return for a recognition of British rights over Cyprus and so that Germany would get neither.

The French proclaimed Tunisia as their Protectorate in 1881, the year of the Boer War, by the Treaty of Bardo. The French occupation was legalised by the agreement of La Marsa in 1885.

The Tunisian Nationalist Movement goes back to the first years of occupation. After World War I, many nationalist movements were founded, such as "The Young Tunisians" and "The Old Turbans."

These movements pleaded their case before President Wilson in the Paris Peace Conference in vain, then they consolidated their force into the first strong party, the Destour.

In 1930, an insurgent wing broke off and formed the Neo Destour party. Repressions and terrorism failed as weapons against the Tunisian nationalists and the French had to resort to negotiations, repeatedly interrupted by pressure from French settler groups, particularly the terrorist "Red Hands" which is still active and which was blamed recently for the murder of Tunisian nationalist leader Ben Youssef.

In 1951, Bourguiba was exiled and his successor as party leader was assassinated. Civil war was imminent and Mendes-France was obliged to offer "independence with interdependence." Negotiations culminated in the recognition of Tunisia's independence in March, 1956.

Certain reforms were carried out after that. Elections were held for a Constituent Assembly, with women voting for the first time.

The Assembly abolished the monarchy and proclaimed a Republic in July, 1957, thus depriving the colonialists of one of the main props of their domination over Tunisia. The property of the Bey and his family, worth 10,000,000,000 francs, was confiscated.

France's rulers have done everything to restrict Tunisia's independence and preserve their remaining footholds there particularly the massive naval installations at Bizerta.

Though the trade unions are hostile to the moderate Bourguiba Government policies, the principal labour leaders, in the name of national unity, have accepted to shelve their demands for a socialised economy and other internal demands for a united stand against the French.

Tunisia's principal products are olive oil, wine, cork, phosphates and iron ore. American petroleum monopolies were granted generous exploitation concessions there recently.

Uganda

The first white contact with the territory of Uganda was made by explorer Speke in 1862. Speke found there a Hamitic kingdom of considerable culture and development, well-organised and governed by laws. Some fifteen years later the missionaries began to arrive and traders followed. The British East African Company invaded the country, facing strong resistance from the people. This made the British government step in and take the area over in 1893 Uganda was declared a protectorate the following year.

The struggle of Uganda against foreign domination has been in progress since 1890. In 1908, Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, wrote: "What a wealth of energy spent in vain, what a convenient but unoccupied position, such a lever of control over Africa's natural resources. This cannot but stir and arouse the imagination."

Uganda—area 93,981 square miles—is rich in water resources, ores (such as gold, copper, tin, nickel and cobalt, etc.) and agricultural products such as cotton, coffee and tea. Uganda produces more cotton and coffee than any other Commonwealth State —these two products constitute 89 per cent of the total value of its exports. Uganda's industries are virtually non-existent, and the country imports its needs from other countries. While British capital has reaped immense profits in Uganda, its population of six million lives in great poverty, with the average annual income for the Africans per head being 57 dollars.

The protectorate of Uganda is a complex of four provinces, each in treaty relationship with Britain. These are: Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro and Buganda, the last being the biggest and most populous.

The administrative capital of Uganda is Entebbe, while the economic centre is Kampala. The country as a whole is administered by the usual colonial apparatus of Governor, Executive Council and Legislative Council. National rule is most representative of the peole in Buganda where the Kabaka (king) appoints the tribal chiefs and some members of the provincial parliament, while the other provinces do not enjoy any rights of self-government.

The anti-colonial struggle became most acute in the summer of 1953 when Britain put forward a plan to set up an East African Federation embracing Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika. The Kabaka was exiled for his opposition to the plan and thousands of Africans were arrested. But the plan could not be applied and in 1956, the Kabaka returned from exile. The struggle continues under the leadership of the Uganda National Congress - which has as slogan: Self-Government Now!

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NOTES

The World

The most significant event of the month of March, 1962, was the accord to end the "Intangible War" in Algeria, which was reached at Evian, on the Franco-Swiss border, on March 18. The actual end, which will come with the strangulation and eradication of the O.A.S. secret army, directed by General Raoul Salan, may take a considerable time, as the officers of the higher cadre of the French army have divided loyalties in the matter of Algeria, and to a large number the cry Algerie Francaise, raises sympathetic echoes in the innermost regions of their hearts. Moreover, the police in Algeria too are badly disaffected and terrorised. Officially the seven-year-old war—seven years, four months and 18 days to be exact—came to an end at noon on March 19, with a "flash" signal from the French Commander-in-Chief in Algiers, General Charles Ailleret, to every armed unit to stop all military operations.

The O.A.S. called for a 48-hour general strike and the cities of Algiers and Oran were paralysed for all practical purposes, simultaneously with the "cease-fire" signal. Paris also woke on the morning of the 19th to find itself in a condition of semi-seize, with large numbers of armed policemen on its streets, roads blocked at places, the army standing by at the ready and anti-aircraft guns pointing skywards, at all places of vantage. Just within 24 hours of the broadcast speech by President de Gualle on March 18, announcing that the agreement at Evian opened the prospect of the "coming into being of an independent Algeria co-operating closely with France," all France was aware of a ominous feeling of apprehension. The declaration by the O.A.S. chief, General Salan, that the war would be carried on added to the feeling of uncertainty. The relief felt, therefore, at the end of the seven-year struggle is qualified with dire portents.

General de Gaulle was determined, however, to proceed with the implementation of the cease-fire. He declared, in his March 18 broadcast, that the cease-fire accord "is satisfying to the spirit of the logic of France." He further queried, "Who knows whether the struggle which is ending and the sacrifice of the dead who have fallen on both sides may not have finally helped the two peoples to understand better that they (the Muslims of Algeria and Frenchmen) are made not to fight but to walk together on the pathway of civilization."

The National Assembly of France heard, in an extraordinary session called by its President, M. Delmas, the announcement in a message from President de Gaulle, that the government intended to hold a referendum on his Algerian policy "without delay." Later on the date of the referendum was fixed at April 8. The President declared that there might be difficulties in the matter of "public order and State security" in implementing the cease-fire and Algerian self-determination.

The Algerian Provisional Government had no illusions about a peaceful settlement

either. M. Ben Youssef ben Khedda, the leader of the Nationalist Government, declared at Tunis on March 19, that great problems remained to be solved in Algeria, particularly the struggle against the O.A.S. He had previously ordered, on the evening of the 18th, all the F.L.N. forces to halt all military operations.

In the meanwhile, the O.A.S. having stepped up its orgies of violence, causing death and destruction on a larger scale, the French army has gone into action against the rebels, in a determined effort to destroy the hide-outs and to stamp out the brain-centres of the secret organization. Large-scale arrests and determined strafing and combing out of the O.A.S. bastions, particularly the headquarters at Bab-el-Oued has started by the orders of the President. The action is on a war-footing, with jets strafing the bastion from the skies while armoured cars opened up with machine-guns and cannot fire to cover the advance of the troops and the gendarmerie into the heavily armed defenses of the O.A.S. These firm measures are beginning to show that the French Government is determined to crush the armed insurrection in Algeria. Ex-General Jouhaud, the Second-in-Command of the O.A.S., has been captured in one of the raids and flown to the Sante prison in Paris.

If the referendum on April 8, results in the approval of the French nation for the Algerian policy of de Gaulle, then the question of the liquidation of the O.A.S. would still remain as a grave problem—but not an insoluble or irremovable one. Nor would the costs of that liquidation be comparable to what it has cost France and Moslem Algeria in terms of blood, treasure, time and human suffering. Hundreds of thousands of dead, ranging from the lowest muslim peasant to the elite of the French army, untold thousands of millions in money and a loss of prestige and honour for the fair name of France are only the outward measurements of the calamities that this seven-year-old war has brought on to France and the Algerian people.

The solution seemed hopeless when de Gaulle took over as President, and it is to Charles de Gaulle, soldier, patriot and statesman that the credit must be given at the final count for the solution of this impasse. But for his courage and staunchness and steady faith in destiny, the forces of reaction would have triumphed again—as they are still trying to do.

The seventeen-nation conference on disarmament is going on at Geneva, and the questions relating to Berlin are also engaging the attention of the world. The attitude of the Russians is as much an enigma on both of these. It is evident that the process is going to be one of wearying out, until both sides reach the irreducible limits of their standpoints. It is anybodies guess as to what would happen when that stage is reached. According to some experienced newsmen, it seemed that the solutions to both these vital problems could only be got in a meeting at the "summit" level and that Khrushchev's repeated statement that international negotiations can only be begun and concluded at the top, is a clear pointer to that effect.

The Geneva Conference began its sessions on the 14th of March in the Palais des Nations, the venue of the League of Nations sessions. There are delegates from five communist bloc nations, four from the West—France having refused to attend—and eight neutral nations, attending the conference. The propaganda from the two cold war opponent groups seemed to have the neutral nations as their target. Regarding the effect of the propaganda, the **New York Times** says :

"The consensus is that through a combination of propaganda and pressure at Geneva and Berlin, Premier Khrushchev probably will achieve a summit conference this spring. President Kennedy, prior to last week, said there were two circumstances in which he would go to the summit : if there were substantial agreements reached at Geneva, or if there were a danger of war or a grave crisis. Last week he added a third : if he believed it to be in the national interest."

The issue before the conference is that of Disarmament. It is no new problem, as it has been exercising the minds of all peace-loving peoples of the world since the end of World War II. Mutual suspicions and inherent expansionist impulses on the part of some major powers, have brought to naught

all previous attempts at agreement. At present, although it seems clear that no one wants war, the sense of an impasse and likewise the fears for a inconclusive end of the conference is already hanging over the meetings. Since when it started with Omar Loufti of the United Arab Republic called the conference to order with the statement that a new opportunity is being provided for crossing the chasm of mutual fear and distrust by it.

Both sides of the Cold War blocs have presented their own blueprints for an effective working plan for disarmament—and both have rejected persistently the other sides suggestions. The only positive move has been a call, by India and Brazil, on both sides to refrain from atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons. This has the support of all uncommitted nations, it is presumed. But it gets nowhere in the matter of the main conflict, which is over the control system for checking the fulfilment of the terms of the Disarmament agreement, as and when that is agreed upon. Says the **New York Times:**

"The basic conflict at Geneva, however, —the conflict over controls—emerged even before the seventeen-nation sessions began on Wednesday. For the three previous days, Mr. Rusk, Mr. Gromyko, and British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, had met to discuss disarmament, along with Berlin and other East-West issues. In those discussions, the question of international inspection of a nuclear test ban came up.

"By international inspection, the West means the right of inspectors to cross a national border to make on-the-spot investigations of suspicious events or activity. The U. S., in particular, believes that only such investigation can ensure proper safeguards. Accordingly, at the Big Three Foreign Ministers sessions last week, the question was put to Mr. Gromyko as to whether Russia was ready to accept international inspection of a nuclear test ban.

"His answer was 'no'. And the same answer was given in greater detail to the seventeen-nation disarmament conference by Soviet delegate Semyon K. Tsarapkin, and in a speech in Moscow by Premier Khrushchev. The Soviet chief reiterated the oft-stated Russian view that international inspection was a form of espionage. He said, 'We will never agree to this'."

The Soviet alternative, offered by Mr. Khrushchev is what he calls "national" inspection, which means that each country will report on its own level of armaments, without any outside checks or "interference" and relying on its indirect means of detection by monitoring devices for checking on nuclear tests by others.

On Berlin, the impasse continues with fluctuating rises and falls in tension. It rose when Soviet fighters started "buzzing" Western passenger and transport planes flying along the air-corridor to Berlin, but has relaxed a little since.

In Asia, the high tension area in Laos still remains in a state of unstable equilibrium. There has not been any event of outstanding gravity, either way, in that [illegible] during the month of March. Occasional in[illegible]dents there have been, but they have no[illegible] developed into any critical situation. Moscow's attitude so far has been favourable towards the moves for stabilization. It is conjectured at high diplomatic levels that this attitude indicates a disinclination on the part of the Kremlin to get further involved in the troubles affecting South-East Asia.

Of far greater import is what is happening in South Vietnam, which is under the authoritarian rule of a strong man Ngo Dinh Diem, who is the U.S.-backed President of that troubled area. President Diem's regime has lost popular support it seems and further his advisers—three brothers and a sister-in-law—are looked upon with resentment by quite a considerable section of the more politically conscious citizens.

On 27th February last, two U.S.-trained fighter pilots of the South Vietnamese Air Force attacked and strafed the Presidential palace at Saigon, in U.S. made AD6 Skyraider craft. They set fire to the palace with napalm (jellied petrol) bombs, wrecked parts with rockets and sprayed the grounds with machine-gun bullets. The President and the family of his brother managed to get to the shelters in the palace basement, but the sister-in-law Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu fell down the stairs—partially wrecked by the rockets

—and was severely bruised. One of the attackers was shot down by an anti-aircraft gun on a mine-sweeper and was captured alive, while the other escaped to safe asylum in Cambodia. The captured pilot expressed chagrin on hearing that his attack failed in its objective. The other is said to have remarked that similar attacks are going to be made in the future. He is quoted as having said that the resentment is not so much against Ngo Dinh Diem, who still occasionally shows his good-will towards his people, but much more against his family and his supporters, who are hated by the people.

There was an unsuccessful attempt at a coup, directed against President Diem by four paratroop battalions, staged at Saigon sometime at the end of 1960 which also expressed dissatisfaction against his administration. As it was said that the main cause of dissatisfaction was the lack of a vigorous anti-Communist campaign, the U.S. increased the pace and the amount of military and economic aid to President Diem's government substantially. At that time pledges for new reforms were extracted from Ngo Dinh Diem as it was apparent to the U.S. advisers sent in response to the call for more and more aid, that Diem had lost contact with his people and the Army too was getting separated from him. The air-attack on the palace of the President seemed to indicate that the promises were not being kept in the way and to the extent that they were needed. Presidential staff had dismissed the raid as being a minor plot batched by a few malcontents. Foreign observers had reason to infer, however, from the speeches and demands made by government spokesmen in the Parliament, that the plot was more broad-based.

President Diem has been in power since the Geneva Conference powers pratitioned Vietnam in 1954, first as the Premier and then as the President. He is strongly pro-Western and as such has received over 1300 million dollars in aid, besides large-scale military and air-force aid from the U.S. He has built up and has maintained an army of 150,000, with air and artillery equipment on a modern basis. Himself a bachelor and a strong Roman Catholic, he has subdued religious wars and carried out minor land reforms.

On the debit side he has been accused of using his political power for the elimination of likely rivals and their supporters by arrests, on faked charges or on no charges at all, even though they were non-Communists. There have been frequent charges of corruption and about the misuse of the influence and power exercised by the President's three brothers and by his sister-in-law Mme. Ngo Dinh Diem in particular. In short, President Diem is said to be proceeding along the same path as the other dictators—Syngman Rhee and Menderes—who were bolstered up by economic and military aid from the U.S. and who rode rough-shod over their people's interests and susceptibilities, being supremely confident about the power of the "Almighty Dollar."

In South Vietnam, moreover, the U.S. is getting itself more directly involved in the matter of military aid. The Chinese accused the U.S., about a month back, of staging an "undeclared war" in South Vietnam which militated against the security of China itself, and demanded international consultations among the Geneva Conference powers. The **Pravda** echoed the Peiping accusations shortly after, thereby adding the voice of the Soviets to the warning that there might be consequences of international gravity, endangering World Peace if the U.S. did not desist from the involvement.

The U.S. is well aware of the risks it is taking, as the following extract from the **New York Times** shows. After the graphic description of a characteristic U.S.-directed attack on a Viet Cong (Communist guerilla) stronghold and its successful culmination, the editorial goes on to say:

"The other aspect, closely related, is the growing involvement of U.S. men and material in the war. On Friday, the State Department acknowledged that U.S. pilots are going on some combat sorties with South Vietnamese flyers in a 'training capacity.'

"Washington recognizes the powder-keg nature of this situation, which could erupt into a major war if the Communist regimes in China and North Vietnam put their full weight behind the Viet Cong effort to overthrow the regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem. U.S. officials doubt hat the Com-

munist nations will go that far, but they regard South Vietnam as both strategically and psychologically worth the risk."

It remains to be seen as to how the dices of fate fall—for President Diem and his backers of the U.S. And it also remains to be seen as to how far the Chinese are willing to proceed in the execution of their plans for southwards expansion.

The last incident in Asia worthy of note, that took place in the month of March, was the seizure of power by the army in Syria, as announced in Damascus on March 28. The announcement went on to say that the armed forces had seized power, dissolving Parliament and accepting the resignation of President Nazem Kudsi and the cabinet of Dr. Marouf Dawalibi. The announcement further warned the populace against any demonstrations and disorders and declared that the borders and the airports had been closed till further orders. The command said it had taken over all legislative and executive powers in the country and vested all civil and military powers in the army commanders of various regions.

It was exactly six months ago that Syria broke away from the U.A.R., much to the delight of the anti-Nasser politicians and newsmen in the Western bloc. This latest coup has indications that closer and friendlier relations with Egypt are desired by the new command, as the announcement contained warm references to "beloved Egypt." President Nasser's statesmanlike decision, at the time of the former coup, not to use force, as that would involve Arab shedding the blood of a brother Arab, seems to have paid, although there is no signs as yet of a rejoining up with the U.A.R.

The displaced regime of businessmen, Ulemas and Muslim brotherhood, which were heavily right-wing has been accused of obliging itself with "imperialist stooges" who bribed Syrian leaders, pin-pointing thereby the links between Jordan and the members of the Kuzbari family, both civilian and military, who led in the former coup.

This latest coup seems strongly left-wing in nature as much emphasis has been laid on the failure of the weak government, just deposed, to protect the peasant and worker from ruthless exploitation.

Earlier in the month—during the night between 1st and 2nd March, to be exact—the army seized power in another Asiatic State, that of Burma. The army led by General Ne Win, its Commander-in-Chief staged the coup during the night by arresting about 50 leaders, including President U Win Maung, the Premier U Nu, the Chief Justice U Myint Thein, other cabinet ministers and the Speakers of both chambers of the legislature. Later, the two Speakers, four ministers and an M.P. were released, the rest were kept under house arrest.

General Ne Win, who had tested power during the voluntary retirement from public life of U Nu, made an announcement after the coup that the armed forces had taken over the administration "for the peace of the country" and to stop its swift deterioration. He gave assurances to the people of peace and tranquility in the country.

In October, 1958, after the split of the ruling A.F.P.F.L. party, U Nu requested General Ne Win to take over the reins of government for a year, after which the civilian administration led by U Nu took back controls of the State.

It was stated by foreign observers that the take over was directed against the demands made by Shan leaders, who threatened revolt and secession unless their demands were fulfilled. They were all arrested in Rangoon, where they had come to press their demands, and put in custody by General Ne Win. The only blood-shed in the coup, was that of the 17-year-old son of Sao Shwe Theike, former President and Shan leader, who was shot for resisting arrest.

The Parliament was dissolved, but otherwise matters maintained an even flow during the month of March. Foreign powers, led by Britain and the U.A.R. gave diplomatic recognition to the new regime very soon after the take over.

It seems, however, that democracy in Burma having been eclipsed twice in 3½ years, is in a bad way altogether.

In Congo, M. Tshombe is continuing with his antics, although the tough core of his foreign mercenaries and advisers have been removed, his main attempt is now set at deferring the meeting with M. Adoula for the final settlement of the relations of his Katanga State within the main confedera-

tion of Congo. He is continuous stalling, on various protests, thereby delaying the final settlement of the question of secession of Katanga from the central Congo State. He is trying to let the agreement made by him in December last lapse through the non-settlement of the safeguards clauses, which was condition precedent to ending the secession movement. He is hoping that the U.N. will be obliged to withdraw its forces from the Congo, before he is forced to come to a final settlement, leaving its work of condition and eradication of separist forces unfinished. Moise Tshombe believes that in that event his ambitions for the establishment of a dictator ruled and completely autonomous state of Katanga would be fulfilled.

There are various causes in action at present that might lead to such an event materializing. The financial problems besetting the U.N. operations in Congo gravely endanger their continuance.

There are many other reasons, major and minor that are holding up a final settlement in the Congo, not the least being the attitude of certain Western governments, whose officials and operatives have done many things **sub rosa** to prevent the consolidation of a greater Congo State. The reasons are all centred on the control and unilateral exploitation of the fabulous Katanga mines, which would only be possible in a regime headed by a stooge like Moise Tshombe.

The latest news from Congo, emanating from Leopoldville, on the 24th of March indicated that M. Tshombe was still attempting to slide away from the understanding he had previously arrived at with M. Cyrille Adoula, the Congolese Prime Minister, while they met in Kitona. The only difference in the situation was that he had at last come to meet the Congolese Premier at Leopoldville. The news stated:

"Talks between the Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, and the Katangan President, Mr. Moise Tshombe, reached a crisis when Mr. Tshombe insisted that he must be regarded as a Chief of State negotiating with another Chief of State, reliable informants reported. Mr. Adoula is expected to make a statement on the talks soon."

On the other side of the Congo, Northern Rhodesia, a British protectorate, is a bone of contention between the Africans and the British Colonials, led by their reactionary Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, who has taken a defiant and challenging attitude towards the attempts made by Colonial Secretary, Mr. Reginald Maudling. The position of the British Cabinet with regards this question was very succinctly stated by the Parliamentary correspondent at London of the **Christian Science Monitor** of Boston, in the following words:

"The British Cabinet is reported to have reached an all-important decision on a new constitution for Northern Rhodesia.

It is expected to open the way for an African majority in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council. This would represent a rejection of the pressures of Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, for more gradual African advancement.

The issue of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution has been, and still is, a very thorny one for the British Government. It has been the cause of repeated clashes with Sir Roy, with right-wing Conservative MPs in Britain, and even within the British Cabinet itself.

In an even wider field, Northern Rhodesia has been an explosive question between Britain, Sir Roy, and the United Nations. Having a common frontier with Katanga, Northern Rhodesia has allegedly been involved in gun-running and mercenary incidents.

Sources close to the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office say that adjustments will be made to the earlier constitutional proposals which should put Africans into office in Lusaka, the Northern Rhodesian capital, by this time next year.

The federal government has a right under the existing Constitution to be consulted on Northern Rhodesia's future. But the interpretation of consultation is likely to be less conciliatory to Sir Roy this time.

Because Northern Rhodesia is a British protectorate, Britain has the sovereign right and duty to find a solution acceptable to the Africans of Northern Rhodesia or at least one which will prevent disorders.

The **Times**, viewing the outlook, sees an atmosphere developing for unscrambling the multiracial Central African Federation,

which has been the dream of British governments and of Sir Roy.

Mr. Sandys is expected to start discussions about the whole future of the federation with Sir Roy."

Since then the reactionary attitude of Roy Welensky has had a sobering effect even on the diehard younger members of the British Conservative Party in the Houses of Parliament. Contemptuous and reckless statements made by this ex-boxer and train-driver adventurer turned Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, like "The vicious influence of African Nationalism has turned their bone-marrow to jelly," etc., has considerably cooled the ardour of the younger conservatives who were giving support to him. Of the 97 back-benchers who had signed a pro-Welensky motion in the Parliament last year, only 43 were willing to put their signatures to a much milder version. Roy Welensky received a stone-cold and silent reception when he went fuming to London to raise opposition to Secretary Maudling's third set of plans for a settlement in Northern Rhodesia. Welensky has gone back full of fire and fury and the Africans under Kenneth Kaunda are now bargaining hard for a full measure of autonomy.

Northern Rhodesia has a population of 2,394,000, of which just over 3 per cent are white settlers, who uptil now had everything in their own way, the native population being mere serfs. It is a copper-rich area and provides most of the revenues and a good deal of the wealth that goes to sustain the Federation maintain the white settlers in the lap of luxury. The three-State Federation was formed in 1953 against the will of the native population, as the set-up was all for the benefit of the white settlers. Of the other two partners there is the slender slice of Central Africa, known as Nyasaland which has an African majority in its local legislature and there is also South Rhodesia with a white population of 215,000 (in a total of 2,860,000) which so far has had complete control of the State and all its goods and is determined to keep its hold on the same level. The "winds of change" do not seem to have reached them.

China and India

There is a lot of speculation today, on the subject of Soviets-Chinese relations. News and current gossip picked up in Hong Kong or elsewhere, interlarded with gleamings from Soviets' news commentaries are being built up into "news" and sent out to India by foreign news agencies, which are proverbial for their tendency towards giving more emphasis on palatibility rather than on reliability.

The only reliable facts that have passed the screens of indirect authentication are those of scarcity of food continuing into this year and the somewhat detached attitude of Russia towards the happenings in the areas where the Chinese are trying to expand southward, either by direct intrusion, as on the Indian areas in Kashmir or Assam-Tibetan border areas, or by indirect attack as in Laos or in South Vietnam.

We have nothing to be complacent about the Indo-Chinese relations. China is displaying the same treacherous methods in her dealings with us, in firstly intruding with force into our territory and then brazenly accusing us of aerial violation of Chinese territories when our plans fly over the freshly intruded upon areas that are—and always have been—ours. Our heads of States have not as yet got ready to get to grips with this enemy on our borders, for reasons best known to them and, therefore, we are still having the kind of muddle-headed statements about Indo-Chinese pour-parlers, that we had from Pandit Nehru in Parliament on March 17. The occasion was the declaration of India's stand regarding the "Indo-Chinese agreement on trade and intercourse." The Sino-Indian treaty on Tibetan trade is due to expire in next June. The notice period for the old agreement being renewed had expired on December 2, 1961, and the Chinese Government had asked for a new agreement the next day. India had replied in detail pointing out the considerations that made her take the initiative in formulating and concluding the original agreement. The correspondence that was exchanged between the two governments during the three months following the Chinese request was placed before the Parliament by Pandit Nehru on March 17.

The Hindu published the fullest report that we have seen on that statement and we publish the same below **in extenso** as it marks another step in this critical affair on our Northern Frontiers:

"One day after the notice period for a renewal of the old agreement had expired on December 2, the Chinese Government asked for fresh negotiations for a 'new agreement on trade and intercourse.' India's reply points out in considerable detail the considerations which made her take the initiative for concluding the previous agreement. The note points out that India hoped that 'these five principles would not only regulate for years to come the relations between India and China but that the agreement would pave the way for a wider acceptance of these principles in inter-State relations, more particularly in Asia.'

The note says that it was in pursuance of the deliberate policy of establishing closer relations with China that the Government of India voluntarily relinquished important rights and privileges in Tibet it had inherited from the past. 'But hopes and aspirations entertained by the Government of India have, however, been completely frustrated by the aggressive and expansionist policies followed by China during the last few years.'

China's reply to this note has been received in New Delhi, though it will not be released until a reply has been sent. Informed circles suggest that the Chinese reply is not altogether unfriendly, though it would be unsafe to draw any inference of a change in China's attitude. Three days back, Mr. Nehru referred in Parliament to his earlier proposal, that India and China should withdraw in the Ladakh area and create a 'No-man's Land,' pending settlement through negotiations. Informed circles believe that if China desired negotiations, she must show some gesture in the Ladakh region. The correspondence confirms that India would not agree to separating the trade agreement from the border dispute and deal with them separately.

China's protest note about Indian planes air-dropping supplies on Chinese territory and India's reply make it clear that the Chinese have advanced 12 miles further from the post they previously set up on Chip Chap river.

India's reply says that Indian aircraft went on supply dropping mission to the Indian outpost at the track junction seven miles south-east of Dauletbeg Oldi on January 14.

The pilot spotted some tents and dropped supplies. Subsequent to the receipt of China's note, enquiries were made. It was found that the aircraft drifted three or four miles east to the track junction due to a westerly wind. The air-dropping occurred at the wrong location because the pilot mistook a Chinese patrol camp, 12 miles further west of the Chinese check-post on the Chip Chap river (about which India has already protested several times) to be the Indian outpost. This would mean that the Chinese had advanced another twelve miles west.

India's note regrets that the Chinese Government had been sending out advance patrols further inside the Indian territory so soon after renewing assurances to maintain the *status quo.* Later reports received here suggest that the Chinese may have withdrawn from this advance patrol camp. Release of the correspondence during election period would have caused embarrassment to the ruling party as it would be an admission that the Chinese had made further advances into Indian territory without meeting any resistance.

The correspondence contains the Chinese note protesting against 49 alleged air space 'violations' by Indian aircraft during two months ending December 5. India has refuted all these charges and has, in turn, protested against Chinese aircraft violating Indian air space on four occasions during January. The Chinese note of November 30 last had argued that if India advanced in Ladakh sector, China would be justified in moving across McMahon line. India's reply of February 26 emphasises that if the Chinese threat materialised, India 'would regard it as further instances of aggression and take such action as may be necessary to meet this further aggression.'

The Government of India have told the Chinese Government in a note sent on March 13 that they agreed with the Chinese plea that both sides should maintain *status quo* pending a peaceful settlement of their border dispute.

In their note (earlier portions of which had already appeared) the Government of India said: 'The Government of India are in entire agree-

ment with the Government of China that the two sides should maintain the *status quo* of the boundary and refrain from changing it by use of force or any other unilateral action. This *status quo* had been maintained by the peoples and Governments on either side of the boundary from ancient times. The Government of China have, however, in recent years disturbed the *status quo* by forcibly occupying an area which has always been the territory of India. The Government of India hope that the Government of China, in accordance with the principle which they have themselves stated so clearly, will withdraw from the territory and restore the *status quo*. Such a restoration of the *status quo* through the withdrawal of Chinese forces from Indian territory into which they have intruded since 1957, is an essential step for the creation of a favourable climate for any negotiations between the two Governments regarding the boundary.

The note said that the position today was that the Government of China had not only violated both in letter and spirit the five principles of co-existence set out in the preamble to the 1954 agreement but have actually occupied by force over 12,000 square miles of Indian territory and continued to expand their illegal claims and pursued their aggressive military activities to forcibly occupy large areas of Indian territory.

In a note on January 25, the Government of India protested against violation of Indian air space by a Chinese aircraft on January 6. The note said that a Chinese aircraft flew over Sherathang in Sikkim for about five minutes at 9-45 a.m. The note urged upon the Chinese Government to adopt measures to stop similar violations of Indian air space which could have grave consequences.

In a lengthy note dated February 26, the Government of India took strong exception to the Chinese attempt to reply to the Government of India's protest against Chinese aggression in the western sector by threatening aggression elsewhere. 'If the threat materialises and Chinese forces attempt to cross the 'McMahon Line' the Government of India would regard it as a further instance of aggression and take such action as may be necessary to meet this further aggression', the note said.

The note was in reply to the Chinese note of November 30 containing 'baseless charges about Indian intrusions into Chinese territory and air space'.

The Government of India, the note said, failed to understand the constant reference made by the Government of China to the need for a final settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The note said, 'The boundary between the two countries has long been settled. It has the sanction of centuries of tradition and custom, as well as the confirmation for almost its entire length, of valid treaties and agreements. It is the Government of China who have in recent years sought to change unilaterally by means of force the long existing *status quo*. This had violated what had throughout history been a frontier of peace and jeopardised relations between the two countries. Peace on the border and friendly relations between the two countries can never be restored until the Government of China withdraw from the Indian territory which they have unlawfully occupied.'

Pointing out a number of discrepancies between the maps published in China in 1956 and in 1960 the note said, 'In China the well-known traditional boundary has been in recent years ignored and a bewildering variety of alignments have been shown on their maps. There was even, as has been shown in the report of the officials and in the note of the Government of India of October 31, 1961, a discrepancy between the map published in China in 1956, which according to Premier Chou-En-lai showed the alignment correctly, and the map provided by the Chinese side at the talks between the officials. This has been repeatedly pointed out to the Government of China; and it is a matter of surprise that they continue to assert, without regard to the facts, that the alignments on these two maps are identical.

The map of 1960 showed an alignment which ran south-east from that point. In the Pengong region, the map of 1960 cut across the western half of the Pengong lake, while the map of 1956 left the entire western half in India. In the Spanggur area, the map of 1960 showed an alignment west of the lake but the map of 1956 showed the major part of the lake in India'.

The note said that the claim of the Chinese Government that three new checkposts established by them in Indian territory were within Chinese territory was a complete travesty of the facts."

The Tibet agreement was a mistake, as Pandit Nehru must realize now, whatever justification he might adduce for it today. Tibet is no more a part of China than was Algeria a part of France, or Goa a part of Portugal. In other words, Tibet is a colonial possession—very harshly ruled—of China. And it is about time that our powers that be decided to treat it as such.

Incidentally the **Hindu** also pbulished a short report from its correspondent at Gangtok, which goes to show the need for supplies from India that even the Chinese rulers felt. Sikkim's predicament is a creation of China's intransigence, though the Chinese fifth-column in Eastern India—and in Sikkim—might put it on Indian shoulders. It should be emphasized at this juncture that any relaxation of the Indian attitude on the plea of assistance and mercy to the suffering Tibetans must also be refused. Tibet being ruled as it is by the Chinese group now in command, it will receive very little—if any at all—of the food and amenities that might be exported by India, as most of that will go to the Chinese forces in aggressive occupation of our Himalayan areas. The **Hindu** report is as follows:

Gangtok, March 24,—The utility of Sikkim's first aerial ropeway, the longest in the world, which is nearing completion depends upon the fate of the Sino-Indian treaty on Tibetan trade due to expire in June next. The construction of the ropeway was started five years ago by the Sikkim Government. The Chinese used to take Indian rice to Tibet through Sikkim and the Sikkim Government had thought that the entire cost of construction of the ropeway would be redeemed as the Chinese were ready to pay fabulous freight. But the present strained relationship between India and China over the border issue, it is feared, will have a bearing on the future of the Sino-Indian trade treaty and may make the ropeway a liability instead of an asset.

This 13-mile long ropeway, from Gangtok to Tagok (near the Nathula Pass) will be completed by May this year. The total cost is expected to come to nearly Rs. 12 lakhs. Its carriage capacity each way is five tons an hour. The ropeway is being constructed by a British firm in collaboration with the Sikkim Government.

Pakistan and India

There has been quite a breeze in the Lok Sabha on March 29, over the contradictory statements made by the West Bengal Home Minister and by Mrs. Laxmi Menon, Deputy Minister, External Affairs. The question was whether a strip of land in Hili police station area of the West Dinajpur district of West Bengal, which is on the West Bengal-East Pakistan border area, has been evacuated by the Pakistan nationals who intruded into it with the support of some personnel of the East Pakistan Rifles? Mrs. Menon said, yes, they had been "persuaded" to do so. The West Bengal Home Minister said, "no". Mrs. Menon, good lady that she is, had the last word by saying that her information was the latest and obtained from the horse's mouth. (No reference to the oral aperture of the West Bengal Home Minister—Ed. *M. R.*)

Mrs. Menon's earlier statement is reproduced below:

"A report was received from the West Bengal Government on March 28, that there had been some incidents on the West Bengal-East Pakistan border in the tract of land in the Hili police station in West Dinajpur between March 11, 1962 and March 23, 1962.

According to this report, on March 11, 1962, while some villagers from Aptair village were digging earth on Indian territory, a few villagers from Ghusuria village across the border objected on the ground that earth was being dug up on Pakistan territory. After some discussion it was conclusively demonstrated to the villagers from Pakisan that digging was in progress on Indian territory upon which the Pakistani villagers withdrew.

On March 18, a personnel of the East Pakistan Rifles began digging trenches on Pakistan territory near the border and on March 19, a contingent of about 200 East Pakistan Riflemen arrived on the spot. Some jeeps were also found to be moving about in the area towards the afternoon of March 19. Pakistan officers were also observed taking photographs of the area but no actual incident was reported on 19th March, despite evidence of activity by East Pakistan Rifles across he border.

The West Bengal Government has protested against the high-handed and provocative acts

by Pakistani nationals supported by personnel of the East Pakistan Rifles in violation of the "ground rules". The West Bengal Government has requested to the East Pakistan Government to make an immediate enquiry, fill up the trenches dug out across the border and withdraw Pakistan forces from the area to ensure peace and tranquility on the border. No reply has yet been received from the East Pakistan Government to these protests.

It has been confirmed on telephone from Calcutta this morning that no part of Indian territory in this area is in possession of East Pakistan nationals or personnel of East Pakistan Rifles."

The Elections and After

The elections are all but over and the party leaders are either crowing—as in the West Bengal P.C.C.,—or else taking stock of gains and losses as in the C.P.I. and in some provincial Congress committees. The Congress has again got control of the Central Government and of almost all the State Governments, through the decision at the polls.

To a detached onlooker, it is apparent that the reasons adduced by the various party leaders, for gains and losses of their own and other parties, are anything but correct and comprehensive. The Congress, since it has again got a chance to run the country should have been more than sobered by certain aspects of the election, which carry disquieting portents for the future. It is not only necessary for the High Command to give full consideration to what their opponents have said about the elections, but also to take stock of the losses it has suffered in a more serious fashion. It is one thing to regain power and control and quite another to look forward to the future. For, it is apparent to all but political sycophants and simpletons that the Congress has been put in power again because its opponents could not produce either reliable men in sufficient number nor a coherent plan for an alternative government. Indeed, in West Bengal, the slogan for an alternative government raised by the leftist combine headed by the C.P.I., led to its defeat in all major town and city areas which contained a more politically conscious roll of electors.

To the Congress claim for achievements, we would just add, on the debit side the failures and the deteriorations, that are progressively ruining the country and its nationals. We would make the positive statement that there is no service in the country that has not lamentably degenerated during the last ten years.

THE EDITOR

Perspective With A Vengeance

When we were young we once saw a cartoon, perhaps, in **Punch** or some such humorous periodical, in which a young woman was joyfully announcing to her husband, after they had moved into an apartment, which they had purchased on the instalment plan, "Isn't it wonderful, darling, to think that in ninety-nine years, this apartment will be absolutely our own!" What we see now-a-days all round us is too big to be depicted in a single cartoon. Otherwise we might have painted a gigantic cartoon with all the members of the Congress party embracing each other and telling one another how wonderful it was to know that in ninety-nine or in a few hundred years, India would have so much steel, so much coal, so much per capita income and so much national wealth free from **all** encumbrances! Another cartoon, stretching from Bombay to Calcutta could also show the millions of the Indian people who would be in great want in spite of all our progress due to a single fact that the State would swallow everything up by an extortional system of taxation! Everyman's hearth, home and savings will be nationalised.

Perspective planning tells us in full detail all that will happen to State-owned industries, State-managed welfare arrangements and State-controlled private enterprise; stage by stage over a period of five or a hundred and twenty-five years. What it does not tell us, is what we are not going to get, what we shall be deprived of and what will be there and, yet, will be placed beyond our reach in a tantalising manner; in order to teach us the various socialistic virtues of self-denial, abstemiousness, austerity, forced saving and surrendering to the will of the State like abject slaves. The vision or a series of visions of the

future well-being of mankind or of one's own nation should be, in the opinion of certain thinkers, sufficient incentive for sacrificing all present enjoyments and even all highly necessary immediate consumption of those essential commodities which sustain human life and maintain the standards of civilised existence. And, this, because some people have worked out certain formulae of reaching certain objectives in a very limited sphere of national life, like the production of certain goods, the building of roads, railways, etc., or in providing education or medical treatment. It is a standing fallacy of the visions to which we surrender and sacrifice our well-being that certain bits and pieces of Life are represented to the gullible masses as the whole of human existence. Human well-being and happiness is the product of a million co-ordinated and integrated factors, not all of which can be fitted into the blue prints of a planned economy. Nations may advance militarily, medically or industrially without achieving that balance in all-round progress which gives humanity a feeling of general satisfaction. A perspective which accommodates only a fixed number of economic exaggerations cannot be a complete picture of man's progress. Our government is famous for its inefficiency and inability to hit any target in any field of managing the nation's affairs. There is not only perspective planning which gives us promises of steel plants, coal raising and washing establishments, heavy and light engineering units and so forth, but we have also endless promises of what we shall have in the future, step by step and stage by stage. Thus, in an elaborate scheme of Perspective Administration, we see hope of thieves and dacoits who will be caught in 1985 and of murders that will not be committed in 1995. Railway trains that will run on time in 2062 and telegrams and letters which will be delivered to the addressees within seven weeks of despatch in 2162.

When one is in great pain, one tries to relieve one's suffering by a forced smile. So, we may smile at the prospect of Pandit Nehru's pet scientists giving us a fuller dose of perspective in other and lesser branches of community life. Perspective cooking may begin with raw gram and slowly move on to Pillao in 1998. Perspective housing will, no doubt, elevate the thick mud walls of our villages to marble and mahogany sometime or other. Then there will be perspective dressing, hair cutting, shaving; and perspective non-spitting, non-yelling, non-road hogging, etc., etc., as a result of all which India will be a land worth living in by the time Pandit Nehru will be a totally forgotten man.

We have heard of the limitations that time puts upon our dreams. We may think our Collosium and our Rome will outlast human existence, but time soon puts our assertions to ridicule. The solitary pillar in the middle of a great desert, declaring itself as the centre of the earth or many other vain declarations have proved the frailties of human nature over and over again. We also know that a ton of promise is not worth a pound of actual enjoyment. In such circumstances, should we continue to be bullied into beliefs, faiths and attitudes which we know are the products of a weird megalomania which now afflicts our leaders as it has afflicted kings and emperors in other ages?

A. C.

English

Einstein, we believe, proved that parallel lines, if stretched to "eternity" would meet, contrary to all assertions made by Euclid. Emotion and science too, if stretched far enough, might merge into one another and thus injure the purity and strength of both. The usefulness of English, both as a medium of education and of self-expression cannot be doubted from a practical-economic standpoint. Whatever our official statisticians may say, we may safely assume that about 5% of our people, who are intellectually in a top position, as well as in the countries industrial, and administrative fields; are English-educated in a fairly effective manner. Translated into figures this would mean 20 million English-knowing people. Among these there are thousands who have been educated and trained in foreign universities, technical colleges and other centres where scientific, medical and general education is imparted

to persons desirous of achieving the highest in the various fields of life. We may assume that about a million, persons are highly educated and trained according to international standards. Another five million persons are fairly highly educated and trained in India. And, then there are about fifteen million persons who are in the middle group. The highest degree of training and education in foreign countries cost about 25,000|- rupees per capita and our national assets in this field will be well worth 25,000,000,000 rupees (2,500 crores). The next higher group, whose intellectual assets have accumulated through English education would presumably account for an expenditure of about Rs. 10,000 per capita. This will total up to the enormous sum of Rs. 50,000,000,000|- (5,000 crores). The rest of the English-knowing persons who use English for all mental communication are 15,000,000 in number and who must have spent at least Rs. 1000|- per capita for obtaining proficiency in English. This will add up to a national expenditure of Rs. 15,000,000,000 (1,500 crores). The grand total of the value of English education in the national brain is, therefore, 2,500+5,000+1,500=9,000 crores. Quite a bit of this is in foreign currency. And this does not include all the books, charts and other equipment which cannot be used without a knowledge of English. Those who wish to abolish and liquidate English know not what they want to throw away. But of course political policy and idealistic urges do not take into account any economic losses. Had there been any consciousness of values among politicians and idealists, we would not have been bombarded with even 10 per cent of all the useless things that come into our life (at a terrifying cost).

This question of abolishing English and introducing Hindi has been raised many times by many persons of varying eminence in the intellectual firmament. But we have never taken any of them seriously, knowing as we do, that all that one hears is not wisdom. The idea that all education, including higher and scientific education, should be in the vernacular is a piece out of absolute idealism. There being fourteen official and one hundred and forty unofficial vernaculars; any such scheme will divide up India finally and for all time into fourteen or a hundred and forty mutually exclusive pieces. The scientific literature of Orissa will not be understood in Darbhanga where the people speak Maithili but do not admit it. Tamil books will mean nothing in Gujerat or Panjab (where people speak Panjabi but are supposed to be Hindi-speaking because of Pandit Nehru's wishful thinking). Things will become more and more complicated as we proceed with the plans of introducing Hindi everywhere in India and of developing the vernaculars all over the country. The ancient Hindus declared that **Brahma** was **Nada** or sound. They also said **Eka Brahma Dwitiya Nasti** (There is one **Brahma** and no second) but they did not think of all our different dialects when they discussed **Nada.** It was all Sanskrit to them. If to-day, we had introduced Sanskrit as our national language we would have aspired after something worth the effort. Hindi or the vernaculars do not fill the bill. English is as **fait accompli** and is useful and has a money value potential in it. It is also inevitable that we shall carry on with English in all spheres of useful work. Political speeches may be given in other languages for they do not really matter.

A. C.

Hindi Prachar

The spread of Hindi all over India as the national language has been a difficult job and it has been so because of the incompetence and lack of principles of those who have been trying to propagate Hindi for their own advantage. Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, than whom it is difficult to find a better qualified man to speak on the subject of Hindi **Prachar** made a speech in the **Rajya Sabha** on the 19th of March, 1962. He delivered his speech in English in deference to the feelings of non-Hindi speaking members. His summary of the situation in the field of establishing Hindi as our **Rashtrabhasha** is illuminating. He said,

"I have been connected with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan since the year 1918. I was the Secretary of the Sahitya Vibhag at the time when Mahatmaji

presided. I edited the questionnaire, which Mahatmaji had circulated about the national language. I attended the Sammelan's meetings at several places, at least at eight or ten places, and I took a prominent part in the activities of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I may say that the root of all this evil is the system of examinations. I know by personal experience that there are a large number of text-book hunters in the Hindi world, and they can be found in any place. People go to places, move about, or their sons or nephews move about, and get their books prescribed by very underhand means. I have been told by the people in the Sammelan and I know that nephews and sometimes daughters-in-laws and sometimes even **Mantries** themselves have had a number of books prescribed. There is money in Hindi and that is the real trouble about the whole thing. People go from here to South India—I have been told by Mr. Satyanarayana—and they want their books to be prescribed there! We have to make exception to these things and I would request the Hon. Minister—Dr. Shrimali—to see that this sort of evil, this black-marketing in text books, which has continued for the last fifty years, will not be allowed.

I am in entire agreement with Shri Deokinandan Narayan. He belonged formerly to our province Uttar Pradesh as well. I agree with him in saying that people of different languages should be put on this Board so that we may not have any obsession on the side of some people.

I know from personal experience that people have been rather frightened on this matter. Once poet Rabindranath Tagore told me, when I was in Santiniketan in 1920-21, "Don't hang the sword of Hindi over our heads. Produce the best literature and we will all learn Hindi." That is right. Another great man, who did so much for Hindi, was Shri Ramananda Chatterjee, with whom I had the privilege of working for some ten years. He told me of an incident. In Karachi, a Sindhi gentleman wanted to speak in Sindhi on the question of the separation of Sind. But people from a certain province—I would not mention its name—cried out "Hindi, Hindi." Ramananda Babu asked me, "Is this the sort of thing you are going to do? If a Sindhi gentleman cannot speak in Sindhi on the question of the separation of Sind, where are we going to?" Certainly, there is a good deal of suspicion in the hearts of people belonging to the different languages. Therefore, we must be very very careful and under no circumstances should the domination of one province—may be Uttar Pradesh or whatever it may be—be allowed. My Hon. friend, Shri Arora, said it was Daraganj, and he was certainly right. For a number of years one **mohalla**, one street in Allahabad, had dominated the entire Hindi world. That should not be allowed.

I entirely agree with the suggestion that the headquarters of the Sammelan should not be at Allahabad. The place is vitiated by these wrong ideas of the last fifty years, and I would suggest to the Hon. Minister to make a thorough enquiry about these text-books and about the **mantries** or their relations, whose books have been prescribed. Not only that, I would go still further and say that anyone who wants to get his books prescribed as text-books or who has got his books prescribed, should not be on this Board. That should be done in order to save the honour of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.

I read Kakasaheb's article in **The Mangal Prabhat** and I was surprised because I had prepared my speech on the same lines and it seems by telepathy, he stole my ideas! He is entirely right when he says that the Hindi-speaking people really had been trying to dominate over Bundelkhandi and Bagailkhandi and Chhathisgarhi and Konkini and all these languages.

I myself brought forward that resolution on the Janpadiye languages or the regional languages at the Jaipur session, and I found that the orthodox Hindi people were all opposed to it. They consider that these languages—the Janpadiye languages or the regional languages—are **Saut** though they are the real mother of Hindi. Therefore, what I say is that we should have to be very very careful in this matter. And we have to be careful about these elections too. The elections have ruined the Arya Samaj and they have ruined the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and they have

ruined the Braj Sahitya Mandal. Practically all these organisations have been ruined by elections. Also, I would say that these **Parikshas** had better be wrested from the Sammelan and the Sammelan should not be allowed to hold these **Parikshas.** Shri Deokinandan Narayan is perfectly right in what he said. These Hindi people have been very jealous on this question. I still have in my possession a telegram which the Sammelan people had sent to Mahatmaji at Bangalore saying that they were going to prosecute him! It was with some difficulty that the Sammelan people were persuaded not to proceed further in the court against Mahatmaji, by the efforts of Malavyaji and others. Therefore, we have to be very very careful.

And as I said, we have to change our attitude if we want the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to be a real force. I suggest that the suggestions of Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar should be accepted. He really writes better Hindi than many of us. His suggestions contained in **The Mangal Prabhat** that this should be an All-India body, should be accepted. It should have members from different parts and it should not be dominated by the Government-nominated people. I have mixed feelings about the Government. I have been preaching anarchism and writing about it for the last so many years and when I find myself supporting the Government, it is really a painful thing. I say this because once you give anything to the Government, the whole thing becomes a terribly bad thing, and if the few nominated people are of your own state of mind, then it will be a real tragedy. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan will be a government body and that will be a tragedy in our life. Thta is all I have to say.

It would appear that things are not quite healthy in the sphere of Hindi **Prachar.** Not only do some people want to monopolise the work of **Prachar** and make money out of Hindi text books; but they also want to push other Indians out of the field, even those who speak different dialects of Hindi.

A. C.

Social Justice

Inaugurating the 35th annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Vignan Bhavan, New Delhi, Shri Jawahirlal Nehru said that the forces that had been set in motion during the last 15 years could not be stopped. They (the forces) would lead to industrialisation, a higher standard of life and inevitably to more and more socialism, i.e., social justice.

We cannot agree with Pandit Nehru's unqualified support of industrialisation and his assertion that it will lead inevitably to more and more socialism, i.e., social justice. Pandit Nehru likes to think that industrialisation is an unmixed blessing to any community and that industrialisation gives a higher standard of living and social justice. We can imagine industrialisation as a source of poverty, squalor, slums, immorality, bad health, starvation and suffering. We can also imagine industrialisation as a cause of lowering the standard of living and of destroying social justice. The wage policy, the housing and other schemes of the Government of India have not been very progressive latterly and we do not visualise any great change in their attitude towards labour. The economic planning of the Government of India has come to mean progress in patches and the creation of an inner and an outer circle of economy. The inner circle will have higher wages and better living condition (at least in terms of money) and the outer circle which will include a much wider area will not be so well off. We shall then have a larger number of Black Market Princes than we had before of real princes. We shall also have more highly-paid officials, executives, agents, contractors and so forth than ever before. Then there will be several million highly-paid industrial workers as opposed to the vast masses of poor peasants and the unemployed and semi-employed whose earnings will be a mere fraction of the earnings of the factory workers. Will all this create more social justice? Socialism is also not a product of the State ownership of the instruments of production. If the nation's economy is not fully utilised for social welfare and the well-being of the people; but for the glorification of a few political leaders and for furthering their whims and fancies; then even total nationalisation will not produce socialism but abject social slavery.

A. C.

Permitting Murder

The Indian police, at least the West

Bengal police are a properly selected and properly paid body of persons, among whom are some quite brilliant men whose intellectual attainments are on a par with those of similarly placed police officers in any country of Europe or America. Yet when it comes to prevention or detection of crime, our police cut a very sorry figure indeed in comparison with the police of other lands. Thefts, robbery and petty larceny, we are told, are permitted to be carried on in this country because the thieves, etc., have the protection of superior persons. Murders, when carried out in order to achieve an objective, are also sanctioned by people high up in politics or are backed by high finance which opens all doors in all fields including the field of homicide. Generally speaking, therefore, all crimes which have any connection with money, position or power, are perpetrated with impunity; because they are committed by the agents of powerful persons. Let us say that such crimes are not preventable in a land where money can buy everything including protection for anti-social activities. But there are some crimes which are being committed everyday under the very nose of our police and which the police accept helplessly as inevitable. Among these are the killing of hundreds of men, women and children by lorries, buses, taxis and private cars on the roads of India, particularly of West Bengal. No one gains money, position or power by such killings and yet they are permitted to be carried out by our public and the police. The police officers go to other lands to learn traffic control and then come back to India without learning anything, as is evident from the results achieved. All road accidents with few exceptions, occur due to the apathy and negligence of the police. And the same inefficient police officers are kept in charge of essential departments in spite of their prolonged failure to achieve anything.

All over West Bengal, taxis, lorries and buses have no respect for the rules of the road. They go all over the road according to their own sweet will and try to push others off the road if it suits them to do so. There are no demarcations for separating the left side of a road from the right side and the rules of the road regarding speed, lanes of traffic, right of way, etc., are just ignored. Toddy sellers sit openly on the Grand Trunk Road and sell liquor to drivers of commercial vehicles and the police do nothing about it. In the city of Calcutta, taxis cut in and out of lanes, pedestrians swagger all over the roads in a defiant manner, lorries and buses race through roads crowded with cars and pedestrians, and the police do nothing. No one is warned or prosecuted for violating the rules of the road. In such circumstances, we think, the police are the aiders and abetters of all crimes committed by drivers of motor vehicles on the high roads.

A. C.

Bluster at High Level

The word bluster is not a nice word and should not be used in connection with great personages, like Pandit Nehru. Yet when the meaning of bluster is "noisy self-asserting talk" and "threat"; and, when Pandit Nehru indulges vociferously in self-asserting talk with no basis of real achievement attached to his assertions; the question of bluster being the correct description of his vocal expressions, naturally arises.

Pandit Nehru throws his message of progressive State-control of more industries and social services at the people of India, in a manner which suggests that he has succeeded so well so far in his "socialistic" efforts that further action in the same line is naturally indicated. But, in fact, he has failed to deliver the goods all along the line. His administration is tottering all the time. Bad defence, worse policing, horrible maintenance and operation of railways, terrible time-keeping by Posts and Telegraphs and Telephones, tremendous tax evations, frightful mess in public undertakings like D.V.C., etc., maximum slow motion in action or no action in government departments, corruption in all places where things can be obtained or money made, favouritism and "blacking" in the field of permits, licences and quotas and a general policy of unfair dealing as far as all minorities, excepting Kashmiris, are concerned. This would give a picture which could not be used as a certificate of honour and efficiency. A man who cannot perform his ordinary everyday duties should not bluster, nor offer (theaten ?) to do more than what he has failed to do.

A. C.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF MANAGEMENT IN THE UNDER-DEVELOPED ECONOMY OF INDIA

By NARENDRA KUMAR SETHI

THE modern Indian businessman faces the eternal conflict of values between enlightened self-interest and social obligations, which is almost a universal condition of the present industrial climate. He faces, too, the typical Indian phenomenon of the conflict between the ancient tradition of non-material values and the Western technological advancements. He is caught in the clash between the concept of free enterprise and the broadening shadow of governmental interference and nationalization. Finally, there remains another significant crisis-centre revolving round the conflict between the impact of the communistic doctrines and the Gandhian ideals on the Indian mind.

Indian management lives in this tense atmosphere, trying to assert its role in the industrial development of the nation while not very much assured of its own existence in this struggle of hostile conditions and social themes. This tension makes the Indian businessman weary of his own existence and future. At times, this feeling of extreme weariness finds an expression in the outspoken criticisms made by the businessman against the prevailing socio-economic climate of the country. However, more often than not there is a bitter mood of "business apathy" which can only spell doom for the complete industrial growth of the nation.

At the same time, the Indian businessman lives in a world of despair and mistrust. The public has a growing distaste for big business; the central governmental agencies are showing a discouraging front to the businessman; the labour unions are being increasingly directed towards a socialistic pattern. Thus the resultant pattern for the Indian management is one of broken harmony, open attack, perverse self-assertion and lack of understanding.

THE BITTER BUSINESS CLIMATE

The problem concerns the grass-roots of Indian human values, their cultural traits and social responses. Fundamentally, an average Indian businessman is a diverse product of two distinct thought-currents and ideologies. He is the integrated product of the oriental sense of culture and the western concept of the material. In him, there is the blending of the Indian perspective and the Western outlook. He operates at these two levels: the intellectual level of his western education and the emotional level of his personal identity with the Indian life. But, the blending process in his personality is not quite perfect and it can never be. He is neither true Indian nor perfectly Western. In the end, then, he becomes an anigma to his country and a dilemma to himself.

How can he understand others and how, in turn, can he seek proper communication with them? Can he direct his total attention to a defensive strategy of self-preservation or should he extend the horizons of his personality in order to achieve a mutuality of interests? His is, indeed, a strange position, full of varying moods and changing trends. In a country whose economy is fighting against very severe odds and which is consciously trying to create a new economic temper, his contribution can certainly be of utmost significance. But, the pity of it is that he does not know the way towards this goal and this leads to a contradictory set of values which emphasizes the persent ambivalence of Indian industrial life.

THE MORAL HAZARD

A good deal of distrust of the Indian business leader may be due to a distorted sense of business ethics which the Indian businessman has practised. The business community, especially the managerial elite in India, has earned rather a dubious reputation for unethical conduct and questionable practices. This callousness of the Indian business behaviour may be attributed to a variety of reasons, such as, foreign economic and

political aggression, unproductive labour and deep-rooted social proverty. However, this rather ignoble image of Indian trade practices and business conduct has brought discredit both in the domestic as well as in the international managerial scene. Therefore, as it happens even obviously good actions and moral practices on their part tend to be mis-interpreted, mis-constructed and criticized.

There is still another aspect which must be mentioned here. The structure of Indian society is rigidly patterned after the old bureaucratic system of extreme riches and extreme poverty, with hardly any voice for the middle-class. The human relations programme is virtually absent in such a structurized social complex. The task of developing a sound "industrial climate" in such conditions becomes a very complicated process. On the one hand, the rich people are motivated by different economic themes from their under-privileged counterpart; on the other hand, their mutual urge to gain dominance eliminates any possibility of immediate harmony. This eternal class-battle wages on and the managers see their action still more complicated and troublesome.

The Select Few

One of the most dangerous aspects of any under-developed nation is to keep excessive reliance upon a handful of selected people, in whatever field of human activity. It creates power-pockets and political cliques; it accentuates hatred and breeds economic disorder. It also leads in the final analysis to economic centralization of power which perpetuates vast disparity of incomes. In Indian management, to-day, a few of the more wealthy families hold both direct and indirect control over a vast portion of industrial enterprises, in some cases leading up to virtual monopoly and economic dictatorship. It is often mentioned that eight mutually related families own and control over a thousand different industrial companies in India. Further, the modern concept of the divorce between ownership and control is relatively little understood in India. What can all this amount to except final disintegration of the complete industrial set-up and also the economic downfall of the major industries?

The Conceptual Difference

This gloomy picture of Indian business brings us to realize that a different set of business criterion and economic values should be used in analyzing the basic framework of Indian management. Different, that is, from the concepts used in analyzing American managerial effectiveness. The difference between the conceptual framework of Indian business and that of its American counterpart is not just one of economic development and its degrees but also one of sharp cultural background, emotional maturity, public enlightenment and governmental attitudes. While American business consciousness enjoys a period of relative calm and understanding, the Indian business atmosphere suffers from vast fluctuations and pressures. One approaches the issue of industrial growth and economic development with a free mind, and intellect, a broad and sympathetic outlook and a well-informed and considerate public. The other faces the same question too, but with an uninformed public; a socialistic government; an unstable mind and above all a constant threat from many sources. It would be wrong, therefore, to judge the latter and its perspectives by the set of yardsticks developed through an experience with the former.

Unfortunately, for many reasons, the temper of Indian industrial life is heavily oriented towards a bureaucratic mode of thinking. The people cherish a sense of status and organizational power. They love to develop very rigid patterns of class-conscious informal groups in their different industrial sectors. And to accentuate the difficulties, these industrial groupings are further associated with the family, caste, creed, social standing and economic power of the group-members. This leads up to a strange complex based on a blending of industrial life with the private life of the individual.

Indian management needs to approach this question with an open mind. It cannot hope to succeed either by a utopian attitude or through a paternalistic approach. The industrial bureaucracy in India will rule these two approaches out. Since the economic life is severely heterogeneous, any attitude which is primarily centered on the economic nucleus alone would tend to defeat itself

in the long run. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the Indian management to move the emphasis from the complex character of the economic life to more emphases. This is the new and powerful dimension which the managers need to develop if they desire to achieve a broad base of public acceptance.

Motives of Bigness

We have mentioned before that the concept of divorcing the ownership from management is still unknown in Indian industrial enterprises. The basic characteristic of the *Hindu Joint Family* (a legal as well as a socio-economic system in India which allows the male members of an undivided Hindu family equal rights and privileges in their industrial ventures) does not quite encourage this new concept of management without ownership. Further, this *Hindu* system definitely encourages faulty business succession for it enables the young and inexperienced sons of the wealthy industrialists to achieve positions of high managerial capability and responsibility without any other qualification or effective education. This system also leads to the centralization of economic units in one family or in a group of immediately related families. It promotes an unhealthy type of bigness because it makes the business units grow at a very high social cost. The forces of liberal capitalism cannot break through the maze of traditional *Hindu* ventures as set by this system. Consequently, it poses still another challenge to the concept of social responsibility.

How can this *bigness* be transformed to the economic good of the country without casting a severe blow to the Hindu spirit of the joint family? Some method must be adopted either to encourage higher business education for these wealthy-owners of the industrial units or they should be made conscious of the need of proper managerial methods and controls. Some leading businessmen like G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata and L. B. Sethi, etc., have devoted their attention to this emerging phase of managerial education in their big industrial organizations.

In the final analysis, the concept of bigness can be sustained only through a proper and reasonable concept of profit. In an underdeveloped economy, with a super-abundance of atomistic units and groups, such scattered big units can survive only if the management is wedded to the idea of strong social accountability, public responsibility and profit-reduction. In any other approach, such huge industrial corporations will be met with opposition from many sectors of the public.

Some Recent Trends

Thus far, we have been considering the management of indigenous Indian business enterprise, consisting of private and free operations. But, in the recent years, the pattern of Indian business has been substantially altered by the introduction of two other business "communities" in the nation. These are, the state-controlled business units or the so-called nationalized industries operated by the governmental agencies and, secondly, the new industries set up by various foreign firms, especially American, British and German. These two challenges to the industrial atmosphere of India call for a broader interpretation of economic values in the framework of developing countries.

The concept of social responsibility in the government-controlled business operations is more attuned with a political significance and that of the foreign-owned enterprises is more wedded to the idea of subdued economic temper with no political attachments of any sort.

The future course of action for both these operations shown emphasize a strong dedication to the spirit of business enterprise and Indian development. The government should not try to pose as a central political power which can dictate economic values in the same way as it does with political dictums. In the realm of business operations, the government must try to play a secondary role, otherwise it would only tend to demoralize the very concept of economic growth that calls for a free initiative. In the Indian governmental body equates business leadership with its political power, the long-run effect of such administrative policy would be to disrupt the smooth flow of private capital and perhaps also foreign enterprise. We have already

referred earlier to the increasing threat of such governmental measures to the vitality of Indian management. If these threats do continue, the very atmosphere of industrial life will be adversely effected.

On the same approach, the foreign-controlled enterprises in India have to adopt social responsibility measures which emphasize their Indian locale rather than their previous national origin and outlook. We have seen that the highly-developed concept of social accountability of the American business management cannot be applied in vastly different Indian economic conditions. Therefore, it would be much more effective if the foreign-controlled enterprises and their managers award outspoken value-judgments on the Indian life but instead take an active participation in the social programmes. In this way, their administrators will benefit by developing a broader awareness of the multifaceted society of India, and also they will be able to impress their Indian associates with their faith and interest in the economic growth of the nation.

Conclusion

All the three sectors of Indian management (Private Business, Governmental Business and Foreign Firms) face great problems and challenges in the area of social responsibility and business welfare. Their difficulties are further accentuated by the various essential features of the under-developed economic life, namely, cultural disharmony, distributional discrepancy, atomistic economic units, financial adversity, social bureaucracy, differential life-patterns and the lack of properly defined managerial norms and values. Hence, this concept of social accountability in India is a new task and a newer work-area. Both managers and management writers should approach this critical situation with a broad perspective, drawing more from experiences of Indian business rather than from foreign techniques and methods. It appears that managerial society in India must try to develop a social framework through which it can perform at least the following services: developing social sensibilities in the labour, encouraging the idea of corporate citizenship, driving out the disruptive forces of communistic infiltration from the national economy, restoring the spirit of free enterprise and above all, freeing the image of Indian business from all its notoriety. The challenge is great and the present resources are limited but, nevertheless, the leadership in Indian management can achieve this goal provided it is willing to dedicate itself to this resolute purpose, by blending together social understanding, ethical rationale and economic conscience in an integrated approach of business development.

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THE INDIAN MOTHER GODDESS:

By NAREN BHATTACHARYYA

Introduction

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, while referring to the early myths and legends of Armenia observes that the original religion of one section of the Armenians, the pre-Indo-European peoples of the area, would appear to be closely connected with the religion of ancient Babylon which centred round the worship of a great Mother-Goddess. "Everything owed its origin to her, and nothing was more powerful in the universe than this Mother-Goddess. . . . . She was known to the Sumerians, the pre-Semitic founders of the civilization of Mesopotamia, as Inanna, and her male counterpart was known as Dumuzi. The story of her relation with Dumuzi survives in the Greek legend of Aphrodite and Adonis. The great Mother-Goddess loved this young Dumuzi, but he would die every year at the beginning of winter, and the Mother-Goddess, and with her the whole world, would go into mourning over this tragedy. . . . . This nature myth was quite a persistent one, and in later Babylonian religion where this myth lived on, we find that Inanna was simply transformed into the great Goddess Ishtar, and Dumuzi became Tammuz. Tammuz was known by one of his Semitic appellations as Adonai, which meant 'My Lord', and this Semitic epithet is the source of the Greek name Adonis. The name Inanna survived also as Nane." (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, 1959, pp. 203-4).

This incidental observation of Dr. Chatterjee implies a very wide geographical distribution of the cult of Mother-Goddess and indeed, the recent archaeological excavations and linguistic findings seek to suggest the same. A specimen of a polychrome terracotta nude goddess, 10½ inches high belonging to pre-Dynastic Egypt has been preserved in the Brooklyn Museum (U.S.A.) which represents in its significant gesture the prototype of a Mother Goddess. Excavations, carried on at an ancient site called Tureng Tepe (12 miles north-east of Asterbad and 42 miles east of the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea), have yielded an interesting series of naked female statuettes made of baked reddish brown clay, all very much alike, standing with the hands holding the breasts, which have been identified with the figuration of Mother Goddess and have been assigned to the Bronze age. One such figurine of this series bearing on the prominent iconological characteristics of the Mother Goddess being very nearly related to a small nude female figure, with the hands double up to touch the breast, said to have come from the Peshwar district, indicates the proximity of the Indian type of Mother Goddess with the Bronze age figurines from Asterabad, as has been suggested by Coomaraswamy. The excavations in Susa and Elam have brought to light four outstanding statuettes bearing on the cult of Mother Goddess, two of which have been assigned to the Early Babylonian epoch and the rest to the Neo-Babylonian period. Analogous nude figurines, in red burnished clay, with hands clasping the breasts, have been dug up at a chalcolithic site at Anatolia, which goes to suggest the wide geographical distribution of the cult of the Mother Goddess. (*See O. C. Gangoly, Indian Terracotta Art*, pp. 4-8).

Symbolic representations bearing on the Cult of Mother Goddess have also a worldwide distribution. As for example we may refer to the Swastika quite often found on the seal amulets from Mohenjodaro (*See Mackay, The Indus Civilization*, 1935, pl. M. fig. 5) which has been indicated by Mackay as a solar sign. The Swastika may have solar affiliations but it is more or less invariably connected with prolificness and hence obviously with the cult of the Mother Goddess. Thomas Wilson states that the appearance of Swastika on the persons of certain goddesses, Artemis, Hera, Demeter, Astarte, and the Chaldean Nana, the leaden goddess from Hissarlik, has caused it to be claimed as a sign

of fecundity (*The Swastika*, 1898, p. 771). A large number of ring-stones have been found in Harappa and Mohenjodaro which have been interpreted by Marshall as representations of Yoni, symbolising motherhood and fertility. On this point a parallelism can be drawn in view of the Taxila dises discovered by Marshall where "nude figures of goddess of fertility are significantly engraved with consummate skill and care—inside the central hole, thus indicating in a manner that can hardly be mistaken between them and the female principle" (*Marshall, Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 62-63).

The Babylonian word for "mother" is Ummu or UMMA (=Uma) which recalls Ma, the great Asianic Mother Goddess and is synonymous to the Accadian Ummi, the Phrygian Amma and the Dravidian Umma. Durga corresponds well with Trqqas, a deity mentioned in the Lycian inscriptions of Asia minor (*see S. K. Chatterjee, Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilization, The Modern Review*, December 1924, p. 679). Henceforth it is evident that the cult of the Mother Goddess was an universal practice and even among the native races of America the Earth Mother was one of the greatest personages of mythology. The Peruvians worshipped her as Mama-Ppacha or 'Mother Earth.' Dr. Chatterjee invariably connects the cult of the Mother Goddess with the Dravidians who appeared to have brought it to India from their supposed homeland in the islands of the Aegean and the tracts of mainland along the Aegean sea. But these cult notions are really anthropological and metaphysical and hence there is no need of brooding over the problems relating to the fixation of a particular tract of soil whence the cult of Mother Goddess might have been originated.

Two types of animal representations have been found in the seals from the Indus Valley, the first type being the illustration of composite animals like the strange unicorn, human-faced goat, 'consisting of, acombination of the usual urus-like animal with two other heads, those of an antelope and a shorthorned bull,' etc., which have been interpreted by Mackay as tokens of seeking protection or assistance from more than one deity at a time (*See Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 333). The second type of seals illustrate ordinary animals, *e.g.*, the rhinoceros, the bison, the elephant, the humped bull, etc. The bull is connected with the cult of Mother Goddess in two respects. First of all it is invariably connected with Siva, the male consort of the Indian Mother Goddess. Secondly, it has special affinity with the Aegean Mother Goddesses like Athene, Artemis and others (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 508) as well as with the different goddesses of the Semitic world. The later conceptions of Gaja-Lakshmi and Ganesa as the offspring of the Mother Goddess Durga preserve a long tradition of the elephant's association with the cult of the Mother Goddess. After all the Mother Goddess has always been conceived as the goddess of the animals. Sir James Frazer while describing the characteristics of the Mother Goddess Diana, the Roman Artemis, points out the association of the Mother Goddess with the animals (*See, The Golden Bough*, abridged edition, Ch. I); while C. Kunhan Raja states that the pre-aryan Mother Goddess of India as well as the Dravidian notions that had made her a cult object was deeply related with animal worship (*See, History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, p. 33ff). Even in Chandimangala, a Bengali poetical work of the late medieval age, Chandi, the Mother Goddess has been conceived as the protectress of the animals. Therefore, the composite animals of the Indus seals should be explained in view of the cult of the Mother Goddess. Reference may be made in this connexion to a composite figure—semi-bovine, semi-human with elephant's body—that represents the Mother Goddess along with her male consort, the human countenance depicted therein being due to animistic notions. From a faience sealing showing a seated deity with a hooded Cobra over the head it appears that serpent worship as a form of the cult of the Mother Goddess was practised in the Indus Valley. Snakes were associated with the Egyptian Mother Goddess Isis and the Earth God Seb (Qeb). On the Mycenean calenders of the Cyprus, the Goddess of Paphos is associated with a pillar entwined by a serpent. Mother Goddesses like Artemis, Ashtart, Gaia, and others had also snakes as their symbols (*See*

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, p. 399f). Similarly, the worship of tree, which seems to have been current among the peoples of Indus Valley, has a close bearing on the cult of Mother Goddess as has been suggested by Mackenzie (See, *The Migration of Symbols* P. 157ff).

Some traits of the cult of Mother Goddess, its distribution and its survival in the symbolic representations of the Indus Culture have been briefly dealt with the preceding paragraphs. But it has not been stated before what we really mean by the term Mother Goddess. The scope of this cult is so wide and varied that it is very difficult to suggest an exact definition of the Mother Goddess. However, a suitable definition has been supplied by Gustava Glotz accordingly to which "She is the Great Mother. It is she who makes all nature bring forth. All existing things are emanations from her. She is the madonna carrying the holy child, or watching over him. She is the mother of men and of animals, too. She continually appears with an escort of beasts, for she is the mistress of wild animals, snakes, birds and fishes. She even makes the plants grow by her universal fecundity, perpetuating the vegetative force of which she is the fountain head." (*Aegean Civilization*, p. 245).

The connotations pointed out in the definition mentioned above constitute the basic aspects of the Mother Goddess. It has already been stated that the Mother Goddess has a very wide geographical distribution. Moreover, in a particular pantheon of a particular country we may be confronted with more than one Mother Goddess. Therefore, before going into the greater details regarding the Pre-Vedic Indian Mother Goddess it will be helpful for us to have a bird's-eye view of the popular Mother Goddesses of the Aegean; and the Asia Minor.

Aphrodite is one of the most popular Mother Goddesses of Greece. In the Roman pantheon she is known as Venus. She is the goddess of love, gracefulness, beauty and pleasure, the wife of Vulcan and the mother of Cupid and Aeneas. Aphrodite corresponds to to the Syrian Astarte. Among the Assyrians Aphradite is called Mylitta. In Semetic Mythology Aphrodite is worshipped as the goddess of fecundity. Her counterpart Astarte is a very popular figure in the Semitic world. In the Sumero-Babylonian pantheon she has been called as Ishtar.

Artemis is the Greek name of Diana, the daughter of Jupiter and Latona and the twin sister of Apollo. She is purely a nature goddess as well as the goddess of light. Also she is the patroness of hunting and goddess of fecundity. She has power over "hills and valleys, woods, meadows, rivers and fountains." Her symbol is snake and she is often depicted with horns on her shoulders.

Athene is the Greek goddess corresponding to the Roman Minarva, to goddess of wisdom, of the liberal arts and of spinning and weaving. She is of a sexual origin and is also a goddess of eternal virginity. To her the bull was sacred.

Cybele or Kybele corresponding to Cretan and Roman Rhea is perhaps the most popular Mother Goddess. She is the wife of Saturn and the mother of Jupiter. She is described as the earth goddess as well as the mother of the gods. She is also the mother of Demeter. Among the Greeks she is also a goddess of agricultural prosperity. "Under the name of Agdistis, she was worshipped with great solemnity at Pessinus in Galatia. Under different names we might tr[illegible] the worship of Rhea as far as the Euphrates, and even Bactriana."

Demeter, indentical with the Roman Ceres, is the goddess of grain, fruits and agriculture. She is the daughter of Rhea-Cybele. Her symbol is wasp. Her husband is Zeus (Jupiter) and her daughter is Proserperpine who is said to have been abducted by Pluto, the god of the lower world.

Damkina, the lady of the Earth, is perhaps the most rudimentary form of the Semetic Mother Goddess. Her consort was Ea. Another important Babylonian Mother Goddess is—probably Nin-Lil who is the consort of the Earth God Enlil. She is the "lady of the lower world and the mistress of heaven and earth," and often identified with Nin-harsag. But the most famous Mother Goddess of the Semetic area is Astarte who is Ashtart in Canaan, Atargatis in Syria, Ishtar in Babylonia, Astar in Abyssina and Astarte in Phoenicia. She has been identi-

fied with the Greek Aphrodite which has been stated before.

Gaia, the mother of Rhea-Cybele, is perhaps the oldest of the Mother Goddesses of the Greek Pantheon. She is connected with fruitfulness. She has local cults and temples as well as animals and perhaps human victims are offered to her. She is also called the Serpent-mother. Perhaps Uranus is the son as well as the husband of Gaia.

Hera, the Roman Juno, is the sister and wife of Jupiter. She is the queen of heaven, the guardian deity of woman and of marriage. "Hera seems originally to have symbolised the feminine aspects of the natural forces of which Zeus is the masculine representative. Hence she is at once his wife and his sister, shares his power and his honours, and, like him, has the authority over the phenomena of atmosphere."

Isis is the most popular of all the Mother Goddesses of the Egyptian Mythology. She corresponds to the Greco-Roman Iio, the daughter of Inachus and Ismene. She, being a lover of Jupiter, became the victim of Juno's jealousy. So Jupiter turned her into a beautiful heifer. She came to Egypt and was restored to her former shape. Then she married king Osiris, and after her death was worshipped by the Egyptians.

Among other minor Mother Goddesses reference must be made to the Greek Phoebe corresponding to the Roman Luna, the goddess of the moon, often identified with the Thracian Bendis and the Cretan Britomartis. Reference should also be made to Ate, the goddess of fatality, Eos or Aurora, the goddess of dawn, Bellona, the goddess of war, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, the goddesses who preside over human life, Flora, the goddess of flower, Fortuna, the goddess of good luck, Europa, the cretan and phoenician minor Mother Goddess, Euphrosyne, the goddess of grace, Hebe, the goddess of Youth Leto or Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana, Calliope, Clio, Erato, Euterpa, Melpomene, Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, Thalia and Urania, the nine goddesses of happiness and sorrow, Pandora, the goddess of curiosity, Psyche, the goddess of passion, Semele, mother of the wine-god Bacchus, Tethys, the mother of sea-nymphs and Vesta, the goddess of hearth.

From the barest description of the Mother Goddesses mentioned above the reader will find that the Greeks and others were influenced by the Egypto-Mesopotamian civilisation. According to Sir Arther Evans a good deal of the heroic legends of Greece as well as of the legends of their gods and goddesses were of pre-Hellenic origin. Dr. Chatterjee says that "A similar thing appears to have taken place in India. Myths and legends of gods and heroes current among the Austrics and Dravidians, long antedating the period of Aryan advent in India (C. 1500 B.C.), appear to have survived the Aryan impact and to have been rendered into the Aryan language in late and garbled, or 'improved,' versions, accommodating themselves to the Aryan God and Hero-worlds, and it is these myths and legends of gods, kings, and sages which we largely find in the Puranas." (*The Vedic Age*, p. 165). Therefore, it is not at all improbable that many of the Puranic legends were of pre-Vedic origin and most probably they centred round the worship of the great Mother Goddess of the Indus Valley civilisation.

Unfortunately at our present state of knowledge it is impossible for us to know the name of the Mother Goddess of the Indus culture. But we are sure that she must be a rudimentary form of that cult object which was later known as the Sakti worship where the Mother Goddess was designed with so many names like Abhaya, Annada, Aparna, Amrita, Arundhati, Bhadra, Brahmakala, Bhavani, Bhadrakarnika, Bhimadevi, Bhadrasundari, Chandi, Chandrika, Devamata, Dhriti, Gomati, Gauri, Gayatri, Indrani, Jayanti, Jaya, Jalapriya, Kumud, Kirtimati, Kusodoka, Kamakshi, Kamacharini, Kamala, Kali, Kapila, Kumari, Kalyani, Lalita, Lingadharini, Lila, Madotkota, Margadayini, Madhavi, Muktesvari, Mahadevi, Mahotpala, Mangala, Mrigavati, Mahalakshmi, Mahesvari, Mandavi, Mahabhaga, Mata, Manmatha, Nanda, Narayani, Nandini, Patala, Pushkaravati, Pingalesvari, Pushtimedha, Prabha, Paramesvari, Prachanda, Rambha, Rudrani, Ratipriya, Rukmini, Radha, Sugandha, Sivananda, Svaha, Simhika, Sakti, Sarasvati, Satyavadini, Sivakarini, Suddhimata, Trisandhya, Tara, Tilottama, Utpalakshi, Uma, Visalakshi, Visvakaya, Vilvapatrika, Vimala,

Vipula, Vindhyavasini, Vararoha, Visvamukhi, Yasaskari, etc. But all these names do not and cannot help us to ascertain the original name of the Pre-vedic Mother Goddess. So long as the Indus script is undeciphered all our attempts in this connexion will be futile. At our present state of knowledge it will also be of no avail to speculate on the name of the Pre-vedic Mother Goddess in terms of the Dravidian Mother Goddesses like Ayappan and others since the Dravidian authorship of Mohenjodaro language is far from being proved.

But we must not pine for what we have not got. At present though we are unable to trace her name, yet some of her distinguishing features are not beyond our domain. First of all in the conception of this Mother Goddess there is a cohesion of all the characteristics that befit the definition supplied by Glotz. We have already seen that in the case of the Greek goddesses a second stage of development have taken place. Each of them holds the office of her own, *e.g.*, Aphrodite is the goddess of love, Artemis is the goddess of fecundity, Athene is the goddess of wisdom, Cybele is the goddess of earth, Demeter is the goddess of vegetation and so on. This clearly proves that at the initial stage there was one Mother Goddess consisting of all the attributes mentioned above. Such a deity was the Mother Goddess of the Indus valley. Secondly, this pre-vedic Mother Goddess also delineates the primary stage of that particular system of religious belief which was later designated as the Bhakti cult. Hence ours will be the task to prove the assumptions furnished herewith.

A student of later Indian religious history must agree with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar to the point that *Bhagavatism*—which preaches that devotion or *Bhakti* should be the only form of worship—was the rise of a new theistic mission in Western India, *(See, Collected Works,* Vol. IV, p. 3), and with Dr. Raychoudhuri to the fact that "Vasudevism, like the religions of the Sakya sage and the Jnatrika reformer, originated amongst a free clan outside the Brahmanical Pale." (*Early History of the Vaishnava* Sect., pp. 7-8). From a purely philosophical point of view the *Bhagavata* religion reflects dualism which is obviously due to the influence of the later *Upanishads* and what Vasudeva Krishna really did was that he endorsed the pre-vedic non-Aryan tradition of *Bhakti* into the newly yielded philosophical dualism of his time.

"The *Upanishads*," observes Keith, "as in some degree all earlier thought in India, represent the outcome of the reflections of a people whose blood was mixed. We may, if we desire, call the *Upanishads* the product of Aryo-Dravidian thought; but if we do so, we must remember that the effect of the intermixture must be regarded in the light of chemical fusion, in which both elements are transformed." (*Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and the Upanishads,* (Vol. I, p. 497). It is a fact that today we are not in a position to account for the exact amount of the non-Aryan thoughts that have permeated the philosophical speculations of the Aryan settlers. We have no literary record of the pre-Aryan Indus civilisation by which we shall be able to reconstruct the philosophical contributions of her people. All that we can do is to depend on the archaeological specimens bearing on the cult of the Mother Goddess, discovered so far. However, along with other materials available to us we shall have to seek in them, the germs of the *Bhakti* cult in the light of at least a rudimentary form of philosophical dualism.

The figures bearing the iconographic representations of the Mother Goddess of the Indus valley are "nude save for a very abbroviated skirt secured by a girdle round the loins. These figures wear much jewellery and a curious fan-shaped head-dress with two cuplike objects, one on either side, although in some specimens the last feature is much more pronounced than in others. Several of these cups have smoke-stains inside, which suggests that oil or little pellets of incense were burned in them, in order that the Goddess might hearken to the petitions of the worshipper." (Mackay, *The Indus Civilization,* p. 66). On a clay-amulet a kneeling man is seen making an offering to what appears to be a neem tree. It is evident that the man makes a devotional offering to the tree-goddess, for, the reverse of the same amulet shows that two men are holding a tree and between them there is a tree-deity which though animistic in representation, serves the purpose of seeking from it a

rudimentary form of Bhakti-cult. Thirdly specimens of the representation of the Mother Goddess standing under a bifurcated branch of a Pipal tree have been found in the Indus sites; another horned deity is represented as kneeling before her. Behind the worshipper a composite figure of a goat with a human face can be seen. A number of people, or spirits or deities occupies the whole of the lower register of the seal-amulet. This representation leads us to seek the germs of Sakti worship in which the sacrifice of animals is the most characteristic feature. We are to mark that the figure of the goat has a human head. In all probability it is a symbolical representation of sacrifice in a metaphysical sense. It reminds us of what Ghora Angirasa taught Krishna Devakiputra in the *Chhandogya Upanishad* (III, 17). Summing up the teachings of Ghora Angirasa, the worshipper of the sun (See, Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 466), Dr. Roychoudhuri concludes that "Krishna is associated with a school of thought that rejected the ritualistic interpretation of sacrifice (Vidhi Yajna) and gave a new meaning to human life and activities. Man's life is as sacred as a sacrifice and death is merely the final sacrificial bath provided he pays Dakshina to his fellow beings in the shape of charity, non-violence, truthfulness and other virtues." (*Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 80).

Like the Mother Goddess of the Asia Minor and the Mediterranean the Indian Mother Goddess had also a male consort. We have already seen that Inanna, the Sumerian Mother Goddess was associated with Dumuzi, Ishtar with Tammuz, Aphrodite with Adonis, Cybele with Attis, Isis with Hathor and so on. At the present state of our knowledge it is impossible for us to know the name of the Father God of the Indus Valley civilization but he must be the three-faced deity wearing a horned head-dress, seated cross-legged on a stool, and surrounded by a number of animals—two deer, a rhinoceros, an elephant, a tiger and a buffalo, which has been found in a seal-amulet and identified by Marshall as the prototype of Siva-Pasupati of subsequent days. Mackay thinks that the Mother Goddess of the Indus Valley was a virgin. It is due to the small size of her breast. (*Op. Cit.*, pp. 72-73). But this view lacks plausibility.

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PLANNING FROM BELOW

The Panacea for Economic and Social Ills

By Dr. K. M. RASTOGI, M.A., B.COM., L.S.G.D., Ph.D.

The 15th August, 1947, was a red-letter day not only in our political but also in our economic and social history. We attained political freedom and celebrated it with spontaneous enthusiasm. We pledged to establish a Welfare State in India and have chosen economic planning as a means of achieving it. We have witnessed a decade of planned economic development but our political, social, and economic conditions have worsened. Widespread frustrations among the masses, political disorder, social disharmony, acute economic problems and wastages, all these have shaken our faith in existing democracy. Many villagers are not happy with what has happened. The economic hardship caused by the rising prices has made it difficult for a middle-class or a low-class family even to keep its members alive. It seems that a tiny minority has run away with the cake of ten years planned development. The standard of living of the vast majority has, therefore, unavoidably gone down. A hue and cry was raised in the Parliament last year to probe into the allegations made against the much publicised ten year's planned developments. The Planning Commission appointed a Committee consisting of the top-most Economists of the country, to locate the skeletons in the cupboard of our planned economy. The findings of the Committee are anxiously awaited.

Planning from Below

India rightly adopted economic planning to bring about economic progress and prosperity of the people. We have executed two Five-Year Plans and have embarked upon the Third one with a gigantic outlay and with a promise to reach the

peak of prosperity and progress. It is an undeniable fact that during these two plans there has been a remarkable progress, but it is only at the top, not at the bottom. At the same time there has been a lot of suffering among the masses, public opinion has been seriously critical, and there has been political, social, and economic disorder. The validity of economic planning as an instrument for economic progress cannot be questioned, but the methods adopted deserve a close scrutiny. For several centuries, India had been in the grip of poverty and illiteracy. People expect the solution of their immediate problems, but the planning at the top or centralised planning has failed to fulfil the expectations. National Planning and Local Planning are necessary and have their own place, but the question is which one can solve our immediate economic and social ills. Is it National planning or Local planning? Do we need a plan for future or a plan for the present? Is it possible to attend to the problems of sanitation, roads, education, supply of pure drinking water, provision and promotion of other civic amenities of a particular locality through national planning? These are the questions which the planners alone can answer.

National Planning Vs. Local Planning

It is my opinion that India is in need of local planning to solve its immediate economic and social problems. A vast country like India, having a population of over 43 crores cannot make provision for every town and for every man through centralised planning. Only local planning can make, provide, promote, and maintain civic amenities for the masses. If this is done it will be a significant step towards the setting up of a Welfare State.

The mighty adventure of socio-economic reconstruction in India has indicated that if social reforms and economic progress are to be promoted through the methods of economic planning, public co-operation and active participation of every Indian will have to be sought. The institutional pattern of democratic life will have to be moulded from the below. The edifice of a Welfare State will have to be built-up brick by brick. Local self-government which is the nursery of democracy has been universally acclaimed as a school for good citizenship. Local planning is an essential part of national planning and a great emphasis should be laid on it. Our beloved Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, while addressing the Conference of Local self-government Ministers in New Delhi, thirteen years ago rightly said,

> "Local self-government is, and must be, the basis of any true system of democracy. We have got, rather, into the habit of thinking of democracy at the top, and not so much below. Democracy at the top will not be successful unless it is built on this foundation from below."

Local self-government should be regarded, as a means to not only political, but also a economic development. A socialistic pattern of society is not a mere political experiment for its establishment, economic planning should become a reality. The two top-most Economists of the world, one from the U.S.A., Professor Galbraith, and other from England, Professor Colin Clark, have severely criticised the methods of planning adopted in under-developed countries. The cause for slow growth during these plans is their wrong approach to planning. The success of planning, in a country like India, cannot be achieved through centralised planning or planning from the top, (excessive emphasis on capital investment), but through local planning, *i.e.*, investment in human welfare and the building up a favourable social climate. Permanent prosperity alone is a solution of our economic and social ills. For this purpose, the investment in human welfare like the construction of all weather roads, better health facilities, supply of clean drinking water, elementary improvement in sanitation and drainage, provision of free and compulsory education the clearance of slums and the like, should be encouraged. Slums are the breeding grounds for many diseases and social vices. The high-rate of incidence, (T.B. and Influenza) is widely prevalent among the slums dwellers. The bustees of Calcutta and Chawls of Bombay are pimples on the face of these two great industrial towns of India. It is, therefore, clear that unless the people are assured of better living conditions, all talk of

a Socialistic Pattern of Society and a Welfare State will be meaningless. It is not true that the Government is not aware of the problem, but it is true that widespread efforts are being made with little success. Every year the problems are discussed at the meetings of the Central Council of Local self-government which are attended by the Ministers for the Local Development of India, and Local self-government experts, and Housing Ministers. The problems are discussed seriously and various proposals are made and resolutions passed to do away with these evils, but they are put into the waste-paper basket. Various Committees and Commissions have been appointed by the States and Central Government since Independence to enquire into and suggest the means of improving the working of Local self-government in India to make it a reality rather than a mere political experiment. But the recommendations of these bodies are not implemented. The suggestions of the Local Finance Enquiry Committee, (1948) and the Taxation Enquiry Commission, (1953) have borne no fruits and no concrete steps have been taken to implement the recommendations either by the States or by the Central Government.

Local people (through local planning formulated and implemented by the local bodies) should be called upon to participate in all efforts, physcially, mentally and financially to bring an end to our social and economic ills. The key to progress lies in the successfully implementation of democratic, efficient, local planning. I wish to underline the words, democratic, efficient and local in the planning from the below because they contain the kernel of the whole matter. Local planning must be democratic because all uplift should include, not only the privileged class, but also the masses. It must be efficient because it should be capable of managing the local services in a way which will help in raising the standard of living. It must be local because planning should be for the local people and their problems.

The economic planning in our country might be classified under two heads, (1) National planning (including State planning), consisting of larger items and involving the entire nation or region, such as major power-projects, irrigation schemes, higher education, curative aspects of public health, national highways, ports, bigger industrial units, and (2) Local planning in respect of education and public health. Besides, creating local initiative, it will teach the financial responsibility to the people. The connexion between the payment of local taxes and the enjoyment of local services is direct and obvious—so much more convincing to the tax-payer and so much more stimulating to their interest, then the remoter connexion, which is impossible to see through central planning. The public which has become too much right-conscious will compel the local authorities to exercise meticulous care in spending every single Naya Paisa, thereby, promoting economy, avoiding wastages and improving administration. It is, of course, impossible to redistribute the wealth of the people in accordance with the tenents of the maximum social advantage doctrine, but if revenue is raised by taxing, the well-to-do class according to their taxable capacity and spend it on the services beneficial to the community at large, the real income of less well-to-do class is increased and economic gap between them is minimised. If we tax articles considered harmful for public health and morals, we decrease their consumption and clear the way for social reform. All this is likely to bring us nearer to a true welfare state and a true socialistic pattern of society.

We may, therefore, conclude that the system of decentralised planning be adopted in our country. Municipalities and Gram Panchayats and the local administrative units might be asked to formulate their Five-Year Plans. The items of 'social overheads' like public health and sanitation should be left to them. Town planning should be encouraged for the physical growth of the towns. Adequate finance from the local as well as central resources should be made available. All this is aimed at improving the living conditions and social conditions in a dynamic manner in towns and villages. Local planning will benefit the weaker sections of our society, who are denied even the minimum means of human existence, and will also supply them minimum civic amenities. The fact is that local planning has an important bearing on, not only the political development of the community but also the social economic growth of the public.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDUSTRIAL DECENTRALISATION*

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Industrialisation in many countries was marked by the development of gigantic corporations, leading to conditions of monopoly and quasi-monopoly through the destruction of small-scale production, which created grave economic, social and political problems for the Governments of those countries. Many governments were compelled, under the force of development, to devise special legislation to give protection to the dying small-scale industries, since they found that without a degree of diffusion of ownership and location of industries, the national economy showed symptoms of unbearable strain.

Governmental action in supporting the continued growth of small-scale industries took different forms in different countries. In some a general statute was enacted providing for comprehensive assistance to the small industries, while in others government would define its policy with reference to specific aspects of individual industries. The Governments of the United States of America and Japan, for example, have statutory enactments designed to facilitate the growth of small-scale industries whereas in Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany, where the small industrial units play a distinctive role in economic development, assistance is offered through specific decisions with reference to particular branches of industry. Last year the Italian Parliament also passed a Bill recognising the legal status of small-scale industries.

In this country, there are tremendous possibilities for the growth of small-scale industries. A study of 99 Community Development Blocks in 1960 disclosed that in a majority of those Block Headquarters there were possibilities for promotion of industries based on agricultural produce and for other village and cottage industries. Half the Block Headquarters revealed possibilities for promotion of industries based on forest produce, hides and skins and other miscellaneous manufacturing or processing industries. The Study Team pointed out that there was considerable scope for the establishment of small and industrial units as ancillaries in Block Headquarters within the orbit of influence of big industrial centres and metropolises. The need for special governmental measure both for the protection to, and for the continued development of small industrial units becomes obvious—from the historical development in other countries which preceded in the path towards industrialisation as well as from the exigencies of the national economy at its present juncture. The Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Headquarters of C. D. Blocks, to whose report a reference has been made above, has made a very significant observation: "Availability of governmental assistance has an important role to play in the growth of industries and consequently in the rapid growth of the Block Headquarters. Where the Government has taken initiative in granting loans and has also provided facilities for the establishment of industries, by marking out plots and providing power and water, etc., the response has been really encouraging and **the rate of industrial expansion and population growth has been very rapid in contrast to other areas with similar advantages, but where governmental assistance was not provided." (Report of the Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Headquarters of C. D. Blocks,** Ministry of Community Development and Corporation, New Delhi, 1960,—para 10.1. Bolds added). Citing a specific example, the Team says: "At Sonepat, due to its favourable location in relation to Delhi and the assistance provided by the

*Based on a lecture delivered to the Students of Rural Sociology in the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay in February, 1962.

Government of Punjab, several flourishing industrial units have been established. **There would be several Block Headquarters even around Delhi and in other parts in the country which have similar advantanges of location; but in these primarily due to the absence of definite governmental assistance—which in a backward economy is a major incentive—no appreciable development of industries has yet taken place." (Ibid.**—Bolds added).

Government's awareness of its responsibilities has found recognition in various decisions of the Government in this country—particularly in setting up the Small-scale Industries Board and the National Small Industries Corporation. These measures have contributed to results. "The growth of small-scale industries constitutes one of the most significant features of development during the Second Plan", observes the Planning Commission in the Third Five-Year Plan. Between 1956-60, the number of small-scale units producing bicycles rose from 44 to 150, those producing sewing machines from 35 to 75, machine tools from 344 to well over 500, electric motors from 6 to 74 and electric fans from 22 to 47. Welcome as they are, the measures that have been adopted so far can by no means be considered adequate, or as obviating the need for taking further legislative measures. The Productivity Study Team on Small-scale Industries sponsored by the Indian Productivity Council to study small-scale industries in U.S.A., West Germany, Sweden and Japan in 1960, observed that "the time has now come to consider the introduction of suitable legislative measures" to maintain the progress already achieved and further to accelerate the tempo. In the following paragraphs an attempt has been made to discuss the important role the Government has already begun to play vis-a-vis the small-scale industries.

Power Supply

Availability of cheap power has a determining effect on the dispersal of industries. One of the reasons that have retarded the steps for shifting the industries away from metropolitan areas, such as, Calcutta and Bombay is the non-availability of power in other areas within the States of Maharashtra and West Bengal. In the matter of rural electrification, these two States were lagging far behind many other States. The percentage of villages electrified by March, 1961, was 1.9 in Maharashtra and only 1.2 in West Bengal, compared with 35.5 in Madras, 32.3 in Kerala, 9.6 in Punjab, 7.9 in Andhra, 6.3 in Mysore, 4 in Uttar Pradesh, 3.9 in Gujarat and 2.9 in Bihar. As has been observed by the Village and Small-scale Industries (Second Five-Year Plan) Committee, "electricity tariffs are such as favour the large consumer in preference to small consumer, and the urban consumer in comparison with the rural one." **(Report of the Village and Small-scale Industries —Second Five-Year Plan—Committee,** Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1955, para 46).

In Sweden, the Government has sought to promote the growth of small industries through favourable treatment in regard to cost of electric power and through differential transportation charges over the railway so that rates are equalised among different industries situated in different parts of the country. In this country, due principally to the acute shortage of coal and electricity even for maintaining the essential industries, efforts for augmenting supplies of fuel and power for the small-scale industrial units have not borne much result. By 1966, all the towns with a population of 6,000 and above are expected to be electrified, but it is problematical if thereby small-scale industries would be assured of a steady supply of power. "While, therefore, it can be assumed that by the end of the Third Plan, all the Block Headquarters would have electric connections," says an official report, "it is not certain that the quantum of power which would be available would be sufficient to meet the needs of the small-scale industries and the townships." **(Report of the Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Headquarters of C. D. Blocks,** Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, New Delhi, December, 1960, paras 5-7). In the scale of priorities for the allocation of power also the

small-scale units come much below. Observing that the overall shortage in power-supply and competing demands from urban areas and industrialized areas would leave hardly any scope for power being available for small industries on any adequate scale during the next few years, the **Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Township** pointed out that "a definite policy regarding the extension of electrification to the Block Headquarters and rural areas and the giving of connections to small-scale industries in rural areas on a priority basis, would have to be adopted." (**Ibid**, p. 6).

Finance and Credit

The technical meeting on Small-scale and Handicrafts Industries which was organized by the International Labour Organization in New Delhi in October last year named ten areas in which services for these industries have to be provided to ensure their development, viz., (i) finance; (ii) raw materials; (iii) marketing; (iv) production; (v) labour; (vi) management; (vii) organisation; (viii) economic and social research; (ix) information services; and (x) provision of design and teaching of packaging techniques.

Easily, finance received precedence over others. In the field of finance, Government's policy is bound to play even a far more decisive role than in other fields. The small-scale industries can get credit from the State Financial Corporations as well as under the State Aid to Industries Act. The small-scale industries in the country have been enjoying the benefit first, of the scheme of the State Bank of India for provision of finance to small-scale industries, which made a small beginning in 1956, and later on of the credit guarantee scheme of the Reserve Bank of India, whereby banks can offer institutional credit to small industrial units, on the guarantee of the Reserve Bank. By November 30, 1960, loans to the extent of Rs. 6,86,43,000 had been sanctioned to 2230 small industrial units by the State Bank of India. Even then they have been receiving less than ten per cent of the total advances made by the State Bank of India.

Under the Credit Guarantee Scheme, which has been in operation since July, 1960, eighteen credit institutions, including the State Bank and five State Finance Corporations were processing credit to small-scale industries in September, 1961. Till the beginning of November, 1961, a sum of Rs. 5 crores had been sanctioned as loans to 1,550 applicants under that scheme. Reviewing the working of the scheme, a Study Group of the Reserve Bank has observed: "No doubt, the State Bank's pilot scheme aims at co-ordinating the provision of credit to small-scale industries, but this could be further expanded to cover all agents providing credit to the small industries and the field of operation can be expanded." Calling upon all concerned to come forward in a concerted manner, the Study Group has suggested liberalisation of procedure for lending and relaxation in respect of security requirements and insistence on margins. The character and technical ability of the borrower need to be taken into consideration and there should be, as far as possible less insistence on preference for selected commodities or guarantee. Banks could take advantage of the credit guarantee scheme of the Government of India as well as of the facilities offered by the Refinance Corporation for Industry Ltd., in respect of loans to small-scale industries.

In the financing of small-scale industries foreign exchange allocation also has a decisive influence. Foreign exchange is vital for the import of essential equipments and raw materials.

Stores Purchase Policy

Marketing is the perennial problem of smaller industrial units which find it extremely difficult to compete with the large-scale units. Some degree of protection has necessarily to be extended to smaller units. It is the declared policy of the state in the United States of America that the Government should "counsel, assist and protect" the interests of the small business concerns and "insure that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for property and services for the Government

(including but not limited to contracts for maintenance, repair and construction) be placed with small business enterprises (and) to ensure that a fair proportion of the total sales of Government property be made to such enterprises . . . ." (Sec. 2(a) of the Small Business Act of 1958—Public Law, 163, 83rd Congress). This provision is a clear recognition of the importance of the Government's stores purchase policy in influencing the growth of small-scale industries. The Government of India's Stores Purchase Policy has been based considerably on the procedure followed by the United States Government. As a matter of fact, the policy owes its origin to the recommendation of Mr. Kennard Weddell, Chief of Small Business in the Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force. The scope of purchases in this country is, however, restricted to purchase made by the Director-General of Supplies and Disposals and does not cover Defence or Railway Purchases. The purchases made by the Director-General fall in four broad categories. Articles in the first category are the products of large-scale sector; those in the second category are purchased only from large units, although the large units can subcontract parts and components to small-scale units; in the third category goods are purchased from both the large-scale and the small-scale sectors, but a price preference of 15% is available for the products of the small-scale sector; and in the forth category are purchases of selected items made exclusively from the small-scale sector.

Over the years there has been a steady rise in the percentage of purchases made from the small-scale sector by the Director-General of supplies and Disposals (DGS & D). Shri N. E. S. Raghavachari, Director-General Supplies and Disposals, Government of India, disclosed on January 15 this year that purchases made by the Govt. of India from small-scale industries had reached the mark Rs. 8 crores in the year 1961-62 compared with Rs. 6.46 crores in 1960-61, Rs. 4.29 crores in 1959-60 and Rs. 2.63 crores in 1957-58. Earlier it had been reported on December 4, 1961, that the Government of India had decided to enlarge the list of products to be exclusively purchased from small-scale units for departmental requirements by adding nineteen new items to the existing list of 27 items. The new additions to the list included cotton and woollen goods, leather products, iron and steel products, such as, blacksmith's hearths and steel trunks, tarpaulins, and brushes. The revised list contains the following 46 items. Brass padlocks; galvanised iron padlocks; brass dampers; boxes made of metal (excluding those for army requirements); painted signboards; metal bottons; postal weighing scales; badges made of cloth or metal (for civil requirements); leather belt; cash bags; dust shield leather; chappals and sandals; leather boxes (other than army type); leather laces; boots and shoes of types required by civil indentors; glass ampules; handles made of wood or bamboo; washing and laundry shop for civil requirements; metal polish. Ordinary cutting scissors, coir fibre and coir yarn; postal lead seals; cotton and woollen hosiery for civil requirements; wooden kegs; stone curry and stone curry rollers; kodali; cane basket; lathies; woollen caps; belts leather and strips; wheel barrows; brushes and brooms.

The following items for civil requirements will also be purchased exclusively from the small-scale units: cotton caps; mosquito curtain; cotton tape; bandage cloth; garments; cotton wicks; stockinette; steel trunks and tarpaulins.

Nevertheless it is to be noted that with better integration of the small-scale industries with large-scale ones, the results might be still more encouraging. The Indian Productivity Team which made a report on Small-scale Industries in U.S.A., West Germany, Sweden and Japan also noted that "The National Small Industries Corporation Scheme, however, lags behind the American system in one major respect, in that the sub-contracting possibilities in the contracts awarded to large contractors do not seem to have been exploited. It is felt that the supply of stores to Government from small units could be increased considerably if the contractors for Group II item are persuaded to sub-contract as many

items as possible to small units, consistent, of course, with their contractual obligations for delivery of stores to D.G. S. & D." **(Report of India Productivity Team: Small-scale Industries in U.S.A., West Germany, Sweden and Japan,** National Productivity Council, New Delhi, 1960, p. 40).

Common Service Facilities

Common Service facilities have played a significant role in promoting the growth of small-scale industries in many other countries. These facilities consist in setting up establishments and workshops to provide to a group of similar or allied industries processing facilities like electroplating, heat treatment, etc., and use of special purpose machines at a reasonable cost, so that each of the industrial units in the small-scale sector need not have to make separate investment on the machinery and equipment required for these purposes. In the Soviet Union this principle was extended to the field of agricultural development as well whereby the State set up Machine Tractor Stations (MTS) at central points to serve several collective farms in the USSR. After the initial period of growth the small units may become viable enough to have their own separate arrangements. Recently the MTS were handed over to the collective farms in the USSR. In this country only the Government can provide these facilities. By October, 1960, thirty-seven extension centres were functioning with workshops and thirteen with offices only. During 1960-61, 2,51,050 parties received technical advice and 18,924 parties were given information to start new industries, 25,610 parties were given advice on other matters. Two thousand two hundred and forty-two designs, sketches and drawings of various types were prepared in 1960-61 for the benefit of small industries. The Indian Productivity Team on small-scale industries has observed: "A beginning has already been made in the direction of providing Common Service facilities for a number of industries in India by the various State Governments and by the Central Government through their Extension Centres in some places. It is understood that ultimately it is the intention of the Government to hand over these Common Service facilities to Co-operative of Industrial Units. This appears to be the best way of tackling the problem under Indian conditions.

"There is considerable scope for expansion of these facilities, and we suggest that special incentives may be given to any entrepreneur, association or co-operative interested in setting up such Centres." **(Report....para 16.2).**

Licensing Policy

The licensing policy of the Government of India owes its origin to the desire for guided development of industries. In a developing economy it is obviously not possible to have any rigid licensing policy. On the other hand, there may conceivably be a time-lag before a felt need for change in a policy is actually translated into practice. If the licensing policy were to be implemented effectively, a definition of small-scale industries was immediately called for. In 1959-60, the Government of India defined the small-scale industries so as to include all industrial units with a capital of not more than Rs. 5 lakhs irrespective of the number of persons employed. These industries would not be required to obtain a licence under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951. During the following year (1960-61), there was further liberalization in this regard; by a notification, the Government of India exempted from the licensing provisions of the Act, all the industrial undertakings which employed less than 100 workers and which had fixed assets not exceeding Rs. 10 lakhs. This year (1962) by another notification, the Government of India has exempted all industrial undertakings having fixed assets not exceeding Rs. 10 lakhs from the obligation to obtain a licence, irrespective of the number of persons employed by such undertakings. This would certainly facilitate the development of certain industries; but it is obviously a moot point whether an undertaking employing more than 100 per-

sons and having fixed assets worth Rs. 10 lakhs can be truly considered to be representative of small-scale industries in India. It is again an open question whether the same ceiling of capital and labour should be applied to all the industries without making any differentiation. The Japanese and United States examples, which variously define the term "small-scale unit" for different industries are worth studying from this point of view. In the U.S.A., different standards are observed for purposes of Government procurement, for sale of Government property, for Small Business, Administration, Business Loans, etc.

In the import policy also, provision has been made for helping the small units. Small industries need submit only one consolidated application for all their requirements of raw material and components. On the basis of such an application, separate licences are granted for the import of different items. With a view to minimizing hardship caused by any possible delay, small-scale industries including those located in the Industrial Estates are granted repeat licences on the basis of 75 per cent of the face-value of the licences issued to them during the previous licensing period, even if the application is not accompanied by an essentiality certificate from the Director of Industries of the State Government concerned. There are, however, frequent complaints of delay in disposal of cases by the licensing authorities.

Tariff Policy

Tariff policy followed by the Government of a country plays a crucial role in the economic development of the country. The retarded growth of industries during the British period was in no small measure due to the Tariff policy of unrestricted import of consumer goods followed by the then Government of India. Even such big, organized units as the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the organized sector of the textile industry had found it exceedingly difficult to stand on their own in face of foreign competition and had to seek Government support. In many other equally deserving cases, however, such protection was not forthcoming. Small-scale industries cannot grow unless they are assured of freedom from competition from foreign markets. During the past decade of planning, the Government's policies have more or less sought to uphold the interests of small producers. As was demonstrated during the Indian Industries Fair which concluded earlier this year, small units can also build heavy machinery. Ninety per cent of the 10,000 square feet of the pavilion of the National Small Industries Corporation in the fair was devoted to a display of machine tools which brought home the realization that small industrial units could produce not only consumer goods, but heavy machinery as well.

Side by side with planning imports, thoughts have necessarily to be given to the export of the products of the small units. The annual conference of the Federation of Associations of Small Industries of India held in New Delhi in the middle of December passed a resolution urging the Government of India to set up an export promotion organisation for small industries (H. T. 16. 12. 61). During 1960-61, a dozen export promotion councils were functioning in the country for cotton textiles, silk, plastics, casbow, tobacco, sports goods, chemicals, shellac, leather, engineering, mica and spices. The suggestion for the creation of a separate export promotion council for assisting in the export of the products of the small-scale units deserves close study and examination.

Location and Size of Industries

The problem of location of industries—particularly small-scale industries—is a complex one. The promotion of these industries has to be considered from several points of view, viz., diffusion of ownership, dispersal of industries, diversification of the rural economy and creation of avenues for addition employment. There is still too much of concentration of economic power in few hands. A concerted development of small-scale industries is essential to serve as a corrective to this phenomenon. There is again very little dispersal of industries

away from the established centres of growth. Out of a total number of 1,639 new companies registered throughout India during the calendar year 1961, no fewer than 1,256 new companies were accounted for by only four States which are already established centres of industries. Within these particular areas again industrial units are not evenly distributed throughout their territory; the units are more or less clustered around the cities of Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Calcutta. With a view to achieving a more balanced economy it would be necessary not merely to persuade industrialists to migrate to other States—a task which may not be very difficult in practice—but more importantly to achieve decentralization of industrial organization within the territory of the State concerned as well.

The other two points: diversification of the rural economy and provision of employment to the unemployed, are closely related to this question of decentralization. It is only through dispersal of ownership and decentralization of industrial development that one could hope for achieving the diversification of the rural economy and provide source of employment to the millions of the unemployed. What should be the area to be served by a particular industrial unit? And what should be the character of production? If the industry covers only a small area, it may not prove itself viable; so that the optimum size for the decentralized location of units will have to be found out. The optimum size would again vary from industry to industry and even for the same industry from region to region. But a broad measure has to be found out for settling policy in this regard. Otherwise things are likely to drift. Again if the industrial unit is located far away from the villages, villagers may, in fact, be unable to take advantage of the new units, which may have to function with the assistance of immigrant labour. That would not be desirable. But a viable unit of industry may not be possible to be set up always on the basis of making a village, the unit. In that case a redrawing of the villages may become imperative. The aspect of the viability of industries needs to be particularly emphasised. It is pertinent to recall the observations of the Report of the **Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community** on this point. The Study Group says: ". . . . . rural industries must be small in scale and widely spread over. They must also aim at maintaining a balance between employment and productivity; that is to say, aim at providing employment to the largest number of people and at the **same time be productive enough to maintain the persons employed at rising standards of living.** An industry that does not yield for the worker—hired or self-employed—at least a minimum living income is not an industry proper; it is merely a relief operation." (**Report**, Volume I, para 3.40. Bolds added). In other words, the scale of production is of crucial significance.

Technology

There is a close correlation between productivity, higher incomes and superior technology. One comes across a great confusion, in that many oppose higher technology in the erroneous belief that higher technology would inevitably lead to centralized production. This need not necessarily be so. Scientific and technological developments have made it possible to adopt better techniques even retaining the decentralized character of production. In point of fact, small-scale industries in the U.S.A. and Japan could survive only through their ability to assimilate the best results of modern technological growth for the purpose of enhancing the economic strength of the small-scale industries. It is of the highest importance that adequate consideration is given to this technological aspect. **The Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community** has accordingly stressed this point saying, that "A serious programme of rural industrialization should give the highest priority to research in small-machine technology, with a view both to improve the traditional tools and techniques and leads to inventions and innovations." (**Report**, Volume I, para 3.43). It may be,

however, that the adoption of better techniques may require a redefinition of small-scale industries.

Small Industries and Urbanization

Industrialization inevitably leads to urbanization. But development of small-scale industries may help in overcoming certain undesirable aspects of urbanization, such as, bustees and overcrowding. Analyzing the data supplied from 99 Community Development Blocks after ten years of development efforts, a Study Team appointed by the Government of India observed as follows: "A combination of factors like availability of water and power, educational and medical facilities, proximity to urban and industrial centres, facilities for trade and opportunities for the establishment of industries, availability of entrepreneurs and skilled craftsmen, and assistance from Government seems to decide whether a particular Block Headquarter becomes a natural focus of development." **(Report of the Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Headquarters of C. D. Blocks,** Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, New Delhi, 1960, p. 16). Population tends to grow faster in those Block Headquarters where some industries—either large, medium or small have been established and where employment opportunities had been created. **(Ibid,** p. 10). The degree of urbanization of a Block Headquarters is, however, influenced by its location in relation to a metropolis or a big industrial centre or a district town. According to the findings of the **Study Team,** "Block Headquarters located within the orbit of influence of a metropolis on a big industrial centre are likely to register a rapid increase in population due to industrial development. On the other hand, the Block Headquarters which are located within the orbit of influence of smaller urban areas, like the district towns, are not likely to grow fast, at least in the initial stages, as the tendency for the rural population is to move to the district town which first attracts the industrial units." **(Ibid,** p. 16).

Unquestionably this trend can be considerably modified by deliberate steps towards rural industrialization which should be defined in broader terms than connoting merely processing industries. Through a judicious policy of fostering the growth of suitable industries in selected centres, the purely rural communities can be transformed into properly balanced agro-industrial and urbo-rural communities. The exact types of industries that should be established in particular areas and the formulation of a comprehensive for its development would require a careful study of conditions prevailing locally. Government can play a vital role "in directing the physical growth of the township, assisting the process of industrialization and providing essential amenities." **(Report of the Study Team on Rural-cum-Urban Townships at the Block Headquarters of C. D. Blocks, para 16.8).**

This very brief and selection review highlights the vital role played by the Government in the development of small-scale industries, which is so needed not only from economic points of view—very important as they themselves are—but also from broader social and political points of view. The geographical dispersal and functional decentralization of industries can bring about qualitative changes in our village environment, since industries are among the most potent social catalysts. Moreover, in a planned economy where development is deliberately fostered or impeded much, is bound to depend on the policies of the government. In point of fact, in India, not only the availability of finance and market protection is dependent on the policies adopted by the government, even the availability of such an essential raw material as steel and coal and raliway transport is strictly determined by the priority laid down by the government. As has already been noted the government has adopted a large number of positive measures designed to help the small-scale sector through favourable treatment in the matter of licensing; common service facilities, provision of finance and government purchases; clearly the possibilities for taking further measures in this direction have by no means been exhausted.

STATEMENT BY G. A. ZHUKOV, AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN CALCUTTA

TODAY by signing of the exchange letters we have completed negotiations which took place during the last ten days in Delhi and Calcutta, on the programme of cultural and scientific co-operation between the Soviet Union and India for 1962-1963. I want to say with satisfaction that these negotiations were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

During the discussions, both parties came to the conclusion that the agreement of cultural and scientific co-operation between our countries signed on February 12, 1960 is being implemented successfully. During 1960 only, about 20 delegations from India visited the Soviet Union and the same number of Soviet delegations came to India. Among those delegations were famous Soviet and Indian scientists, professors, writers, artists, stage troupes, dancers and musicians.

During the course of implementation of the Cultural Agreement, special attention was paid to the exchange of experience between scientists of both countries, as well as to the training of Indian specialists in the universities and scientific institutions of the Soviet Union. At the same time a large number of young Soviet scientists and students came to India to study Indian history, literature and other aspects of Indian life.

The Soviet Government have provided 50 scholarships for Indian students and post-graduates to conduct their study and scientific researches in the Soviet Union. The Government of India also have provided scholarships for Soviet students and post-graduates to study in India.

During the last year a large number of Soviet and Indian scholars and scientists visited the respective countries, among whom special mention may be made of Prof. Thacker, Secretary to the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs of the Government of India, Profesors Mahalanobis, Mukherjee, Jilla, Bhagwantama, Dr. Ashrof, Raja Roy Singh and Prof. Naidu of Madras University. Eight Soviet profesors are now lecturing in different Indian universities. The Soviet Prof. Popov with two other economists came to India and exchanged their experience with Indian colleagues about prospecting and utilising the natural resources of the country. Five Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities visited the Soviet Union and had acquaintences with methods of higher education practised in the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet people celebrated very widely the birth centenary of Rabindranath Tagore, the great son of the Indian people. Hundreds of meetings, lectures, seminars and other functions on Tagore were organised throughout the Soviet country. The Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. together with the Union of Soviet writers held special sessions to mark the birth centenary of the great poet. Many Soviet theatres staged dramas by Tagore, such as "Daughter of the Ganges," "Sacrifice" and "Chitra." Two special films on the life of Tagore were produced in the Soviet Union. The first volume of Tagore's works in eight volumes was published to mark the great occasion.

The new Programme of cultural and scientific exchanges for 1962-1963 which was signed today envisages further development and extension of cultural and scientific co-operation between the Soviet Union and India. In particular, the new plan provides for sending to the Soviet Union during this year, 96 students, post-graduates and senior scientists for study, research and training. Reciprocally many Soviet post-graduates and senior scientists will visit India to study and do research work.

The plan also provides for exchange of two artist groups between the two countries (the Georgian Dance Ensamble and the Soviet Circus group) will tour India in 1962. A famous Russian ballet troupe (probably from the Bolshoi theatre) will come to India in 1963. Besides, the exchange of delegations of writers, musicians, medical workers and sportsmen, will also take place during the year. According to the plan, a team of Soviet footballers, will come to India for participating in friendly football games with their Indian counterparts. Similarly a team of Indian footballers will go to the U.S.S.R., to play at Soviet stadiums in different cities of the country.

We are convinced that the cultural and

scientific exchange, planned for 1962-1963 will further promote the strengthening and developing of the already existing friendly relations between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union. The cordial relations between the U.S.S.R. and India, we think, are a classic example of peaceful co-existance and fruitful co-operation among nations. Cultural ties between countries are the best weapons against cold war. The wider the cultural relations develop, the more grows the mutual understanding of the peoples, the more effectively it is possible to remove fear and suspicion, which are still poisoning the international atmosphere.

Let the strengthening and developing of cultural ties between our two countries promote further co-operation and prosperity of our peoples.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Indian side for the co-operative spirit they have mainfested in working out with us the programme of cultural and scientific co-operation, as well as for the hospitability they accorded to us.

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LIBRARY SERVICE AND RESEARCH

Historical Development

The concept of research had all along been associated with science or technology, and in this sense the laboratory was the better known place for research, where men of science worked day and night for purposes of advancement of learning, which resulted in the innumerable discoveries and inventions known today. Science consists of knowledge arranged under general truths and principles. Experiments based on hypothesis, and verified by observations are made by different investigators of some occurrence or phenomenon not sufficiently known or understood. These observations are recorded in journals. Libraries, which began as simple store houses of books and manuscripts, no doubt existed; but scientific experiment in the sense of a study of a natural phenomenon is much older than libraries. With the introduction of printing and the resultant tremendous increase in the production of books and other publications, the concept of library service kept on changing. Upto 1840 books were recognised as the only sources of technical information and reference. Later on, the Public Libraries Act of 1850 was placed on the Statute Book of Great Britain. Scientific societies began to be formed and to start publishing their journals and proceedings. This was the beginning of many trends that have led to the present pattern of library services.

Age of Machine: 19th Century and after

The Industrial Revolution, which ushered the age of the Big Machine and all its allies, changed the face of human life. The later period of the 19th century saw the growth of industry and the development of large-scale production. Libraries began to be established by industrial concerns. There was also a simultaneous growth of Learned Societies in science and engineering. The application of knowledge obtained from scientific and industrial research became in due course a powerful factor in moulding our modern standard of living. Although the characteristic of recent times is the phenomenal increase in the quantity of research, particularly its application to industry, research as such is not now restricted merely to science and technology; but it is carried on in the field of social science and humanities also.

Library Service—New Concept

The term "library service," when coupled with research is science and technology or social sciences and humanities, will cover, as far as this article is concerned, one aspect and by far a very important aspect of library service, *i.e.*, information service not of the routine type, but embracing the dissemination of the right information from the printed material to the right person at the right time. This involves the putt-

ing up of the requisite information not only from the resources of the library, but also the procurement of like information from other institutions through library co-operation and inter-library loan system.

Prepondernace of Periodicals over Books

The concept of research, which was principally confined to science or technology, is now applicable to both social sciences and humanities, because of the growing awareness of the direct utility of research to government, business enterprises and society in general. As already stated, the impression that the library is just a store house of books or knowledge is now practically fading out. This is particularly so, in view of the prodigious progress in the domain of science and technology, which has produced a truly overwhelming flood of literature describing new inventions and discoveries. This is mainly in the form of short monographs, proceedings or transactions of the societies, periodicals, which also include a new kind of journal concerned with the abstracting of current scientific literature. Scientific progress needs that new facts, new discoveries, and new inventions should be made available immediately to the research worker. Since, new observations are recorded in periodicals or journals, ordinary books are not effectively useful as they are meant for the study of a subject and not for its evolution. As a consequence, what is needed is the means of assembling all new facts, and of sorting them according to a particular aspect, so that all relevant information concerning a special subject that is required by a research worker for study could be made available.

Inter-Relation of Library Service and Research

However, in view of the overwhelming output of periodical publications and other material consisting of monographs, pamphlets and documents of all kinds, it was practically impossible for a research worker to find out from amongst huge piles of the published material the requisite information, which is likely to be useful to him in suggesting and prompting the right course of action for his research. Generally a scientist prefers to work in the laboratory, so that he can utilize his time on experiments and not on reading. It is well-nigh impossible for him to attend to both. It is equally important to place before a research worker not only the material needed in the furtherance of his research, but also to enable him to have within his reach the existing literature, in order that he may be made fully aware of the previous achievements in the subject of his research, and thus be saved from the wastage of his energy upon the work already done. It is here that the library steps in and provides the necessary link. The person assigned with this type of service "organizes" the literature and works in full co-operation with his colleagues. He is mainly concerned with the scanning of new literature, searching for information in specific problems, acquisition of all relevant material, which is sorted, classified and produced for purposes of use. The idea underlying this process is to "organize" the literature, to bring out its subject value and to offer it to the research worker, since it is very essential to keep him continuously informed of the newly published work in the field of his research.

Constituents of Expeditious and Effective Library Service

The successful functioning of the library service described above depends upon the following factors:

1. Acquisition of appropriate material.
2. Its organization and interpretation for effective use.
3. A human agency to select, sort and direct the material to the right person.
4. Anticipation of demand.
5. Library co-operation including inter-library loan system.

To perform these duties in an expeditious way, it is necessary that the person entrusted with this assignment should have, (1) training and skill in the Library technique, (2) an understanding of the needs of the research worker and his clientele, (3) subject knowledge for purposes of building up the resources to meet the demand

for specific points as and when needed through retrospective searching.

ACQUISITION OF APPROPRIATE MATERIAL

General Principles

The acquisition of the material for this type of library service will mainly depend upon the requirements of the organization and also the individual research worker in it. Unlike general liberaries, a special library functions as an indispensable part of the organization engaged in the pursuit of research. In western countries the industrial concerns conducting research have made the library the heart of the activity—the clearing house of all new ideas. The criteria for book selection involves something like complete coverage of the activities of the organizations in their special fields and subjects cognate to their own. Coverage in the subjects of marginal type can be attended to on a co-operative basis through inter-library loan system. But by far the stock will consist of such publications, as are expected to be useful in the pursuit of research including a large number of periodical publications, monographs, pamphlets, etc., on the subject of research. As far as research is concerned, books get out of date in regard to the facts they record at times even before they are printed. It is for this reason that periodicals figure prominently in the stock of special libraries. It is well-known that the periodical article, the short monograph, even the advertising material now form the characteristic media, through which research worker publish their investigations. In any research the first duty of either the investigator or the librarian is to know what has been written before upon the subject of the enquiry. As a step towards that he should be able to find the appropriate bibliography in which what has been written, has been recorded. Cumulated publisher's lists, Catalogues of Government publications, National Bibliographies, printed catalogues of books, subject index to periodicals, lists of dissertations, reviews of books, and announcements of new publication in periodicals, etc., will enable the librarian to plan a programme of building up the basic stock of the library.

Research and Government or other Bodies

In modern times it is the Government which conducts a large amount of research through several bodies, many of which are generally autonomous. In India, Government carries on scientific research through the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and other Ministries like Defence, Food and Agriculture, Health, Irrigation and Power, Railways, Works, Housing and Supply, etc. Research is conducted through the various research bodies, which are concerned with the fields of national interest such as National Physical Laboratory, National Chemical Laboratory, Survey of India and other institutions. Private bodies, which receive Government grants, do research to promote the growth of a particular industry, *e.g.*, Textile of Silk Research Associations. There is also the traditional home of research—the Universities, which set up departments of applied science and social sciences. Learned Societies and Institutions also pursue research in the respective fields of their activity. All these organisations publish results of the research work through various media, and by far the most important is the periodical, which is regarded as the life blood of research.

Types of Material

A special library should, therefore, try to collect all such material covering the field of the research, and published in the form of journals, abstracts, proceedings or the transactions of the societies and all other kinds of documents. In addition, there is a lot of material issued by Government in the form of Annual Reports or Reviews of administration, special reports of the Committees or Commissions, monographs, manuals, pamphlets, brochures, maps, plans, charts, and other graphic or pictorial material. A special library should try to collect as much material as will be necessary for purposes of conducting the research or investigation.

2. ITS ORGANIZATION AND INTERPRETATION FOR EFFECTIVE USE

Need for a Systematic Procedure

A systematic arrangement of the resources in a special library consisting of books and other

types of publications is considered to be one of the most important foundations of an effective library service. As already stated in one of the previous paragraphs, in modern times it is the Government which undertakes the largest amount of research. Moreover, the business of a Government is no longer exhausted by offensive or defensive measures as was the case in the past. Aiming at the welfare of the people as its ideal, its field is progressively widening, and it now includes the organization and advancement of the nation at the material, economic, social and cultural levels. For these activities of the Government, planning is necessary. Everything that Government does, has to be considered in all pros and cons, and also in the light of what other Governments have done when confronted with analogous problems. This involves the collection of recorded information relating to the present and the past as well as to other parts of the world.

Looking to the great mass of literature that is being released by the Government, private agencies and individuals, it becomes a problem to "organize" not merely the books, but whatever material is likely to be acquired for the use of the special library. It is a recognised function of every library that it shall render its resources properly available by means of an adequate system of Classification and Catalogues. All kinds of documents are collected for the information they contain, and hence a piece of paper recording a vital information may well be more important than a merely revised publication. As a consequence, it is all the more essential that the different kinds of material acquired for a special library should be systematically classified and catalogued for an effective use. A new technique covering these processes has now emerged, and it is known as Documentation. It is employed for interpreting the contents not only of books, which are called "micro-units" of thought, but also an article in a periodical, which is called a "micro-unit" of thought. As far as the tracing of even a stray item like a reply to a question in the Legislature is concerned, no better method could be employed to spot and pick up quickly the desired information out of the proceedings.

Documentation its Technique and Importance

The need for a precise information to be culled from the vast mass of periodical literature resulted in the emergence of a new aspect of library service known as the Documentation work. In plain words it is the process of acquiring, classifying, cataloguing, abstracting and supplying articles, or reprints of articles, special reports, any graphic or pictorial literature and documents of all other kinds. The process involves collecting and classifying all such material and making it available quickly to the reader or research worker. In any field of human activity, welfare of the society implies progress. The principal medium for recording progress is the periodical press. Since progress depends on access to recorded information, documentation work serves as the means for finding out the location of the requisite material from the recorded information in the domain of Science and Technology or Social Sciences and Humanities. This technique involves a thorough knowledge of the Library Classification and Cataloguing. As already pointed out, the main function of the library is not only to keep ready the material in anticipation of a demand, but also to see that it is utilized by the readers or research workers, who might thus be saved from the dissipation of their energy upon the work already done. Documentation enables the librarian to locate, and bring to the notice of readers or research workers the exact information required by them in the pursuit of their enquiry or research.

Documentation and Newspaper Coverage

Since documentation has been found to be so indispendable in placing before the research worker, the information out of the "organized" material bearing on the subject of his research, it would be equally helpful in bringing out any news items or references to different kinds of items relating to the subjects of topical and current interest. Moreover, the press constitutes the only agency for eliciting public opinion on Government policy in regard to its various activities. A record of the clippings particularly

of the editorials and other comments from various papers will reveal the consensus of public opinion concerning the desirability or otherwise of introducing new measures affecting the social or economic life of the people, or any reforms in administrative or other matters. A clippings file maintained on systematic lines will be invaluable for obtaining quickly, necessary references to the policy statements, feature articles, information concerning social or political events, public grievances, profiles of eminent persons, obituaries and other matters of local interest. The Reports of the Conferences, Seminars, Symposia, Proceedings of the Legislatures, etc., which generally take a long time to appear as regular publications, could be located immediately when needed for reference. It is obvious that in India, where indexes to newspapers (like Official Index to the Times) are not yet available, a clippings file, covering information collected and documented from scattered sources, proves invaluable for quick reference service.

3. A HUMAN AGENCY TO SELECT, SORT AND DIRECT THE MATERIAL TO THE RIGHT PERSON

Nature of the Service

In view of the ever-increasing flood of literature of different kinds that is being released from day to day, it is evident that its organization needs the provision of a human agency competent to select, sort and "organize" it for purposes of transmitting the requisite information therefrom to the right person at the right time. Conservation of knowledge has been a major activity of libraries since their beginning. But as the concept of library service has changed according to the needs of the users, the new concept of library service, when embodied in the working of the library, enables the librarian to supply the right information, to the right person at the right time. The dissemination of information is no doubt the characteristic activity of every library. However, as far as the special library is concerned, what matters, is the time. A quick response not only to what is wanted, but also to keep it supplemented by a second or subsequent "helpings" in the matter of investigation has its own dividend.

Library Technique

Consideration of the needs of a special library suggests that the librarian must first of all have a thorough knowledge of the library technique. Besides, the different types of printed material, that will flow in regularly, require their specialised handling for purposes of bringing out the exact information bearing on the subject of investigation. The indexing and analytical cataloguing prove very effective in quickly locating the material in all its aspects.

Personal Qualities

A personal contact with the investigators or research workers enables the librarian of a special library to place before the research worker not only the material he needs, but also, any like material which will prove helpful in the pursuit of his research. A good memory, imaginative observation and aptitude are of great value for a good service in a special library. The flair for finding is also an additional attribute. Pleasant and brisk manner are helpful in creating good impression about the speed and efficiency in library service. An understanding of the needs of the research workers enable the librarian to build up the resources of his library and to "organize" its contents for purposes of furnishing the research workers with whatever they would need in the pursuit of their research. A library organization demands high standards of accuracy in its working. However, it happens at times that the tools of research in the form of an adequate library and a competent trained librarian are not taken cognizance of, and consequently it is not uncommon for persons to be appoited as Librarian or Information Officers, who have no training or qualifications in librarianship.

4. ANTICIPATION OF DEMAND

The speed is often the most vital factor of an information service in a special library. The

basis of dissemination implies the examination of every new document received in the library for finding out, if it is related to the work of the research worker or workers. In the event of its being so, it should be supplied to him. The same principles apply to the circulation of periodical articles, research reports and new books. Although the periodicals take preponderance over books, it is also desirable to bring new additions to the notice of research worker; for, it adds efficiency to the organization as a whole. The circulation of a regular list or bulletin of additions with details about their contents further enhances the usefulness of such a service. The librarian in so doing anticipates a demand for all such items as are likely to be useful in the furtherance of research.

5. LIBRARY CO-OPERATION INCLUDING INTER-LIBRARY LOAN SYSTEM

It is recorded that modern period in history started with discoveries and inventions approximately towards the end of the 15th century. Decades rolled into centuries, when the Industrial Revolution of the mid-eighteenth century ushered the age of machine with all its complexities of life and inter-dependence of the organizations on one another. In this nuclear or jet age, when man is trying to explore all the hitherto unknown mysteries of the space, the variety and the magnitude of the published material particularly in science or technology is vast and outstanding. As a consequence, the acquisition, maintenance, and dissemination of even a portion of this huge mass of literature in the field of a particular branch of science or technology seem to be well-nigh impracticable for one single library. Even the largest libraries often fail to furnish immediately the information that is sought. The solution lies in co-operation—the watchword of the modern times—or pooling of resources, preferably on regional basis. A well-planned and throughly organised programme of co-operation among libraries will prove very useful in meeting the demands for recorded information. The union catalogue of books or particularly of periodical publications will reveal the special material maintained by different research Associations, Government Departments, Learned Societies or Institutions.

An inter-library loan system will further facilitate the research work of an investigator, inas much as, a document bearing on the subject of his research could then be borrowed quickly for the solution of his problem. A regular programme covering the exchange of the lists of acquired material by different libraries will facilitate their inclusion into the union catalogue. This will further reveal the holdings or the resources of a particular library, which could be tapped for use.

Conclusion

It is manifest then that the importance of library service as an indispendable aid to research need not be over-emphasized. The amount of published material in different fields of human activity is growing at an almost terrifying rate; and the difficulties of finding among it particular items of value for specific purposes increase proportionately. A well-equipped library engaged in documentation work can make valuable contributions to an organized scheme for the disseminaiton of information to persons or institutions concerned.

In this connection it may not be out of place to refer to the plea made by the Prime Minister for "developing a scientific temper" at the time of inaugurating the Indian Parliamentary and Science Committee on August 27, 1961. The main function of the Committee will be to compile for the benefit of the Members of the Parliament authoritative and scientific information from time to time, to bring to the notice of the Government and Parliament the results of research and technological development in questions of public interest, to arrange for suitable action in Parliament, and to provide a regular summary of matters pertaining to science figuring in Parliament. Thus it would be evident that "organization" and "interpretation" of the material that will be acquired for the use of the Government and Parliament will involve the documentation work, the details of which have already been explained in the previous pages.

EXHIBITION OF OLD INDIAN PAINTINGS

By Prof. HIREN MUKHERJI

The Academy of fine Arts, a leading Art Organisation of Calcutta has earned our gratitude by organising two exhibitions of Old Indian Paintings from two famous private collections that were hitherto known among few Scholars and connoisseurs.

The first collection the Sitaram Shah collection of Banaras—is a collection of rare Moghul Miniatures. This collection was acquired by the ancestors of Late Sitaram Shah from a fugitive

Zel Unnisa—Moghul School Artist Dad Khan —about 1975 A.D.
—*Sitaram Shah Collection*

prince of the house of Timur—named Jahandar Shah—who saught refuse in Banaras. This prince happened to inherit a part of the private collections of the Moghul Emperors and as a result this collection is one of the best private collection in the world. We are grateful to the heirs of Sitaram Shah for taking the initiative in showing this collection to the art-lovers of Calcutta.

Of all the branches of Indian Painting Moghul painting has drawn the largest number of admirers and was the first to obtain recognition by foreign scholars. Long before the present century when Indian painting had not fired the imagination of foreign connoisseurs, the great Dutch master Rembrandt copied Moghul miniasures to learn drawing. Theressa adorned the walls of her palace by a large number of Moghul miniatures. The Austrian Empress Maria and latter this spontaneous appreciation by foreigners is not difficult to explain. Moghul Miniatures have a certain superficial resemblance to European Academic Paintings and for this reason Europeans can easily understand them. Moghul masters like European Academic painters have studied Nature and have also created a sense of depth in their pictures. Moreover, unlike all other religious paintings of the Orient Moghul painting does not want to convey any message. Its appeal is straight to the eye. But it must be understood at the same time that the similarity between Moghul painting and European Academic Painting is more apparent than real. They differ fundamentally in their approach to Nature. While Moghul master have combined reality with imagination European Academic Painters have portrayed things as they are. The quality of a painting in Europe in those days was judged by its fidelity to Nature and so the artists slavishly imitated Nature to achieve complete likeness. But with the invention of modern colour photography the achievement of these artists seems very poor and Art in the West underwent a revolution. The merit of Moghul miniatures, however, remained unaffected as it like all other Oriental paintings never attempted at copying Nature.

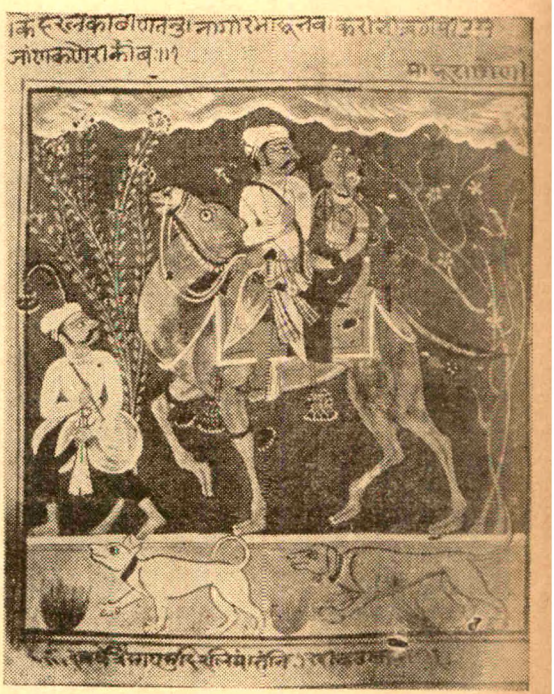
The foundation of Moghul painting was laid by Humayun who on his way back to India brought with him two Persian Masters—Mir Sayed Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad. These masters were the heads of the Moghul atelier. But an atelier cannot be built up only with two masters, specially when such an ambitious project as the illustration of the epic Hamja Namah was undertaken. Indigenous practising artists from different parts of the country—most of whom were Hindus were summoned to the court and commissioned for this purpose. They

were trained by these Persian masters who could not Persianize them overnight. The result is seen in Moghul miniatures where the Persian Blue has given way to Indian Red and the exotic Art has taken a new garb in a new environment. But this harmonization of different foreign and indigenous elements could not take place all on a sudden and it was only through the untiring effort of the Emperor Akbar that Moghul painting shaded off its foreign character and took up national role.

Jahangir, too, like his father was a great patron of art and literature and it was in his time that Moghul painting reached its zenith. He was too much conscious of his connoisseurship and was proud of his artists. He evinced keen interest in birds and animals and the great animal painter Ustad Monsur was one of the gems of his Studio.

Shajahan had a special inclination for architecture but painting in his time continued to flourish and many fine examples were produced that can rank with the best products of the earlier period. But the development of painting received a serious jolt with the usurpation of the throne by Aurangzeb, whose religious fanaticism made him antagonistic to every form of Art. But contrary to popular belief he did not disband the atelier, though with the waning of court patronage most of his artists migrated elsewhere in search of new patrons. After Aurangzeb patronage to painting was revived to certain extent but the art was already past its zenith and was now rapidly declining. By the second quarter of the 18th century, Moghul painting had become degenerate and the same worn-out formulae were repeated again and again. However its inertia was so great that it dragged on till the end of the 18th century when it disintigrated into several provincial Moghul styles which were but relics of the great tradition.

Moghul painting is essentially on aristrocratic art. It was fostered in the court of the Moghul Emperors and enjoyed by princes, noble men and ladies of the harem. Naturally its subjects were chosen from the daily life of the court and a glance at this pictures would re-incarnate before our eyes the splendour of that grand age. Every detail of the life of the Emperor is faithfully portrayed and thus there is no dearth of subject like the Emperor receiving an Embassy, a royal camp, a battle scene, a marriage procession, rejoicing at the birth of a prince, the emperor visiting a holy man, the elephant fight and so on. Books and fables were also illustrated and portraiture attained a high level of success. Later, purely genre scenes such as the prince

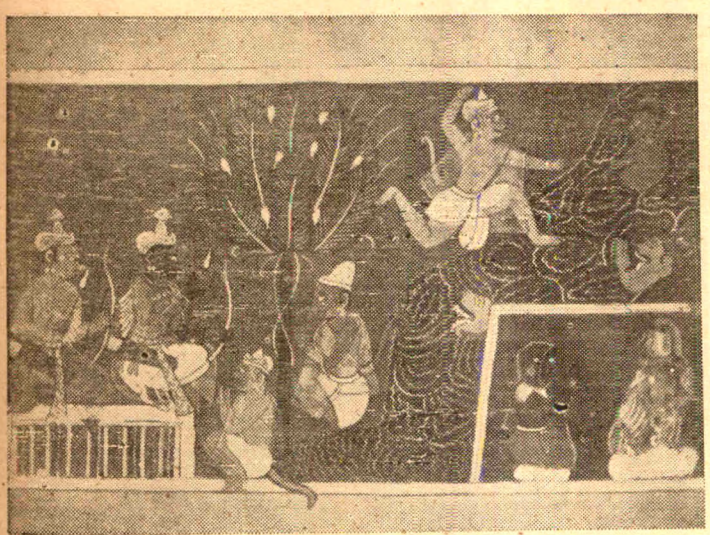


Maru Ragini—Rajasthani School—Mewar Idiom—Artist Nasiruddin—d. 1605
—*Kanoria Collection*

with his favourite, lovers in a garden, ladies watching kite flying or feeding the pigeons, a bullock chariot, a pilgrim, ladies of the haem visiting a saint, dancing derveshis, a lady under a tree, etc., were very much preferred. Purely Hindu themes (Sive Puja, Ragamala, etc.) were sometimes illustrated and this indicates to what extent Moghul painting was influenced by indigenous traditions.

Moghul painting is reputed for its fine brush work and delicate handling of colours. This is amply borne out by a number of exhibits of which the 'Bullock chariot' by Abul Hasan is a class in itself. This miniature in Indo-Persian style is a happy blending of different foreign and indigenous elements. The figures are drawn in

Persian style where as the pair of bullocks and the bejewelled chariot are purely Indian. Draughtsmanship is superb and colour tonalities unreproducible in any process of reproduction. This miniature clearly proves that Jahangir conferred the title Nadia—Al-Zaman (wonder of the age) to a really deserving candidate. (The other miniatures attributed to this artist are the



Hanuman Crossing the Sea—from a Mamayan Set—Rajasthani School, Malwa Indiam, about 1634 A.D.
—*Kanoria Collection*

'Pilgrim' in the Rothschild collection and the 'Chenartree' in the India Office Library). Another masterpiece of the Jahangir period is the Darbar Scene (11). This picture is documentary as it depicts a group of about fifty important personages of the age all inscribed. The European embassy (51) is one of the finest products of the Shajahan period vividly recalling the pomp and splendour of the golden age. Zebunnessa (20) is a delicate drawing full of poetry and pathos. "Near the temple" (74) and 'Chhari shah mother' (66) by Mir Kalan Khan are two superb examples of night scenes. Other notable pictures are 'Marriage procession of Dara Shikoh' (63), 'Shajahan on royal garge' (50), 'Royalties being entertained' (68), Kabir Sahab (36), Meeting of Raja Gopichand (Bhartrihari) with his penitent queen Pingala (4, 64), Hir Ranjha (Sohini Mohinwal?) (1), Begam on the terrace with Pigeons (48) and Kite match among the prince and princess (49). The last three are rather unusual in a decadent age.

There are some fine examples of the Akbar period, few genuine and few later copies. There are also some exquisite illustrations Christian subjects which prove that Jahangir's boasting was not a hollow one.

We purposely omitted the naming of the fine picture depicting a gorgeously caparisoned Elephant identified with chanchal (67) as it is a Deccani Product. The inscription Daccaniyan suggests that the artist hailed from the Deccan.

Lastly a word of praise for the carefully compiled and beautifully illustrated catalogue. The date of a painting is indicated by the century but the limits are too wide and should have been narrower. A serious error, however, has come to our notice, it has been stated in the annotation of item No. 40 that Hazarat Marivam was the Armenian wife of Akbar. This theory is long exploded and it is now known that Mariyam Uz-Zamani (Mary of the age) was the mother of prince Salim and daughter of Biharmal, the king of Amber.

The Gopikrishna Kanoria collection of Calcutta has long been know as a treasure house of Rajasthani paintings. It is a unique opportunity to study this collection at leisure and Mr. Kanoria deserves our praise for providing us with the opportunity.

Rajasthani painting differs from Moghul painting not so much in technique as in spirit and outlook. Coomarswamy rightly described it as a pictorial counterpart of Indian vernacular literature. Unlike Moghul Art, it is an art of the people though fostered in court. The draughtsmanship is not so fine as in Moghul painting but it is compensated by an intensity of feeling. The pictures are full of emotion and steeped in religious thought. The subject-matter is generally drawn from epics and romances and especially from the exploits of Krishna. There are other subjects such as the moods of heroes and heroines or illustrations to musical modes.

The Origin of Rajasthani painting has given rise to so much controversy that it is unsafe at present to utter the final word. Some regards it as a Pre-Moghul art tradition while others strongly oppose this view. Scholars like Khandalwalla have sought to prove that Rajasthani painting orginated as a fusion of Moghul style with the Western Indian style. Others like Mr. Basil Gray and Rai Krishna Das have always believed that Rajasthani painting took its shape before the arrival of the Moghuls and it's contact with the Moghul style began only after the 16th century. In fact, later Rajput paintings smell so much of Moghul that they were at one time confused with Moghul paintings.

Whatever may be the origin of Rajasthani painting the Kanoria collection deserves to be studied as it contains many interesting examples. The collection is representative of the various sub-schools of Rajasthani painting and shows the development of Rajasthani painting from the 16th to the 18th century. It contains examples from Mewar, Malwa, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kishangarh, Bundi and Kotah. The collection of Mewar paintings is really unique and no history of Mewar painting can be constructed without its help. The earliest dated example is a set of Ragamala pictures painted in Chawand near Chitore in the year 1605. But the series bears strong Moghul influence and it is likely that the artist was trained in the Moghul court. But the single leaf illustrating a scene from Bhagavata Purana seems to be still earlier and bears practically no Moghul influence. The other leaves of the series are now scattered but several are in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras and few are in the possession of Motichand Khazanchi of Bikanir. From the colour scheme and wavy cloud formation the series is linked with the Chawand set. The imporant characteristic of this set is the presence of Kulhadar turban and in this respect it is related to the group comprising of Laur-Chanda, Chaur-Panchashika, Prince of Wales Museum Gita-Govinda, Vijayendra Suri Ragamala and Kala Bhavan Mrigavati sets.

The development of the Mewar School is shown by a splendid Nayika set, a brilliant series illustrating verses from Sur-Sagara by Surdas, several pages from a charming Rasikpriya set, a fine drawing illustrating the episode of Gajendra Moksha, few illustrations from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahavarata*, an incomplete Ragini series, several leaves from a highly sensitive Panchatantra set and a few portraits. Some of these have already been published by Motichandra in his Mewar painting and others remain unpublished. As regards dating accord has not been reached by critics (vide Gray's review of Moti Chandra's Mewar painting in Lalit Kala-5).

The Aggrieved Lady—Illustration to Bhanudatta's Rasamanjari, Rajasthani School, Mewar Idiom, C. 1650 A.D.
—*Kanoria Collection*

The Malwa school is represented by several pages of a Ramayana series datable c. 1634 on the basis of the National Museum Rasikpriya, a few fine illustrations to Kesavadasa's Rasikpriya, some delicate drawings illustrating musical modes and a Bhaghavata series dated 1688. It has been suggested in the catalogue that Coomarswamy's S-2 series is stylistically similar to this

set but we don't subscribe to this view. In our opinion the Boston S-2 series is at least forty years earlier than the present set.

The paintings in Bundi style are not very remarkable the only exception being a Ragini series. The representatives of the Jodhpur and Kishengarh Kalams are rather late and decadent. There are some miniatures which cannot be identified with any known style. And this indicates that our knowledge of Rajasthani painting is still very insufficient.

The catalogue prepared for the exhibition is neatly produced and contains food for thought. But we wonder that after 50 years of researches of Rajasthani painting introduction by a foreign authority is still necessary! Isn't the time ripe yet when Indian Scholars should stand on their own Legs?

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WATER RESERVOIRS OF RAJASTHAN

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR

In a massive desert like Rajasthan where famines are frequent and failure of monsoon is a common feature, the significance of water storage devices is essentially supreme. There is hardly any city, town or village which does not possess a water-reservoir. It may be in the form of a lake or tank, a bund or a bawlee, a pond or a colonneded well.

Lakes

Revealing to many may be the fact that Jaisamand, also known as 'Dheber' situated 34-miles south-east from the historic city of Udaipur, is one of the largest artificial lakes of the world. This lake with an area of 21 sq. miles is surrounded by beautiful hills and has seven small islands in the midst of the cool and placid waters which are inhabitated by Bhils and Minas.

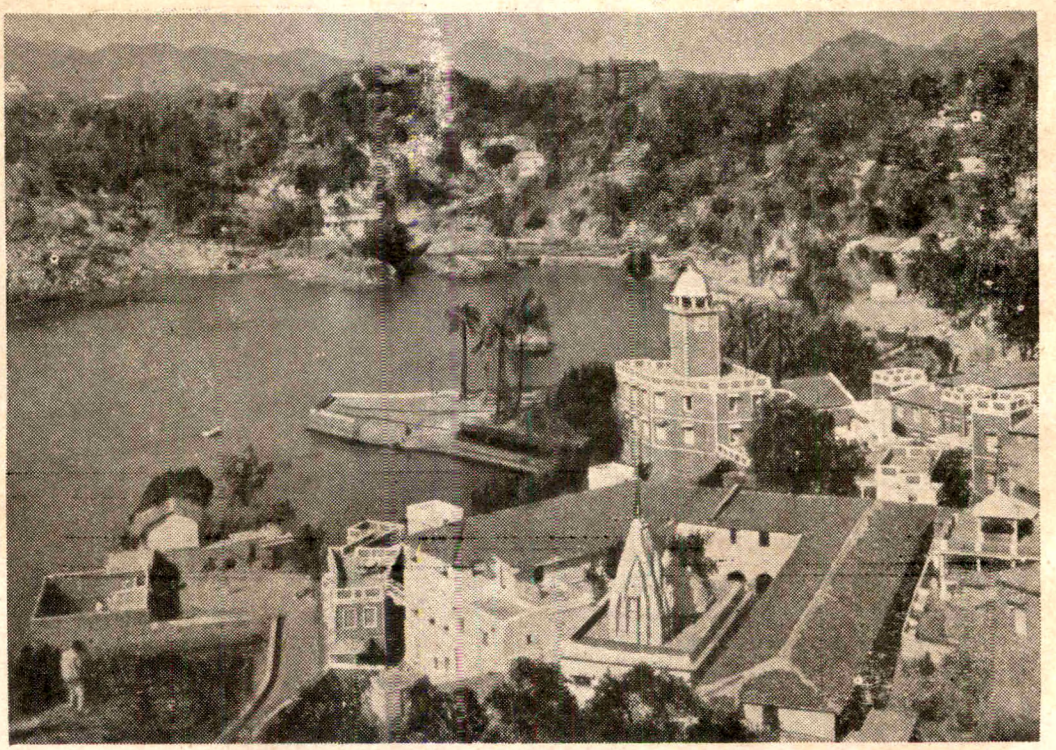
Another picturesque lake of Mewar, is the Rajsamand, about 4-miles long and 1¾ miles broad adorning the pious feet of Lord Dwarkadheesh, a well-known shrine of Vallabh sect of Vashnawas at Kankroli. The story of its construction dates back to the latter half of the seventeenth century when Maharaja Rajsingh, the then ruler of Mewar, started it as a relief work for the famine-striken people. Constructed at a heavy cost of over Rs. 150 lakhs, its dam is nearly 1,000 feet in length, entirely covered with white marble steps. The northern part of the dam, or 'Nochowki' as it popularly known, is about 200 yds. long and 70 yeards broad paved with marble and spotted with exquisitely built Chhatteries. There is a famous inscription in Sanskrit comparised of 1017 verses carved on 25 slabs depicting the history of Mewar, and it is habited to be the biggest literary work inscribed on stone slates dated as for as 1675.

The picturesque lake of Pichhola about 2½ miles broad which bounds the city of Udaipur and its palaces was constructed by a banjara in the 15th century during the reign of Maharna Lakha (1382-1421). The embankment of this fascinating lake is reached through a series of beautiful gardens, of the palaces, now named the Sajjan Niwas, and from there a round runs part the Dudh Talai down the east side of the lake to the Odikhas built by the late Chief at its southern end for use as a shooting box. Beautiful as the lake is when seen from the palaces another points, the view on it near the routs end with the marble cabbed islands and the lofty palace and city in the distance, is one of still greater loneliness. The southern island is named the Jagmandir and is mainly notable for the Gul-Mahal, a domed pavilion on it Prince Khurram later known as Shahjahan lived when in revolt against his father, the emperor Jahangir and the refugee ladies from Neemuch were protected in 1857 A.D. Further, works is the Jagniwas, the famous island palace amidst beautiful gardens.

Young farmers winnowing wheat in a Central Indian tribal village

G. A. Zhukov along with others carrying the wreath to Tagore's birthplace at Jorasanko

The Pichola lake at Udaipur with magnificent palaces on its embankment



A view of the Nakki lake at Mount Abu

In Marwar, the pride of place is held by Balsamand and Sardar Samand lakes of Jodhpur, while the Nakki lake at Mount Abu is the centre of attraction for the tourists throughing in thousands there.

Pushkar Like

How water has been magnified and glorified in this sandy region of India is evident from the Pushkar Lake, a prominent place of pilgrimage situated seven miles away from Ajmer. According to *Padma Purana* which mentions that Brahma, the creater performed a yagya here, Pushkar is as old as the universe itself. References in the epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* also bear testimony to its antiquity. It is also believed that the Pandavas while in exile, spent some of the years here. The Ashram of Kanva Rishi referred in the 'Abhigyan Shakuntlam' of Kalidas is also said to have situated somewhere near Pushkar.

The Pushkar lake located at the other side of the Nag Pahar is surrounded on all sides by jhats presenting picturesque sceneries.

Another alluring beatuty-spot in Ajmer is the artificial 'Anasagar' lake constructed by King Arnoraja (about 1135 to 1150 A.D.), the grandfather of the famous Hindu emperor Prithavi Raj Chauhan. The lake formed by an embankment between two hills, when full, has a circumference of eight miles surrounded by hills with the lofty Nag Pahar as its background. "It is perhaps the greatest of the various national beauties", says Dr. Fuhver, "that continue to make Ajmer one of the old native cities of India."

Like Pushkar is the famous holy resort of Galta, a natural gorge located in the east of Jaipur, the pink city of India. Over the crest of the ridge on a rocky platform is a temple dedicated to the Sun God. At the foot of the first incline of the gorge is a perennial spring which flows through a succession of terraced pools. Picturesque shrines and pinnacles deck the entire valley. The walls and platforms usually swarms with long-tailed monkeys who willingly extend their sooty hands to accept purchased gram from the visitors.

Bawlee and Colonnaded Wells

Besides lakes and tanks, there is a large number of bawlees and colonnaded wells in Rajasthan.

Although the shortage of water is most acute in north-western part of the State it is Bundi, a picturesque Rajput town situated in a beautiful wooden gorge on the steep side of a hilly pass in the south-east which is privileged to have the grandest and the finest colonnaded wells in all Rajasthan. The most artistic Bawlee is Natha-watji-ki-Baori wherein the sheet of water is reached by the descent of hundreds of stone-steps, the pavilions on either side being exquisitely carved with figures of Hindu Gods and Goddesses and the flora and fauna in high relief. The Bawlee has not failed to supply the inhabitants of Bundi with drinking water even during the severest famines in living memory. Its top is crowned by an open pavilion, from where the Bawlee appears to be a grand and unforgettable sign. The Samana-Dha-Ka-Kund is another notable work among the scores of Bawlees and Kunds of Bundi. Unlike, the first, it is open on all sides at the top and the spacious four walls are out from top to bottom into labyrinthine steps, which lead to water, making it impossible for one to reach the top back by the same steps by which he had descended.

Among the Bawlees and Kunds of Jaipur territory, the Bawlee at Bhandarejh, a village some 40 miles from Jaipur deserves specific mention. The history of this Bawlee, which dates back to the 12th century A.D., is shrouded in mystery and the many supernatural legends, which are prevalent about this gigantic water resource, prevent the ascertaining of the name of its builder. The architectural lay out is in the traditional Bawlee style and the stone used came from the local quarries, which is a strong weather resistant rock.

In Amber, the old capital of Jaipur, there are a number of Bawlees, but they are neither so big nor of any architectural importance. A spacious stepped tank known as the Panna Mian-ka-Kund with four chatris on the corners is a replica of the Samana-Dha-ka-Kund at Bundi. A similar tank, Hadi Rani Ki Bawlee, at Toda Rai Singh is more elaborate than this Kund.

In the desert areas of Rajasthan, it is the Bawlee which dominates the scene. The Kunds, which are generally open and exposed to evaporation, are in lesser number and at places conspicuously missing. The Mool Sagar, an oasis in the desert near Jaisalmer, contains a very artistic Bawlee called Jhalra built entirely of the soft Jaisalmer stone, which has lent to carvings and delicate perforation. The great Bawlees of the Jain temples at Amar Sagar, 5 miles from Jaisalmer, are rich in symmetry and proportionate design. There are many other Bawlees at Jaisalmer among which the Bawlees in Jawahar Bund area are fine specimen of this kind of building works. There is a series of them, occupying the bed of what was once a glittering sheet of water in the heart of the desert. The whole town of Jaisalmer and the villages within a radius of 15 to 20 miles from it are dependent solely on the sweet water of these Bawlees during drought periods. The Bawlees at Badi, the crematorium of the Bhati Princes of Jaisalmer, feed the specious lawns and gardens laid out on either side of the 400-year old bund, in which all sorts of fruits and vegetables are grown. Thanks to these water reservoirs which has enabled the people of Rajasthan to fight against the anguish of nature resulting into devastating famine and scarcity.

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POET TAGORE AND THE VILLA IN MORAN'S GARDEN ON THE RIVER HOOGHLY

By MRINAL GHOSE M.A.

Rabindranath Tagore was almost a teenager when he came to live with his gifted elder brother Jyotirindranath in a beautiful riverside Villa in Chandernagore. At that time Chandernagore was a pretty little town in undivided Bengal. The city was then under French administration. The Villa was in Moran's Garden on the Western bank of the river Hooghly. Long before attaining global celebrity as one of the greatest of poets the world has ever seen, Tagore experienced the most ecstatic moments of his life in his 'Boyhood Days' here in this splendid river side Villa in Chandernagore. The green woodlands, the calm and sequestered hamlets along the river-bank under the canopy of a blue and serene sky, the ebb and flow of the babbling river and the silvery moonlight glimmering over the stream touched the inner chords of the boy's heart. His 'Reminiscences' bear witness to those happy which he spent in Morna's Garden :—

"The Ganges again! Again those ineffable days and nights, languid with joy, sad with longing, attuned to the plaintive babbling of the river along the cool shade of its wooded banks..... Those lovely days of mine at the riverside passed by like so many dedicated lotus blossoms floating down the sacred stream, etc., etc."[1]

Over half a century later, during his civic reception in French Chandernagore in 1338 B.S. (approximately 1929), again Tagore recalled the fond memory of those happy boyhood days which he spent at the river-side in Moran's Garden. In the spaciously packed up city hall we listened with rapt attention how the future Nobel Laureate breathed his juvenile tunes on his lute in the Moran's Villa on the banks of the Ganges. Long before his world-wide reception Mother Nature hospitably received the little boy on the wide open, green velvety river-bank of Chandernagore. Then she whispered into the ears of the child to play on his tiny little flute which he readily responded. The topmost room of Moran House had open windows all around. From there the boy watched the

glimmer of the sunbeams on the leafy fringe of the thick-growned Bakul trees on the river bank. From the terraced roof of that stately villa it seemed to the little boy as if the free and frolicsome clouds were at play on the adjoining courtyard. There at the topmost apartment of Moran House, he invoked his Muse thus :—

Here I have built my haunt
For Thee, O Poesy dear![2]

Sometimes back, in connection with his talks on Tagore Centenary, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for scientific research and cultural affairs paid tribute to Rabindranath Tagore as the 'International Citizen of the World.' As an welcomed guest, Tagore had to reside in many houses all over the world. But never had he described any dwelling house so vividly and with so much warmth of feeling as the Moran House of Chandernagore :—

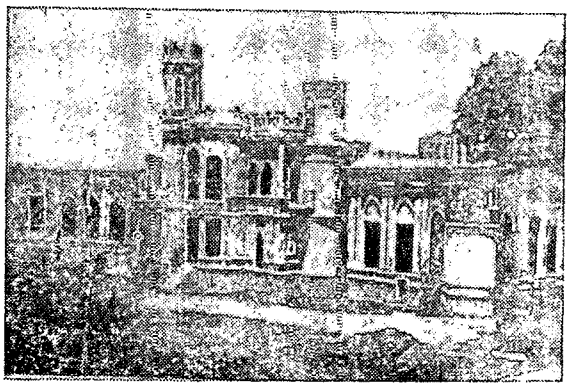
"The big sitting room overlooking the landing-steps had stained glass windows with coloured pictures.

One of the pictures was of a swing hanging from a branch half-hidden in dense foliage, and in the checkered light and shade of this bower two persons were swinging, and there was another of a broad flight of steps leading into some castle-like palace, up and down which men and women in festive garb were going and coming. When the light fell on the windows, these pictures shone wonderfully, seeming to fill the riverside atmosphere with holiday music. Some far-away, long-forgotten revelry seemed to be expressing itself in silent words of light, the love-thrills of the swinging couple making alive with their eternal story the woodlands of the river-bank.

The topmost room of the house was in a round tower with windows opening to every side. This I used as my room for writing poetry. Nothing could be seen from thence save the tops of the sorrounding trees, and the open sky. I was then busy with Evening Songs, and of this room I wrote :—

There wherein the breast of limitless space
clouds were laid to sleep
I have built my house for thee, O Poesy![3]

About 55 years later (approximately 1929) we were fortunate enough to hear the thrilling description of Moran House and particularly the topmost room referred to in 'Reminiscences' his autobiography, from his own lips when he was giving reply to the civic reception held in his honour in Chandernagore.



Poet Tagore's Villa in Moran's Garden, Chandernagore.

Again after 8 years, on 21st February 1937, while inaugurating the 20th Bengali Literary Conference, Rabindranath himself disclosed the story of the Genesis of his Poetic Inspiration in the Villa in Moran's Garden, Chandernagore. Almost all the eminent men in the domain of Bengali's Art, Literature, Science and Culture listened to the Poet with rapturous amazements :—

"Today you have requested me to inaugurate this Conference. The very word inauguration recalls in my mind the memory of some by gone days..... With my elder brother I spent a pretty long time in the famous Moran House. In fact the first awakening of my Muse was here on the banks of the river Ganges, on the outskirts of this town. The Villa in Moran's Gadren hospitably received me. Many a night had I spent on the balcony and the topmost room of that Villa and there my mind frolicked with the clouds floating in the sky. It seemed to me as if the universe had stooped down to me. And just then I first realised the Poet in me."[4]

This historic utterance of Tagore forthwith flung a halo of glory around Moran House. Once a river-side property of a wealthy European indigo-planter, but afterwards inseparably linked with the hallowed memory of Tagore, it has long ceased to exist. On the very site of the splendid Villa, Gondolpara Jute Mills is belching forth clouds of black smoke. The Poet himself has lamented thus :—

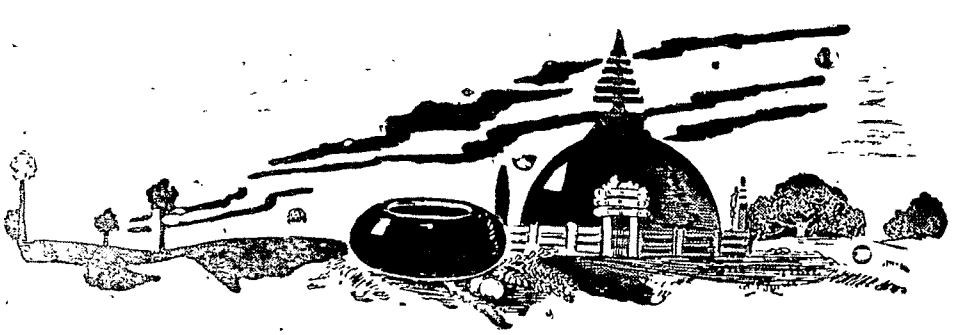
> "That Garden is no longer in existence, the iron jaws of the Dundee Mills have crushed and swallowed it."[5]

Regarding this historic Villa, Marjorie Sykes writes :—

> "It was a beautiful place on the bank of the Ganges. He spent long hours watching the beauty of the river, the changing colours of morning, noon, afternoon and sunset, and at night the moon shining on the dark water.
>
> In this happy home, among these beautiful scenes, he wrote the volume called Evening Songs. This book made him famous atonce among the Bengali writers of the time."[6]

With special stress we may cite here the unforgettable incident at the residence of the famous civilian literateur Ramesh Chandra Dutt. On the day of his daughter Kamala's marriage ceremony when Bankim Chandra Chatterjee the king of Bengali letterdom stepped into the wedding hall, to honour him the host with a garland in his hand readily approached the most distinguished guest. But the great novelist, the immortal composer of "Bandemataram" depriving himself of the singular honour, instantly placed the floral wreath around the slender neck of the genius-teenager Rabindranath the composer of "Sandhya Sangeet"[7] and writer of "Bowthakurani's Hut"[8] with the remark,—"Ramesh, have you read Sandhya Sangeet and Bowthakurani's Hut ?" Today everybody knows that the Poetic Muse of Rabindranath inspired him to write particularly these two volumes when he was at the Villa in Moran's Garden, in Chandernagore.[9]

1. *Reminiscences*, Rabindranath Tagore.
2. Writer's own English rendering of Poet's speech delivered in Bengali in French Chandernagore.
3. *Reminiscences*, Tagore, page 210-11.
4. The writer's own English rendering of the Poet's inaugural address delivered in Bengali at the Literary Conference on February, 1937, in Chandernagore.
5. *My Boyhood Days*, Tagore, p. 74.
6. *Story of Rabindranath Tagore*, Marjorie Sykes.
7. According to critics and scholars, the inimitable lyric fervour—the predominant characteristic of Tagore's poems first found expression in *Sandhya Sangeet*—a collection of 23 poems. Almost all the poems, save and except *Bis O Sudha* were composed at Moran Villa.
8. *Bowthakurani's Hat*—the first published novel of Rabindranath Tagore—earlier he wrote *Karuna*, which he never published.
9. The spell of Moran House was life-long with Tagore. In *Galpaguccha*, his short-stories, particularly in *Adhyapak* and *Apad*, we find haunting description of a river-side Villa in Chandernagore and its sublimely beautiful environment.



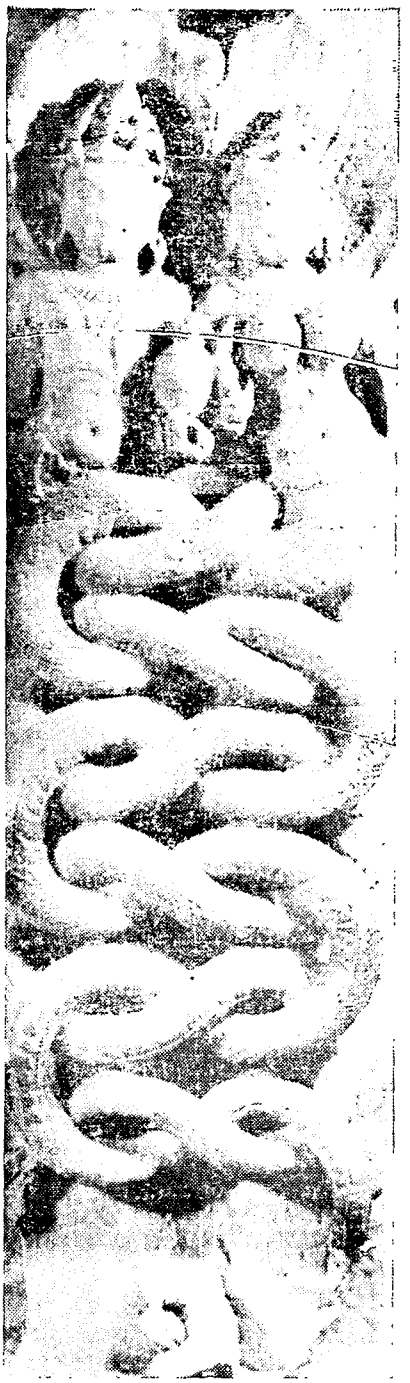
SNAKE-CULT IN WORLD RELIGIONS

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

THE animistic belief is, perhaps, one of the oldest beliefs of mankind. It might be because of physical powers and freedom of movement that primitive men became eager to establish a relation with different animals: some animals began to be worshipped as evil gods by certain tribes while the same animals became symbols of wisdom, patience and goodness for other tribes. Thus the strange compromise between animal and man was sought out in making images in almost all parts of the world. The elephant-headed God Ganesa became the remover of obstacles in India; the jackal-headed God Anubis was chosen to be the only guide to lead the soul of man to the other world in Egypt; the horse-headed god Hayagriva was taken to drive away all evils by its neighing in Tibet; the boar-headed incarnation of God Visnu became the Saviour of the earth. In the same way many an animal including bird and beast became either the mounts of different gods or they in their native forms began to be worshipped; crocodiles are thus revered in Cambodia and Crocodopolis of Egypt; tiger became an object of honour and respect amongst the Angami Nagas and in Sunderban area; the dragon became the symbol of abundance and goodness in China; fish became the symbol of purity and procreation in Japan and India. But of all the animals the snake was the most feared but at the same time it was most widely worshipped. The Sanskrit term for a snake is 'Naga' which means literally "that which does not walk, which only creeps." A snake's uncanny mystery, his unlikeness to any other living thing, his way of shedding his skin and coming out reborn, his power to live a long time without eating and his way of dealing death with a stroke, "all combined to make him feared and worshipped." The story of the mysterious relationship of man and this venomous reptile is very interesting.

Wundt, a great anthropoligist, has tried to explain the mystery in the way of totemism; it was the sight of the corpse in decomposition which suggested the idea, when men saw worms coming out of the body they thought that the soul was incarnate in them and escaped with them. Worms and by extensions reptiles (snakes, lizards, etc.,) were, therefore, the first animals to serve as receptacles for the soul of the dead and consequently they were also the first to be venerated and to play the role of totems. Durkheim in similar manner opines that 'the animal thus serving as a receptacle for a venerated being becomes a holy thing; the object of a cult is a totem, for all the decendants of the ancestor, who form the clan desended from him.' The other view is that religion itself originated with primitive man in fear and rituals and sacrifices were resorted to as a mode of cajoling and pacifying maligant and vindictive suprenatural beings. It was probably the dreaded powers and deadly venom of the snakes particularly the mamba and puff adder of Africa, the cobra capello of India, the Malayan King cobra and the coral snakes of the New world that led to the deification of serpents. The serpent was credited with an earthly wisdom, being the Guardian of oracles and the genius of physicians. He was the symbol of a large number of gods and goddesses: Hermes, Ahriman, Thoth, Ophiris, Merecury Pales, Acsculapius, Kolowissi, Harpocrates, Dew, Cneph, Hoa, Pelpos, Apap, Isis and Jesus Christ. Baal or Bel, Chaldean god supreme, was worshipped as a serpent. Sometimes the serpent was looked upon as a living symbol or representative of the Sun-god. In Egypt, a serpent as the emblem of immortality, always accompanies the image of Osiris. In Java, superb-winged Nagas placed like Atlases or Carriatides, adorn the base of the temple of Panataraes. In China, the Naga-god was worshipped from the earliest times. Like the Nagas of Hindu folklore, the Chinese dragon (a vast people governed by the Dragon-King Lung Wang) have been likened by missionaries and believers; from the Naga, they have borrowed the power to assume human shape when they

wish and they take advantage of this to move about among mankind, most frequently in order to marry and to carry away girls. Fergusson in his 'Tree and serpent worship' mentions that 'two heaven-sent serpents watched over the first washing of Confucious'; the Chinese also consider the serpent to possess the power to send rain upon the earth.



Naga Couple—symbol of eternity

In Japan, the serpent has been worshipped from pre-historic times and many Naga shrines may still be found throughout Japan. A serpent is the messenger of Benzaiten, the goddess of love. As she is a very popular deity, it may be that the serpent has become identified with her as an object of adoration. Her shrines are generally on islands and always near a river, it is believed to be a special maifestation of the Indian goddess Saraswati. At Kamakura, there is a temple dedicated to a local Naga, who is represented coiled in shrine shape with the head of a bearded man.

The Greek vase paintings and the like have one curious feature in common, there is nearly always a snake or so in the composition. The introduction of Medusa, one of the Gorgons, in early Greek religion perhaps suggestes that the snake is the link between the underworld and the earth surface world, a most natural form for the dead to return which or a netherworld spirit to take. The very early hero cults of Greece picture the hero with a snake (symbol of power) behind him; the snake is often bearded which is the first step in changing it to a man (cf. Naga images of Buddhist sculptures of India). Adones or the Phoenicean god Eshmun, was identified by the Greeks with their god of healing Aesculapius, who holds a snake twined round a staff—the serpent here is an emblem of rejuvenescence. Other Greek gods and goddesses like Hygea, the Erinys, Laocoon always possess as serpent as one of their attributes. All this makes us believe that the first level of Greek religion is locked up 'on a cult of the dead and the worship, for purposes of propitiation, of underworld spirits' like the serpent.

Eusebius says that the ancient Persians worshipped the first principles under the form of serpents, and dedicated to them temples where they used to perform sacrifice and hold festivals and orgies esteeming them to be "the greatest of gods and governors of the universe." These first principles, or forces of good and evil, personified in the Ormuzd and Ahriman, 'were represented in the form of two serpents standing erect upon

their tails, with their teeth fastened upon the mundane egg; which was between them, and over which both contended to secure the mastery.' The Athenians, it is said, kept a snake in the temple of Minerva to represent the presiding deity of the Acropolis. In Mexican mythology, according to Gama, the goddess Cihuacohante, or Female Serpent, was believed to have given brith, to two children one male and other female, which were responsible for the origin of mankind. Pausanius says that 'in his time serpents were kept for the purpose of adoration in the temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus'. The temple of the serpent deity Erecthonios also contained a living snake (cf. the custom of keeping living snakes in temples is still prevalent in many parts of India like Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and Madras). Clement of Alexandria says that a consecrated serpent was a symbol of the god Bacchus. The serpent was also the emblem of the Egyptian God Kneph, of Thoth, and of Hermes. The porticoes of the ancient Egyptian temples are always found to have a winged disc between two-headed snakes which signify the sun with its two attributes, motion and life, on each side of it. The coins of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians showed the same symbols. In Scandinavian mythology, the goddess Isa often appeared between two serpents. Knight in his famous work 'An Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology' says that 'in connection with the elebration of the mysteries of Jupiter Sebazius, accordng to Arnobius, the initiated were consecreted by having a snake put down their bossoms'. Helius, the Egyptian sun-god, married Ops, the serpent deity and became the father of Isis, Typhon, Apollo and Venus. The Mohican tribe of North American Indians refused to destroy a rattle-snake 'which they looked upon as their grandfather.' The serpent Mound near Louden, Adams country, Ohio is an object of great interest. Here the serpent measures 1,254 feet in length from the tip of its upper jaw to the extremity of its tail and has an average width of 20 feet and height of from 4 to 5 feet; the mound is situated upon a high cliff, and presents an 'extra-ordinary life-like appearence.'

We have also evidence of worship of the serpent in the Bible. The snake-cult went to Palestine perhaps from Egypt. Much credit goes to Moses for making this cult popular. Cox has propounded a very interesting theory that the phallic-cult of the ancient people of both east and west is originated from the snake-cult. He believes that the phallus, in its physical characteristics, suggested the form of a serpent, which thus became 'the emblem of life and healing.' Cn this capacity, Moses set up the brazen serpent in the wilderness, in response to a command from God, so that those of Isralites who were victims of the plague might be cured. And as a result of this 'seeming miracle,' upon its pole the serpent remained to be worshipped for nearly 800 years. Indeed, it was not until the reign cf Hezekiah, that the idol, termed a mere piece cf brass by the king, was destroyed, as stated in the Second Book of Kings. 'He removed the high places, and broke the images, and cut down the groves, and broke in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it, and he called it Nehushtan.' At the time of Christ also we find that the serpent worship was mixed with Christianity. According to Epiphanius and Tertullian, the Ophites considered that Christ was the same as the serpent. They were said to have kept a living snake which was allowed to craw over the Sacramental bread that was partaken of in the Lord's Supper. Before the ceremony ends the serpent was kissed by each of the participants. Manes, the great promulgator of Christianity in Persia, used to say that Jesus Christ was an incarnation of the Great Serpent which glided over the cradle of the Virgin Mary.

TEACHING OF SCIENCE—ITS WHY AND HOW*

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.Sc. (Cantab), F.N.I., Sarbabhauma

In a symposium on Teaching of Science on a national plane, it is necessary to clear the ground before proceeding to discussion. It is essential to settle the purpose of Science Teaching, which includes its necessity for the nation. It is also equally important to decide the standard, content, and method of teaching. Mere platitudes that this is the age of Science and the pursuit of Science alone can raise nations to their proper stature will not serve any purpose. The methodology of science, of studying on an objective basis, has also to be applied here, as elsewhere.

Science arose out of social necessity, like other inventions and discoveries of man. Geometry began to develop when settled agriculture and ownership of land came and the need arose of determination of its area to estimate likely crops. This occurred in the ancient civilization of Babylon. The need for determining how far and in what way guns throw projectiles and the need of ascertaining latitude and longitude at sea to guide ships led to the systematic study of mechanics and astronomy in England in the time of the Stuart Kings. Scientific observations had been made by ancient Hindus, by Greeks of old and by Arabs. But the men who did the intellectual work did not do manual work. Hence, the progress of science was arrested among all three people after a certain stage. It was only when master craftsmen took up the study of properties of matter that modern science arose. This happened in Western Europe for historical reasons which need not be discussed here especially as a separate paper on it has been published by the writer.[1] The direction of research at any given period and area is furnished by the forces implicit or explicit in the cultural background; the exact lines are determined by the sensitive minds we call genius and lead to fundamental discoveries in science, and later to their applications.

One of the lessons that the study of man and his culture teaches us, is that progress in culture has occurred through increasing cooperation between human beings. Such working together, at first limited to the family and later to loose linked groups, led to the pooling of early knowledge and experience and made possible further progress. Life in the very primitive material condition in which the Australian tribal folk lived, would have been impossible if the local group as a whole had not shared the flesh of large animals in the chase. The Esquimaux, before recent times, would have died out if in their Arctic homes they had not shared fresh meat in winter, or their spare tools and implements. Shifting cultivation in forest areas with fast growing vegetation would have been impossible, if the local community, usually the village, had not worked together. At a higher level of culture, irrigated cultivation was rendered possible only because whole groups of villages joined in cooperation to make the necessary channels and to share the water supply. In our own times, atomic fission became an accomplished fact only through the pooling of researches of scientists of many nations.[2]

In modern civilization, the need of such working together is recognised, and every state which claims to be advanced in civilization, irrespective of the colour of its political learnings, allots a substantial part of its national income to community welfare which is the present day equivalent of community co-operation. But a second lesson conveyed by the study of man and the environment created by him that we call culture, is often overlooked. It is, that where the scarcity factor operates, after a certain standard of living has been reached, co-operation tends to break down. The primitive food collecting Veddahs of Ceylon had cooperation among themselves, and still have some remnants of it (or at least had in the last century). But faced with the encroachment of their hunting territory by more advanced folk, they developed a sharply individualistic outlook in economic matters. Similar examples are found among Californian Amerindian tribesmen in America. The suspicion and lack of cooperation that scarcity engenders, in fact, led a famous sociologist to state that man is naturally an individualist and does not welcome cooperation. As an example he noted the Touareg of Sahara

*Talk given at Symposium of the National Institute of Sciences of India in May, 1959.

who live in hard conditions and display an intense jealousy in the matter of individual rights.[3] Such non-cooperative attitudes are really found with scarcity of prime necessities of life.

In our country, we are trying to build up a composite nation out of many different elements. There are many fissiparous forces operating in them. In order that the necessary objectives may be realised, it is essential that the people of our country should realise the problems and accept the changes that are essential. This introduction of changes, *i.e.*, of new culture traits cannot be done simply by legislation or by direction of a Planning Commission. Reports of the United Nations Educational and Scientific organisation reveal how attempts to introduce useful traits of culture have not often succeeded in modern conditions due to non-acceptance by the people concerned. Study of man and his culture shows numerous examples of such resistance to introduction of useful traits and also of disappearance of useful arts even when the essential technique was known. A certain amount of preparation is therefore absolutely necessary to bring about a receptive frame and mind and behavioural attitude on the part of the people among whom we want to introduce new traits such as scientific thinking and application of methods of science in every day life.[4]

Elimination of want, and ensuring of an adequate supply of food, clothing and other essentials of life require that modern technology should be applied, wherever possible in fields of production to step up output. This does not mean that cottage industries or individual craft work should disappear. But it does mean that even in these fields modern tools, as also ways of eliminating unnecessary expenditure of human labour are to be introduced. Since a large proportion of our adolescent and adult population will have to work in fields and factories, it is essential that the outlook of these people should specially be influenced by objective training in science, keeping in view the principles already discussed. As the labour corps in agriculture and industry will not be drawn in the less-skilled grades from persons educated in the Universities, it follows that the teaching of science to such people will have to be given in schools. Since modern technology is going to occupy an increasingly important place, not only in factories and plantations but also in cooperatives of craftsmen and cultivators, the teaching in schools has to ensure that those who go through these institutions get a good training in and acquaintance with scientific method and the facts of science and technology. Emphasis in teaching has to shift in this direction. Again, since it is essential to plan for the nation, and it is well-known that freedom of the individual under Planning is limited in many fields, it is essential that from early childhood, the future citizens be trained to think for themselves on the basis of facts. Only in this way can independent scientific thinking be combined with the limitations of freedom imposed by planned economy. I have considered it necessary to emphasise these two points—of preparing people to accept the introduction of modern scientific methods, and of ensuring freedom of thought within limitation of socio-economic behaviour under planning, as there are strong trends in our country which run counter to these objectives. At present Basic Education is emphasised and sought to be introduced all over our Republic. When the Hindusthani Talimi Sangh was founded to develop this type of education, I pointed out as one of the original members of that body the limitations of its methodology and objectives, and advocated combining with it modern techniques. Some of the defects have since then been removed but even now we read that in Basic Schools—"The things to do without delay are (1) To put productive work without any ambiguity or reservation at the core of Basic education, (2) to ensure that good productive work becomes the medium of effective learning and therefore to check, measure, and properly to evaluate productivity in relation to specific norms and targets." Details are then noted, with special approval of targets laid down in one state of net *per capita* monthly income from pupils' work for all grades beginning with Grade I. In the eighth grade, *i.e.*, in the secondary stage it is to be Rs. 3|- *per capita* per month. These details are noted from the Report of the Assessment Committee on Basic Education appointed by the Ministry of Education, New Delhi and published by end of 1956.[5] The Committee laments that in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh

the target of production output is neglected and emphasis is placed on creative work. In the introduction to the Report Sri K. G. Saiyidain notes with approval the general recommendations made in the Report. The emphasis on craft and income production in school is unmistakeable. It is hardly necessary to point out that widespread extension of this type of education is not compatible with teaching of science on an objective basis, linked with modern technology. In my book, *Our Education,* I have indicated the undoubted value of hand and eye training and also the need of centering education round life activities, as is done among simpler folk.[6] But this does not mean that our educational structure should aim at the old self-sufficient village system with its own craftsmen or that children should work in schools like miniature factories to earn for their education. But early training in science is essential if we are to break down the prejudices that hamper objective thinking and create social divisions. Such training is needed also to impart the necessary skill to our youth to understand and utilise the tools and implements of modern technology. The extent to which such training has been found necessary in technologically advanced countries may be judged from the following details about European schools.

For England, I shall note the details first of the type of training imparted to teachers, as this gives a good indication of the teaching work they are expected to do. A training college for women teachers is selected for illustration. The time of visit was in 1934, and later reports on education in England indicate further raising of quality and standard of such work.[7]

The normal course of study for a teacher's certificate is a two years' course after the Higher S. L. certificate. Every candidate has to study,

1. The Principles and Practice of Education, (Two papers—one on psychology and one on Practice),
2. Hygiene,
3. Physical Training (Theory and Practice),
4. English Language and Literature (three papers).

Any three of the following subjects, of which not more than two are to be taken from either group.

A. History, Geography, Mathematics, Science, A Foreign language.
B. Music, Drawing, Needlework and Handwork (for men).
Housecraft (for women only), Gardening and Handwork (for men).

The Furzedown Training College which was visited provided at the time a two year's course for women who wanted to be teachers of public elementary schools.

For Geography, class work was supplemented by excursions and visits to Museums. Students were encouraged to make a study of the home area, whether a village or a town. Individual free work found expression in these studies. Anthropogeographical details, the economic geography of the area, peculiarities of the lay of the land or architecture of habitations were noted and illustrated with maps and drawings. Such reports were found on examination to be of very good quality.

For Biology, each student carried out a piece of individual work, chiefly on her own line on a subject chosen by herself. The first year was spent on the study of animal life, the second on plant life. The following pieces of individual work were found to have been done by students at the time of visit :

A study of

1. Some common London trees.
2. Tame mice in captivity with special reference to their behaviour and colour inheritance.
3. Rabbits, wild and domestic their structure and habits.
4. Photo synthesis based largely on experimental work.
5. Plant and animal life in ponds and streams.
6. The life structure of the honey bee and a year's life in the hive.

There were other titles but these will give some idea of the type of work done. How schools are run may be judged from the Central type

boys' schools of the London country council for students who show normal aptitude or do better in the primary stage. Here science is regularly taught of a standard of near about the present Intermediate standard of our Universities. In most Central schools there was one big hall for teaching Physics, Chemistry and Botany. The shelves round the room held apparatus and chemicals. The demonstration table had gas and water laid on as usual. In addition the boys' desks had gas laid for conversion into laboratory tables for Practical work. A few science lessons observed were found to be imparted on the usual lecture-*cum*-demonstration method.

The students did technical drawing and then advanced mechanical drawing in two years before the final year, if they take up a technical bias course. In the final year designing and advanced work is done. Visual educaion was helped by cine reels and slides from a central store. Scottish schools in Edinburgh were similarly, though not so well-equipped.

In Sweden, the standard of science teaching was found to be higher. As an example the work done and equipment in one of the secondary schools in Stockholm is noted. Children are admitted to it only after they have spent five to six years in primary school (folkskola). The age of pupils is then about 11 or 12. After five more years the Real Skolexamen is taken. Further, study is also arranged for admission to the University. There was in one institution visited a Physics Laboratory for 20 pupils to work at a time of a standard equal to that of our B.Sc. pass course laboratory. This was for the senior classes. There was also a smaller laboratory for the lower forms. Each table and seat had a numbered board where in slots instruments like calipers, screw gauges, etc., were kept. There is also a demonstration room with apparatus for the B.Sc. pass standard. The chemistry laboratory was comparable to a well-equipped I.Sc. laboratory in Calcutta. There was also a very well-equipped natural history museum, with well arranged specimens in thirty large cases of size 10′×5′×5′. The Botany department was also properly equipped with usual microscope, etc., and had a projection apparatus to show sections on screens. The Geography Department had a map and chart room and a museum showing examples of costumes, tools weapons and economic products of different areas.

In Denmark, the equipment of science laboratories and demonstration rooms for Physics, Chemistry and Biology were adequate even in schools in small towns, although not on such a lavish scale as in the schools in Stockholm. In France, the teaching in science in the higher forms seemed to be less elaborate in the state and municipal schools. Greater emphasis was placed on practical training. The equipment in the continuation school at Suresnes for children of age 13 to 16, for example, had lathes, drills, forges, electrical machines, etc., comparable to the corresponding workshops for the junior certificate course in Jadavpore Engineering College. Secondary schools proper have arrangements for general science teaching.

In the schools in Moscow, the equipment for science teaching was found to be more abundant. Greater stress is also laid on visual education and on learning by doing. In Moscow, students complete study in class X, the final year of the secondary schools, normally at the age of seventeen. In visits to several such schools in 1952, the teaching of Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology, Geography and English were observed. In the class room for work in chemistry for class VII, each table had the equipment needed for small experiments. As the teacher taught and demonstrated, the pupils followed him, repeating his experiments. Apart from such small-scale work, larger experiments are carried out in the bigger laboratory.

In Physics, as well as in Biology, I found the same elaborate equipment for teaching. A geography lesson on Kazakstan was in progress in class VIII in another school. Besides maps and charts, the teacher used a cine film to illustrate the physical features of the area studied. Earlier conditions of primitive production and its effect on social life were also shown in the film. Finally, the pupils saw how introduction of irrigation and modern technical methods had changed the economic conditions and led to the growth of better integrated societies at a higher level of culture. The teaching of Trigonometry in class IX and of English in one of the higher classes

appeared to be adequate. The assessment of the work of the students was done in these two classes and also in Physics when I was observing the teaching. For mathematics, there was questioning to elucidate, and also blackboard work, and for physics, by experiment and exposition. The assigning of marks on the basis of quality of work done went hand in hand with teaching. The advantage of this method seems to be that the students have to come prepared regularly to these classes, not deferring preparation to the examination season. At the end of the year only a sample checking over and above this marking, is done. The results are declared on the combined report on standard of work done during the year and the performance at the sample test. At the University level also, the tests are not deferred to the end of the five years' course. Here the American model is followed to some extent. Courses are so planned that particular topics are covered at the end of terms of about six months. Two tests are held, one in the middle and one at the end of the year in each of the five years at the University.

In Prague, the system of testing and marking in class is similar to that of Moscow schools. The equipments were adequate but not so lavish.

To encourage voluntary acquisition of skills, Soviet authorities have organised what are known as Pioneer Palaces. In U.S.S.R., there are also various centres where young people can take up Biological and other researches as hobbies. All these help to increase science and technology mindedness among youths in U.S.S.R.[8]

In our own country, we are now trying to raise the standard of teaching in schools and in colleges. The Education Ministry at the Centre and the University Grants Commission have encouraged and emphasised the introduction of the three years' degree course and of the eleven years' Higher Secondary School syllabus. There is, however, some confusion of thought leading to lack of proper coordination.

The introduction of teaching of science in secondary schools requires costly equipment as well as properly qualified teachers. To get enough teachers trained in science and also in teaching methods requires expansion of science teaching in colleges in the Honours stage and also in the University at the Postgraduate level, as well as more room in Pedagagic Institutes. There are not enough seats for science Honours course in Physics or Chemistry or Biological subjects or in Geography. Even for a Pass degree with distnictlon there are not enough laboratories, if used for a single shift. Nevertheless, the State Government and also the U.G.C. want that college buildings and laboratories should be used for a single shift. This means that buildings and laboratories will be used only for about six hours—from eleven to five daily. Is there any reason why the building and laboratories should not be used from seven in the morning till eight in the evening, with one hours gap to enable teaching of students in two shifts? To the argument that in a poor country like ours, capital should not be locked up without use (except for just one shift of six hours) the objection that is raised is that with shift system efficiency in teaching falls and there is a large percentage of failures. But is the use of the building for two shifts responsible for such failures? Or is it the use of the same laboratory by two sets of students responsible for loss of efficiency? Surely, if in a factory different shifts can, with adequate gaps use the same machinery without loss of efficiency, different batches of students can study in the same building and use the same laboratory without loss of efficiency. Failures are not due to such common use of building and laboratory. It is due to the employment of the same teachers for several batches of students overworking the staff unduly and it is also due to lack of facilities for study by large numbers of the students.[9] The real target should be to pay teachers an adequate salary and insist on appointment of separate staff for separate shifts. There should also be more amenities for study for the students. I may point out that in a different level of education—in schools even a rich country like England did not hesitate to use the same well-equipped centre—for House craft and for Hand work located in one school by several other similar schools without such equipment on different half days. In Calcutta, when I was Education Officer of the city I used this method to keep down capital expense on workshop for manual training. Those who are

acquainted with the standard attained in Corporation Schools in my time will certify that these arrangements had proved to be successful. I have also indicated elsewhere how training facilities can be expanded without unduly increasing the cost of training. Such experiments were also successfully conducted for training teachers of Corporation Primary Schools. Indications have been given of modification needed for teachers of Secondary Schools. There is no reason why similar devices should not be used in keeping capital costs low for expansion of scientific education, in colleges and schools as also for training of teachers in secondary schools, without sacrificing efficiency to any extent. I may note further that unless some arrangement is made for use of laboratories of rural higher secondary schools by several institutions, these costly set-ups will lie idle for our fifths or more of their usable capacity. The number in the top classes are usually small and even they use the laboratories only for a few hours in the week. This is wasteful. To think of giving the best to our children is good. But it is folly to go bankrupt in the process, without reaching anywhere near the goal.

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CRISIS IN LAOS

By H. N. GULATI

Laos together with the states of Vietnam and Cambodia constitute the peninsula of Indo-China, whose eastern sea-board runs after the letter S. The people of this land-locked country, numbering some two million are composed of various ethnic groups—aboriginal Kha, Meo and Yao—the hill tribes, the Buddhist Lao and the tribal Tai. In addition there are Europeans and Asians from countries like India, Pakistan, China and Vietnam.

Laos, entirely dominated by the Mekong river, could not achieve political unification till as late as the French occupation. It remained divided into independent village groups. Brief periods of a loose union have only been exceptions in its chequered history.

Independence has never been the gift of the poor inhabitants of Laos, who suffered invasions at the hands of Javanese Tibetans, Indians, Mongols or the Thais. The country divided into principalities seldom enjoyed peace. A shrewd Prince Fa Ngoun by name taking advantage of the political mess which overwhelmed the country carved out a kingdom for himself in the middle of the fourteenth century. Having occupied Vientiane, he proclaimed himself the king of Lan Xang (the country of million elephants) in 1355, and set up his capital at Luang Prabang. Fa Ngoun

military astute, was incapable of keeping the masses happy. Being oppressive, he had to abdicate after twenty years' rule in favour of his son Oun Mueun.

Lan Xang could not persist as a kingdom for long. The death of Soulingne Vongsa in 1694 brought in disintegration. Dynastic disputes for the throne resulted in the creation of three kingdoms of Luang Prabang, Vientiane, and Champassak (Bassac).

Siamese taking advantage of perpetual internal rivalries and bickerings came to establish their suzerainty over the Laotian people in 1778. Their hold, however, could not last long. The French had already penetrated the Indo-Chinese lands in the 17th century, with the proselytizing mission. This activity, it must be remembered, was inextricably woven with the trading interests.

The insatiable French appetite next undertook a political conquest. In 1893, through the agency of one Auguste Pavie, an employee of the Cochin-Chinese Postal and Telegraph Services, a protectorate was established over Laos. It was rendered possible by a treaty with Siam, who terror-stricken of French military might, chose to step down the saddle of suzerainty.

The whole of Indo-China came under the virtual military occupation of Japan in 1941. With the defeat of the Japanese, Laos after some formalities reverted to France.

By this time, the Laotian people had tasted a dose of freedom. Influence of Viet Minh, operating actively in Vietnam especially in the South, had made them more conscious of their rights. Lao Issara (Free Lao), a cross section of the populace bent upon complete freedom from the French yoke, were increasing in strength They had the active support of Phetsarath, a Lao prince. The Prince held a key position in the political set-up. He was the Viceroy and Prime Minister, in rank second to the king of Luang Prabang.

The French pinned faith on Sisavang Vong, the reactionary king of Luang Prabang. In his person, they discovered hope of continuing with the protectorate.

Taking advantage of Japanese capitulation, Phetsarath who was then in Vientiane, on September 1, 1945, proclaimed abrogation of the French protectorate over Laos. With their headquarters in Vientane, the Lao Issara Government began to function. This sensitized the French, who with the help of their stooge, king Sisavang Vong faced no difficulty in expelling the budding independent Government from Vientane. This happened on April 20, 1946.

The imperialists though able to stage a come-back on the Indo-chinese soil, were not feeling easy there. They had to reckon with a people who had awakened to consciousness and could give a tough fight. Viet Minh, working under the sagacious leadership of Ho Chi Minh were already making them restless. Expense over war was mounting high. Force of circumstances constrained them to grant a slice of independence. By the general Franco-Laotian Convention of July 19, 1947, Laos acquired the status of an independent state within the French Union.

The end of French rule marked the beginning of divisions within the Lao Issara. Prince Phetsarath because of ultra-nationalist ideas was removed from leadership. His younger brother Prince Souphannouvong alienated himself from the party by his extreme leftist leanings. Dissensions were in clear evidence. Among the exiles brought back to Vientane in the French plane, Phetsarath and Souphannouvong were conspicuous by their absence.

The recent crisis which captured the headlines in the periodicals in 1959 represents a cumulative effect of the disease started in 1949. Internal political bickerings between the communists and the royalists happened to assume big proportions. Taking advantage of the fissiparious tendencies, foreign elements came to intervene, making Laos a pawn in the cold war. To know how the volcano of acrimony and enmity erupted, it is essential to trace the history of events.

The period between independence and conclusion of Geneva agreements has no note-worthy developments to its credit. At the time of cease fire in 1954, Laos was well

impregnated with the communist Viet Minh forces. The two provinces of Phong Saly and Houa Phans (or Samneua) bordering Vietnams were under their firm control, and were administered by the Pathet Lao, the local communist party.

Development of Pathet Lao

The Lao Issara which stood for independence from France had within it leftist elements, which constituted the nucleus of what later on came to be known as the Pathet Lao.

We know, Souphanouvong in view of his being a communist was detached from his comrades at the time of independence. From his exile in Bangkok, he along with his followers fled to North Vietnam to join Ho Chi Minh, who after reckoning with his foes—the French colonialists—would have respite in a hide-out in Tuyen-Quang. There they felt that the independence given to the Laotians was a farce. Royal power was against the principles of democracy. With a democratic republic in mind they proclaimed the Pathet Lao on August 13, 1950.

To make Pathet Lao broad-based, it permitted non-communist 'progressive' elements to join its ranks. In November, Neo Lao Issara (Free Lao Front) was attracted to it. The year 1952 witnessed a further development. Strictly in accordance with communistic principles, with rigid party discipline, Pathet Lao became a full-fledged Laotian Communist Party. It chose to designate itself Phak Khon Ngon Lao (P.K.N.L.)—the Laotian Workers' Party.

Working of P.K.N.L. proved that it was not making much headway towards winning popular support. Keeping this in view, the leaders created in January 1956 a 'legal' party called the Lao Hak Xat (N.L.H.X.) or Lao Patriotic Front. It undertook to increase membership and honey-combed the entire kingdom.

Towards the Crisis

The Geneva agreements purported to orge unity. Separate administration of the two border provinces by the Pathet Lao was to come to a stop. They were to come under the Royal control. U.C.P.L. (Unites Combatantes Pathet Lao), the Pathet Lao armed forces were to merge themselves with the Royal troops.

For implementation of the terms, Prince Souphanouvong and his half-brother Souvanna Phouma, the leader of the moderates met in November, 1957, and concluded an agreement. Civil and military organizations of the Pathet Lao were to be integrated with their Royal counterparts. Fresh elections were to be held, NLHX was rendered a legal party and could contest.

Complimentary elections were held on May 4, 1958. NLHX annexed 14 seats, getting two cabinets posts—that of planning and religion and cults. The portfolio of planning, one of the vital departments was entrusted to Souphanouvong. This embarassed the Americans—dealt as the department did, **inter alia** with foreign aid.

Next came the question of the integration of the Pathet Lao forces. The Royal Government desired that the merger take place on an individual basis. The two UCPL battalions should disintegrate; and all the various officials enlist themselves individually in the Royal army where they would be posted according to the exigencies. UCPL did not relish this policy of dispersal. It stood for the retention of the compact identity of the two Battalions. Stern attitude on the part of the both the parties—Royal Government and UCPL—serves as a dauntless answer to the explosive situation that enveloped the country a little later.

Another factor that explains the subsequent mishaps is the replacement of Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister by Phovi Sananikone. The former as a result of his compromising policy was able to maintain the balance of politics in equilibrium. August, 1958, witnessed the change-over.

What the role of the Americans was in this change is not clear. No documentary evidence is available to suggest that it was prompted by them. One thing is certain.

Inclusion of ministers like Souphanouvong with charge of vital departments, was not to the taste of American aid officials. And Sananikone had firm pro-Western slant. This is evident from a talk he gave soon after he took over. "As far as peaceful co-existence is concerned we shall clearly inform neighbouring countries and the world that we shall co-exist with the free world only . . . ."

The new Prime Minister undertook to resolve the deadlock arising out of the terms of the integration. Finding the UCPL adamant Sanannikone chose to proceed with an iron hand. Getting wind of the intentions of the administration one of the battalions of Pathet Lao managed to escape across the border to North Vietnam on May 18, 1959. The other failed in its attempts, and was brought to the heels. Prince Souphanouvong being taken as a dangerous man was arrested.

These events had far-reaching repurcussions. They brought in their trail the crisis which startled the press. July 16 marked the beginning of the stirrings. Regular fighting commenced.

Upheavals in Laos were attended by the news 'North Viet-Namese invasion', 'The Red bugbear' began to slide from the Western, and pro-Western lips. The facts, however, are not far to seek.

An Investigation Commission consisting of pro-Western countries like Argentine, Italy, Japan and Tunisia was sent to Laos. Its report nowhere mentioned the complicity of the Reds. Vietnamese prisoners were conspicuous by their absence. Greater part of the captured military equipment was American as well as that of Royal Laotian army.

British and French through their own independent sources drew the same conclusion. France has a long and intimate experience with the Indo-Chinese. She has got the best intelligence service in North Vietnam and Laos. Never did France throughout 1959 referred to the "foreign invasion."

Foreign invasion is but a mental construction arising out of fear psychosis developed by the terror-stricken capitalism, whose arch advocate is the United States. The basic reason of drawing the country into a series of convulsions is the oppressive policy of Sananikone. Instead of embarking upon long overdue socio-economic reforms, the prime minister undertook to meet the situation by an outright repression.

Sananikone on adopting a tough attitude towards Pathet Lao counted much on American support. Before long he discovered that his expectations were not being borne out. Instead of improving, the situation worsened. Chaos and disorder began to reign the country. There were a series of cabinet crises.

Impotence of governmental authority was clearly in evidence. All the Pathet Lao detenus escaped on May 24, 1960.

While the political house was at sixes and sevens, one Kong-lae, a 26 years old captain of the Royal army seized control of Vientane on August 9, 1960. With patriotic zeal, he pronounced that he liked to end graft and corruption and save Laos from foreign influence. Prince Souvana Phouma was invited and again charged with the responsibilities of primeministership by the National Assembly.

These developments instead of bringing peace to the country, ushered in the dawn of uneasiness and misery for the poor Laotians. Phouma in a deteriorating situation found himself helpless. Prince Boun Oum had set up a "revolutionary committee" as a challenge to the Vientane government. Phoumi Nosavan acting as the right hand man of the prince was playing an important role as the extreme right opposition. Neo Lao Haksat, the political organisation of the Pathet Lao too had become active.

September 20, 1960, witnessed the first open clashes between the forces of the 'revolutionary committee' and those of the government. The presence of communists in the field added fuel to the fire. Once started, the hostilities showed little hope of an end. A three cornered fight was in sight, with (i) Souvanna Phouma-King Lae combination in nominal control of much of the north-western Laos; (ii) Pathet Lao occupying much of the north-eastern region and (iii) the Phoumi Nosavan group seizing control of the south.

The chaotic situation left the king in an awkward position. He chose to remain neutral between the contending factions. The lukewarm attitude of the king with situation going out of hands, Prince Souvanna Phouma fled to Cambodia on December 9, 1960.

Foreign Aid

At this juncture when Laos is being strangled it will be in the fitness of things to peep into the anxiety of the senior wranglers to save the country—to save it from going either extreme left or extreme right.

The internal clashes in Laos stirred the Americans and the Soviets to a campaign of charges and counter-charges. These were accusations of intervention. The war of nerves apart, it is for us to see the facts in so far as the Reds or non-Reds have interests in the tiny land torn by warfare.

Alarmed by the drift of events, Mr. Graham Parsons, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, alongwith the Assistant Secretary of Defence, visited Vientane on October 12, 1960. Talks with the Laotian Government on economic and military aid got under way. Their success was announced by the State department on October 17.

The new Soviet Ambassador, Alexander Abramov, arrived in Vientane on October 13. Two days hence, came the announcement that the Soviet Government had made an offer of financial aid to Laos. Prince Souvanna Phouma responded with equal warmth and accepted the offer, which was to be unconditional.

Reverting to the flight of Prince Phouma on December 25, Boun Oum, with the approval of the King was invested as Prime Minister by the National Assembly.

Abdication of Phouma brought Pathet Lao closer to the moderate wing led by Lae-Phoma combination. Their activities grew more vigorous, and they set up a rival government at Xieng Khouang.

Pained by the critical situation prevailing in the country the three princes, Souphanouvong, Boun Oum and Souvanna Phouma, met in a Zurich Hotel with a view to thrash out a solution and save the country from ruin. Unable to reconcile their differences, the meeting proved unavailing.

In the meantime Soviet Union and other countries were putting forward proposals for a Geneva Conference. A truce was considered an essential pre-requisite to the anticipated success of the proposal. To that end a cease-fire conference was convened. The Chairman of the International Control Commission (ICC) for Laos announced the cease-fire.

The fourteen nations Geneva Conference got under way in May, 1961. Despite certain serious differences among the international oligarchy eyes of the pacifists are fixed on them. With wistful eyes, they are waiting for the day when Laos might breathe calm.

Whatever might be the achievements of the Geneva Nations, one thing must not be lost sight of. An enduring peace and prosperity can be brought to Laos by the men and women of Laos themselves. Let the leading politicians of the country come to a compromise and save the nation from the writhing pains. Establishment of a Democratic Republic, with the policy of non-alignment implying non-membership of military blocs, acceptance of economic aid without strings and friendly relations with all the states—this is what a peaceable future of the country calls for.

THE KASHMIR DISPUTE: INDIA'S POSITION

By B. C. NAG,

Assistant Editor, Hindusthan Standard.

WHENEVER Pakistan is faced with internal troubles, its ruling class raises the cry of Kashmir and spits venom on India. It plays this game to divert the attention of the people from their real grievances which are many. What India feels about this vexed question is explained here.

Pakistan believes that religion is the basis of nationality. Its claim to Kashmir stems from this belief. Of the 5 million population of Kashmir, about 3.5 million are Moslem, out of 40 million Moslems of India.

It should be borne in mind that the partition of India did not take place on the basis of the two-nation theory of Mahommed Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, according to whom Indian Moslems were a different nation as they professed a different religion. India never accepted this theory, but agreed to partition only as a concession under compelling circumstances to politically dissident groups which wanted a separate state for them.

Besides, this concession applied only to British India and not to the princely India, consisting of more than five hundred states which were semi-independent.

India thinks that this two-nation theory is a challenge to its Constitution, the acceptance of which will upset the *status quo*, adversely affecting the 35-1/2 million Moslems in other parts of the country, and kindle religious fanaticism, resulting in large-scale migrations, attended with great human suffering, as was witnessed in 1947. India, the home of many religious communities, Hindu, Moslem, Christian, Buddhist, Jewish, Zoroastrian and other, consider the theory of nationality based on religion extremely dangerous for the stability of its secular democracy.

Besides religion, there are three aspects of the Kashmir question. They are its accession to India, Pakistan's aggression and the issue of plebiscite.

ACCESSION

Kashmir acceded to India in October, 1947, when its ruler Maharaja Sir Hari Singh signed an instrument of accession which was accepted by Lord Mountbatten, India's then Governor-General. It was endorsed by the largest political party in the State, the Kashmir National Conference, 75 per cent of whose members were Moslem. It was further approved by a freely elected Constituent Assembly of Kashmir in October, 1951. The accession was thus legal and constitutional. It has never to date been challenged on legal grounds.

The United States representative said at the U.N. Security Council on February 4, 1948, "With the accession of Kashmir to India, this foreign sovereignty went over to India and is exercised by India and that is why India happens to be here as a petitioner." The British delegation to the U.N. has never questioned this act of accession which was made directly under the enactments of the British Parliament. The Legal Adviser to the United Nations Commission also agreed that the State's accession to India was legal. It was recognized and defined by the U.N. Commission in its resolutions of August, 1948 and January, 1959. Both these resolutions were accepted by India and Pakistan.

AGGRESSION

President Ayub Khan admitted Pakistan's aggression when he said at Djakarta on December 7, 1960, "Thus began the problem of Kashmir where the Moslems were fighting for freedom. Naturally we in Pakistan went to their aid."

Mr. Jinnah, according to Campbell Johnson's book, "Mission With Mountbatten," told Lord Mountbatten in 1947 that if Indian troops were withdrawn from Kashmir, "I will call the whole

thing off," meaning thereby that he would withdraw Pakistani forces from Kashmir.

Sir Zaffrulla Khan, Pakistan's principal delegate to the U.N., admitted before the U.N. Commission in July, 1948 that three Pakistan brigades were fighting in Kashmir.

Sir Owen Dixon, Australian jurist and U.N. Representative for India and Pakistan, held that the entry of hostile elements into Kashmir in October, 1947 was "contrary to international law" and the entry of regular Pakistani forces in May, 1948 too was "inconsistent with international law."

In his book, "As I See India," Robert Trumbull of the *New York Times* says, "There was never any doubt that Pakistani provincial authorities, perhaps unofficially but certainly not without the knowledge of Karachi, supplied the blood-thirsty tribals with truck transport. And Pakistani army officers, alleged to be on 'leave,' led the contingents."

Plebiscite

Pakistan says, India has not honoured its commitments to the U.N. Both Pakistan and India accepted a resolution adopted on August 13, 1948 by the U.N. Commission. The first part of the resolution imposed cease-fire. The second directed Pakistan to withdraw all its regular and irregular forces from the territory of Kashmir. The third, which was to be acted upon when the first and second parts were implemented, envisaged a method whereby the free will of the people of Kashmir could be ascertained in a peaceful manner.

While the first part, *i.e.*, cease-fire, has been acted upon by both sides, the second, *i.e.*, withdrawal of its regular and irregular forces from Kashmir, has not been implemented by Pakistan. In the circumstances, India cannot implement unilaterally the third part of the resolution.

Pakistan makes much of an assurance given by Prime Minister Nehru to the people of Kashmir after India had accepted the State's accession. The assurance was that after Pakistan's aggression had been vacated and the entire territory of the State cleared of Pakistani hordes and tribals, India would again ascertain, if necessary, the will of the people of Kashmir. The assurance was not that India would hold a plebiscite to determine whether Kashmir should join India or Pakistan. The assurance was purely an internal affair with India. So it is not understandable how Pakistan comes in it.

So far as this assurance is concerned, it has already been more than fulfilled. The people of Kashmir through their freely elected Constituent Assembly have ratified their decision to make their State part of the Indian territory. Today it is one of the 16 constituent States of Indian Union. Neither the Kashmir Assembly nor the Parliament of India can now alter this settled fact, a fact which is enshrined in Article 3 of the Constitution of the State of Kashmir and has the sanction of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

Plebiscite like general election is one of the recognized forms of democratic process to ascertain the will of the people. But while there has not been a single general election in Pakistan since it was created in August, 1947, free elections in the normal course have been held three times during this period in Kashmir on the Indian side.

Sheikh Abdulla

The question of the detention of Sheikh Abdulla, the first Prime Minister of Kashmir after independence, has nothing to do with the original Kashmir dispute. But as Pakistan now also makes much of it, it should be explained here why the Sheikh, whose Kashmir national militia fought along with the Indian Army to repulse the Pakistani raiders, is now in detention. Kashmir acceded to India with the complete concurrence of the Sheikh who was at that time the head of the Kashmir National Conference, a wing of the All-India National Congress, and it was under his leadership that the Kashmir National Conference unanimously endorsed the accession. The charge against him now is that as the Prime Minister of Kashmir, he utilised his position, with the connivance of some foreign powers, to make it secede from India and to make it a sovereign buffer state between India, China, Pakistan and Soviet Russia. When in 1953 these activities were unearthed, he was dismissed from the State premiership by the Sadar-e-Riyasat, *i.e.*, the head of the State, arrested and placed on

trial. Abdulla has no sympathy for Pakistan, nor is he a believer in Jinnah's two-nation theory. His present interest, as alleged, lies elsewhere.

No More Beru-Bari, Please

According to recent reports from New Delhi, the Nehru Government is agreeable to accept the present cease-fire line as the permanent boundary between India and Pakistan, but the Pakistan Government, which wants to keep enmity between the two countries alive, has rejected the offer. The question here is not how Pakistan reciprocates India's gesture of friendship, but how long will the Nehru Government be allowed to surrender territory after territory for the mere fun of it.

The whole of Kashmir belongs to India and if the Nehru Government wants to surrender a part of it to Pakistan, it should not be a gift, but it should be on an exchange basis. In return of the territory to be ceded, the Government of India should ask for a territory of like nature and value from Pakistan. The disputed twelve thanas of Sylhet or the Chittagong Hill Tracts or both may to an extent compensate the resultant loss to be suffered by India, if the Pakistan-occupied part of Kashmir is given away. Mr. Nehru himself once said that he was a bad bargainer. So our representatives in the Parliament should see to it that he does not repeat Beru-Bari in the present case.

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INDIA, A MODERN HISTORY*

By JOGES C. BOSE

INDIA, by Percival Spear, is in the scheme of global exploration, so laudably undertaken by the University of Michigun, U.S.A. It is no history in the technical sense, far less a work of research. Quite a pleasant and illuminative study, its approach is one of understanding with freedom from an obsession of metalic chronicling of events over dates, dynasties et cetera. The author, as a historian, has already made his mark by rewriting the British section of Vincent Smith's Oxford History of India and some notable excavations, associated with the Indus Valley Civilization. He adds one more feather to his cap of attainments.

The book is divided into 4 parts—*India : Ancient and Mediaeval, The Mughul Empire, The British in India* and *Modern India*, consisting of 41 chapters all told. There are, besides, some very useful pages on 'Suggested Readings', which are bound to be of great use to those who intend to proceed further.

The author has given us an excellent account of the leading aspects of the ancient Indian civilization. He speaks of Hinduism as no hide-bound religion, but a socio-religious system, which does not admit of any definition. It is so elastic that there is no bar to accepting as a Hindu an atheist, an agnostic or anyone having no religious belief at all. It is polytheistic, the author says, with the sense of of a Supreme Being behind all the Gods and Goddesses. I would rather put it like this, that Hinduism takes as kindly to Gods and Goddesses with idols representing them, and does not reject the form of worship as quite a valid mode of worship. In fact, within the fold of Hinduism, paradoxical as it seems, there is room for various, nay, mutually-destructive cults, from animistic faith in Nature's cosmic energy to the deification of the Divine in man. This Divine in man is not, however, the samething as what Novalis understands by his 'revelation in flesh'—the text on which Carlyle bases his *Heroes and Hero Worship*. In the light of the above, the author's assessment that 'there is no end to the study of Hinduism' only highlights his faith in its vastness and unplumbed depth. It is significant that the Sanskrit word *Dharma* (Religion) means that which holds the mind. Therefore, within a certain framework—and that for social purpose—with egress and regress not rigidly defined, Hinduism is an intellectual attitude to life. A

*As Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee made over the book to me, he suggested that I would better not press it to a scheduled review.

Hindu is within his rights to hold that man's religion, *i.e.*, his relation to God is exclusive and personal, and is sore against any imposition.

I wish the author had devoted a few lines to the Hindu conception of 'one world one humanity', floating down the mists of antiquity since the days of *The Upanishads*—Shri Aurobindo calls their authors, 'the liberated knowers of the Eternal.' It has gone so far deep into the Hindu social system that no man can offer oblatory satisfaction to the deceased kith and kin, which is enjoined in all important social observances, unless the offer is, at the same time, for all men of the world. As a result of political collapse in ignoble circumstances with die-hard beliefs and prejudices crowding round Hindu life thick and fast, the vital link with the venerable tradition of its past snapped; and Hindu civilization stagnated and suffered an eclipse. It is one of the riddles of history that a handful of British merchants rowed up the river Hooghly and founded their Indian Empire; but no less surprising is the fact that they brought the dynamics of a new civilization, which illumined the eclipsed period of our history, and, truly, in that light did India discover her transcendental self. Thanks to the 'Indian Renaissance' which, the author says, 'began among the active-minded Bengalis',* India owes, as Dr. Radhakrishnan says, 'the recapture of the spirit of universalism'. Sir William Jones and Professor Max Muller should have been mentioned in this connection.

Similarly, as I get on to Buddha, I miss a discussion on the line how this rebel son of Hinduism has saved Hindu culture from the truculence of Brahminism: how he has brought down *The Upanishads* from the academic circle of the learned few to dwell among the commonfolk in order to instal a perfectly democratic society on the basis of the equality of man: whether or not because of Buddha's great release of man's mind and intellect from the iron jacket of religious tyranny and dictatorship that India's attainments in the Gupta period were such that no country in the then contemporary world came near its height. It produced men like Chanakya, Panini, Deepankar, Seelbhadra, Charak, Sushruta, Nagaryoon and others, each a name to conjure with in the domain of Art or Science.

As to what, again, has posed like a problem is the banishment of Buddhism from India. Percival Spear's answer is: 'Brahminism sanctified fighting for the military caste. Krishna exhorting Arjuna to fight as a moral duty was preferable to Buddha's otherworldliness. The center of Buddhism was renunciation, while in Hinduism there was a place for all worldly activity.' Reference to Shri Krishna becomes free from confusion as the author gives the timing of *The Mahabharata* that it 'finally attained its present form, with its immense accretions, around 200 A.D.' 'The Brahmins', the author is justified in saying, 'triumphed but only at the price of taking Buddhist ideas into partnership. The recognition of Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, the Hindu Preserver-God, had in it a deep symbolism'. To me it seems that it is, by and large, the sovereign resilience of the parent cult gathering strength by adjustment, which triumphed. Buddhism, by the sheer weight and pervasiveness of its moral and essentially human indoctrination, successfully combatted and put to rout the *Vedic* and post-*Vedic* elements of Hinduism, and held the field for fairly 1000 years. But as Hinduism broadened in terms of the new pulls, Buddhism, its mission fulfilled, faded out. Besides, to have accepted Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu was an act of consummate statesmanship. We have, by the way, an exemplification of the same historical process in Bengal of modern times. Raja Rammohun Roy, with the sure trod of a giant, travelled back from *The Purans* to *The Upanishads;* but as Hinduism stood the initial shock, it was toned up by an all-round cultural orientation; and the Brahma Samaj began to dwindle ideologically. In fact, such was the resilience of the ancient Indian civilization and its power of assimilation that the Greeks, the Saks and the Huns, as they came in turn, were absorbed; and they lost their identity. It is for the historians to pause to reflect why it proved otherwise and became cohesive with the Turko-Afghan intruders.

On the topic 'Islam in India'—chapter VIII —the author says, 'Islam and Hinduism stood in

*'In Bengal', says the author, 'we come upon people noted for their artistic achievement and sensibility, their intellectual brilliance and their mercurial temperament'.

marked contrast to each other. .... In doctrine Islam is all definition and clarity, while Hinduism is vague and confused.' In the context of what we have been told all along that Hinduism is so very vast and comprehensive that it admits without let or hindrance many-varied religious thoughts, habits and predilictions, compendiously speaking, ways of life, the words 'vague' and 'confused' do not assort well. The different texts of Hindu belief, when assembled together, do not knit well; and the dilettante halts. For those, however, who would just go into the matter, all the seeming differences, nay, even conflicts converge on the point of fighting for freedom in pursuit of Truth, which must not in any circumstance get crushed under the dead weight of dogmas. To borrow a simile of Bergsson, it is like the eye, made of many complex mechanisms, but the vision is one simple fact.

Polytheism, caste, cow, et cetra, have been mentioned as dividing the Hindu and the Moslem. The author, however, hits the nail squarely on the head, when he says, 'The Hindu, though his social system was by no means wholly monogamous, objected to the Moslem principle of polygamy'. It is not the whole of it. It is the difference in the Hindu and Moslem outlook on sex which is the crux of the position.

The author has, truly, done well to pinpoint with reference to the Muslim invaders that 'the Turkish destruction of temples and monasteries would excite general horror as well as terror; but the peasants found that the Turkish horrors only occured when their armies were on the march and were not, in fact, much worse than the behaviour of other armies.' What 'other armies' are meant? If they are the armies of the country, in it is to be found an answer why India has bowed down to all attacks from outside.

The author's proposition that the Mughul Empire was no foreign rule in India is open to controversy. The author should have given us weighty reasons in support as against the elaborate discussions of the veteran scholar Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, amongst others. Is not it, as well, inconsistent with his considered opinion that the Mughuls maintained Islam in India 'as a branch of the Caliphate'? (page 232). In fact, his disconcerting proneness to near-adoration leanings for Nehru such as to call India, 'the home of Nehru and Gandhi', post-independent India as 'Nehru's India', and even while refering casually to Hindustani, to fly at a tangent and speak of it as the language 'Mr. Nehru spoke in his home at Allahabad' make one incline to the conclusion that he has fallen an easy prey to Azad-Nehru fad on the point, Dr. Tara Chand coming to their rescue. To Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the Doyen of modern Bengali literature, the Pathans were the nationals in Bengal but the Mughuls were not. Again, on Akbar the following reads fantastic: "In the case of India it can certainly be said that the shape of things to come would have been different if Akbar had not reigned. On the whole, India was fortunate in the conjunction of person and circumstances. In many ways the Mughul Empire which Akbar established prepared the way for the British, who in turn laid the foundation of the new India. We can thus trace *a direct connection* (italics mine) between Akbar and his prototype today, Jawaharlal Nehru". I have failed to trace it. Patel, if alive, would have jumped up with malicious insistence that if Akbar was not a foreigner he was a nationalist Moslem—read Michael Brecher's biography of Nehru. I do not know why the author disrobes Nehru of Asoke's gown and makes him don that of Akbar.

Before I leave the interlude of Moslem rule, I would ask the author one very simple question. He introduces his book as 'the story of how a gifted, passionate, religious people threw off foreign rule to become the pivotal state of our time, an emerging industrial giant in the East'. By people he certainly means the Hindus and Moslems of India. My trouble is with word 'religious'. Do the Moslems, whose religion is 'all clarity and definition' accept the Hindus as 'religious'? Mohommed Ali did not scruple to call Mahatma Gandhi a *Kaffir*, even if he was initially found handy to launch the Khilafat movement. Again, it is no use from the standpoint of a historian to shy at the part played by he Moslems in the fight for Independence. What Mr. Jinnah indicates is for history to note without any equivocation. On 12th November, 1930, he said at the Round-Table Conference, London, "When you say that a large, a very influential party in India stands for misusing or wrecking the future Constitution, I ask you the question: Do you want those parties, *who have checked, held in abeyance*

the party that stands for complete independence of India (italics mine) do you want those people to go back with the answer from you that nothing can be done because there is a strong party, which will misuse or wreck the Constitution?"

As we come to the British period, the author discounts the truthfulness of the story of Black Hole. He cites the authority of J. H. Little to say that Holwell 'invented the whole incident.' It is so true, as he says, that it was not solely by superior arms or military discipline, that the British won India; India had brilliant leaders but they were working against each other as much against the British; there was no national feeling, and what corporate spirit was there it did not go beyond tribe and clan, whereas the Company's servants, how so dishonest individually, were actuated by a sense of national solidarity in championing the cause of the Company. There should have been a reference to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. It brought into being the middle-class intelligentsia, which revolutionized the thought and outlook of India. A rather generous space should have been given to Raja Rammohun Roy, who was the largest single facotr in accepting the West to build India anew on the balance of spiritual and material strength. The discovery of 'essential Hinduism' is the least service he has done to India. He is, as Tagore hails him, 'the inaugurator of modern India'. We do not know if there was anywhere by the time a protest such as it was his by his *The Rights of Woman According to Hindu Law* in vindication of the individual rights and dignity of the woman. Even as the foreign government imposed its stringent rule on the people struck dumb by a superior might, he strenuously advocated the Freedom of the Press and Civil Liberty. He chalked out, as early as the twenties of the last century,—Surendranath Banerjea has so handsomely acknowledged it—the line of constitutional struggle, envisaging the Dominion Status ending with, as Dr. Brajendranath Seal says, 'a free, puissant and enlightened India'. He it was who laid down that the ideal of civilization was not in the isolation of independence but in the interdependence of brotherhood—the ideal that India stuck to even in the trying, bitter moments of her struggle for Freedom. The author, however, makes some compensation when he speaks of Raja Rammohun Roy as having 'provided a basis within Hindu thought for Indian democracy'. It is well of him that in marking the watershed between mediaeval and modern India by the introduction of English Education, he has rescued from oblivion the explosive personality of Professor Derozio, who was one of the prime factors in the making of new Bengal.

With regard to the Sepoy Mutiny, it is least expected of a historian of Percival Spear's standing to toe the line of a made-to-order history and call it a national event. "The Mutiny", he says, "became a national event when the troops at Meerut rose, shot their officers, marched to Delhi and on May 11, 1857, compelled the aged Emperor Bahadur Shah to become their leader". This is carrying the Indianised-national Mughul viewpoint to a convivial excess. Jawaharlal Nehru says in his *Discovery of India*, that the mutiny was 'essentially a feudal outburst', but celebrates its centenary as a national event. The one inevitable outcome of its being a success was for India to have slunk back to feudalism.

I hope, I tread no sensitive corn if I happen to say that the first national challenge to the British rule in India is Bengal's Swadeshi Movement as an answer to her Partition. "Led by the now mature Surendranath Banerjea", says the author, 'they carried the agitation to the people' —speaks of launching the Swadeshi, boycott of foreign goods and all that but does not say that as the supreme call of the moment came, they initiated the fight for Freedom. The question erelong, says Sir Valentine Chirol, was not whether Bengal would be two partitioned provinces under British rule but how long was it at all to endure. It clinches the issue. Arquith, as Prime Minister of Great Britain, spoke in the House of Commons on the India Act, 1909—Morley Minto Reforms—that it was 'a step which will avert the serious danger which has been confronting us for the last few years'. Sir Reginald Coupland speaks of the Act as 'a practical attempt to control and canalise the now swift-flowing current of Indian nationalism'—and this at a time when 'the rest of India', says Mahatma Gandhi at his prayer meeting on 23rd August, 1947, *i.e.*, seven days after Indepen-

dence, 'was almost asleeps.' There is one other reference to Surendranath Banerjea, the great leader of the Swadeshi Movement†, and it is in connection with the dark chaotic conditions which obtained in the country in the pre-Congress period, but only this much—'A young man of fire and ability appeared in Bengal in the person of Surendranath Banerjea.' These are, in fact, the two meagre citations in respect of the man of whom Rajagopalachari says on the floor of the Calcutta University Senate Hall, in the first lap of our freedom, that 'in the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea': and of whom Mrs. Sarojeeni Naidu says, on 6th August, 1941, at the Calcutta, Esplanade public meeting, 'there is not a single weapon that we have used which does not originally belong to the armoury of Surendranath Banerjea'. On the question of Separate Electorate introduced as a part of the Morley—Minto Reforms, Percival Spear rightly says, 'Behind the shadow of democracy had come the shadow the Pakistan'. I wish the author ad pursued the line to the final break-up—how England broke India at each conceivable point by a chain of Ulsters before she left our shores.

"Today, it is rather the fashion", says the author, "to regard the moderates as timid time-servers and Tilak as a fearless patriot and political seer. Nevertheless, regarding the break in circumstances, it is difficult not to feel that the Moderates were *right at the time* (the author's italics) as Tilak was partly right for the future." It is really true that some of the political grasshoppers of today bypass, in a rather offensive manner, the Moderates, as though of no consequence, and this is in total disregard of the fact that they untiringly built up the Indian National Congress, which reared Indians into a Nation 'by bringing together bone to bone and infusing breath into them so that they lived and stood upon their feet an exceeding great army.' It is not correct to say that "between 1916 and 1920, Gandhi climbed to the leadership of Congress over the live body of Tilak'. Even on 1st January, 1920, the resolution, the Amritsar Congress passed on Montford Rforms was a triumph of Tilak and a climb-down for Gandhi. In the early hours of 1st August, Tilak died, and in the following September Gandhi had his non-co-operation resolution passed by the Congress.

On Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru *vis-a-vis* Gandhiji, the author says, "Gandhi with an uncanny prescience selected Nehru rather than Bose and determined to disarm him by promoting him. In 1939, he was elected President at the age of forty.* . . . . His plan seems to have been to divide the left-wing leadership by attaching Nehru to himself. Why did he choose Nehru rather than Bose, a choice to which he adhered with tenacity and suppleness? . . . . Nehru was more tractable. . . . . Bose, on the other hand, was not under Gandhi's spell. He was a convinced socialist. . . . . Nehru could be charmed into co-operation against his own judgment. Bose could only be restrained." I do not know whether the Nehruites would relish it at all. Subhas Bose would have said, 'I have already said that it was by preferments and prospects that Nehru was wheedled away from socialism'.** The irrepressible Dr. Lohia would be chuckling with his rapier thrust, 'Have not I said that Nehru is a greedy opportunist?† None of either, if I am permitted to have my say in the matter. It is this: that Nehru, in any matter of conflict with Gandhi, just allowed his heart to govern his head. The author calls him 'An intellectual moving with anguish amind scenes of passion. To many he was 'a Western playing at Indian patriotism; to others a patriot dogged with a Western heritage. Here was a soul in travail, whose impulses were often read as signs of weakness and whose outbursts were interpreted as indications of lack of depth; a Hamlet murmuring.

> 'The times are out of joint, O cursed spite
> That I was ever born to put them right"

At last thou too Brutus! Things are not as bad; and I sincerely hope that the verdict of history on Nehru will not be that he as remorselessly

†Fortunately for Bengal'. says Sir P. C. Roy in his *Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist*, her destiny was then in the keeping of able leaders under the guidance of Surendranath Banerjea'.

*Gokhale became President of the Congress, at the age of thirty-nine.

***The Indian Struggle.*

†*Guilty Men of Partition.*

wasted himself on the barrenness of 'to be or not to be'.

With regard to the blood-bath that trailed over the division of India, the author very pertinently asks, 'Why the danger was not more clearly forseen and why more effective shock absorbers, as it were, were not provided in advance?' The echo answers 'why?' and the iron has gone deep into hearts of lacerated Punjab and Bengal. It is truly a sad commentary on the intelligence and foresight of Lord Mountbatten, Gandhi, Jinnah, Nehru and Patel, the five leading protagonists of the division of India. It must, however, be admitted in all fairness that Jinnah at least suggested a peaceful, phased exchange of population.

The following strike me as notable omissions.

(1) The political tours made by Surendranath Banerjea all over India in connection with the Civil Service regulations, when he urged people—the first time in the history of British rule in India— to wake up to their responsibilities and make India stand head-erect amongst the nations of the world. "These tours", says Sir Henry Cotton I.C.S., M.P., "contain in them the seed of the Indian National Congress.

(2) The Indian National Conference, convened by the Indian Association in Calcutta in 1883: Sir Wilfred Blunt calls it as 'the first stage towards India's national Parliament'.

(3) The Revolutionary Movement of Bengal. Its great architect, Aurobindo Ghose is referred to as a great philosopher acclaimed by the East and West and as a great master of English language, but not on that massive aspect that on his pathway 'the shadow of the hangman fell', as Ramsay Macdonald put it in flesh and blood terms.

(4) Gandhi resiled, under pressure from Nehru and Patel, from his oft-repeated solemn assurances to his countrymen that it was only over his dead body that there would be the division of India.

(5) The crucial point, Dr. K. N. Katju makes out, as he said over the All-India Radio, Calcutta, on 23rd January, 1952, that 'the final decisive blow to the British Raj was dealt by Netaji Subhas bose.'

In connection with this, it must be categorically stated that no history of India is complete without a review of the character of British withdrawl from India. It is capable of presentation from three different stand points. *The Manchester Guardian,* dated 11th October, 1947 said, 'Public opinion has preened itself on British virtue in withdrawing voluntarily from India. . . . . It is hard to disentangle whether the British action was based on high principles or on the less glorious desire to retreat to shelter before the storm broke.'

Secondly, the Labour Party of Great Britain all along claims that they saved their Indian trade by conceding Independence to India, not a day too late. In March, 1958, Prime Minister, Mac Millian said at New Delhi that their trade position with India was better than what it was during the British regime. And thirdly, A. E. Ross in his *India : Destruction Through Partition* says, 'Not only did the Partition shatter an economy worn out by the demands of Britain's war-efforts, but it involved the uprooting of millions of of people leaving in its wake a further legacy of hatred. This self-annihilation or atomization of the Indian people is guaranteed by boundaries that ferment pogrom and internecine strife'.

The following among inadvertant slips are likely to mislead the unwary.

(1) Rashbehari Ghose and not Bose was the President of the 1907 Congress.

(2) It should be Swami Vivekananda and not Swami Dayananda, who addressed the World Conference of Religions at Chicago in 1894.

Percival Spear has acquitted himself well in writing a biographical study of India, which is informed and informative, discerning and admiring. He has steered clear of all obstacles to read in it that 'the Indian genius is primarily that of assimilation'. He is one of those few foreigners to appreciate that Hindu Civilization enjoins life to be a sanctum sanctorum and no emporium: and that it is evolved by assimilation and adjustment on the bedrock of mankind's first yearnings for Light, Truth and Immortality.

THE OMBUDSMAN AND ITSRELEVANCE TO INDIA

By J. B. MONTEIRO, M.A.

I

Introduction

Even since we attained independence, more than a decade ago, one of the problems which we are facing perennially is corruption in official quarters and its remedy. In recent years the problem has become very acute, or, at any rate, it is thought to be so by a large number of people. The problem is frequently discussed from the floor of the legislatures, from political platforms, in the Press and almost through all other media of communication. The question of alleged 'Corruption' in public life had become a political issue in recent months, largely as a result of allegations made by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the then Chairman of the U.G.C. and former Minister of Finance. In a lecture in Madras on the 11th July, 1959, Mr. Deshmukh had said that "an uneasy public hears of nepotism, high-handedness, gerry-mandering, feathering of nests through progeny, and a dozen other sins of omission and commission, and yet is helpless for lack of precise data, facts and figures, evidence and proof." He called for the establishment of 'a high-level, impartial, standing judicial tribunal to investigate and report on complaints or lying of information,' adding that, if such a tribunal is set up, "I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen reports myself."[1]

In a private correspondence with Mr. Nehru, Mr. Deshmukh was reported to have claimed to possess evidence that improprieties have been committed by members of the Government, including Cabinet Ministers, but to have refused to divulge it except before an independent judicial tribunal. Mr. Nehru has opposed the formation of such a tribunal, at a Press Conference on the 8th January, 1960, and also in Parliament, on grounds that it would be repugnant to democratic practice and would create an atmosphere of distrust and mutual accusation, but suggested that a judge should undertake an informal inquiry into Mr. Deshmukh's allegations. On the party level, the Congress has set up a "Vigilance Committee" to deal with public corruption. It seems that, by and large, few, outside the ruling party, are satisfied with these arrangements.

II

At this juncture, it will be useful to discuss whether the Scandinavian Ombudsman can offer nay solution to our problems. Lately, there is a revival of interest in this unique institution. This revival of interest was mainly due to the introduction of the Ombudsman in Denmark and the preceding debate in that country which finally led to the inclusion of a provision for an Ombudsman in the Constitution of 1953. Further momentum was given to the debate by the visit of Prof. Stephan Herwitz, the first Ombudsman of Denmark, to Britain, which incidentally, was at that time, considerably agitated by the 'Crishel Down' affair. A keen interest was shown by the British public in the radio and press interviews, given by Prof. Herwitz, on the subject. The Society for Individual Freedom sponsored a book "Occasion for Ombudsman," by Mr. T. E. Utley. "Justice," the British section of the International Commission of Jurists, mounted a research project under the direction of Sir John Whyatt, which has resulted in the report, "The Citizen and the Administrator." On the official level, Mr. Macmillan, referring to the Whyatt enquiry, told Parliament that he was waiting "until the results of this study are known before coming to any final conclusion" on whether Britain should appoint an Ombudsman. This institution already exists in Sweden, Denmark and Finland. The system is to be started in Norway this year, and a bill to introduce one is before the Newzealand Parliment.

This essay is an attempt to evaluate the functions, powers and achievements of the Ombudsman and to make out a case for the introduction of a similar institution in India.

Origin and History

In Sweden, there are two Ombudsmen. The Justitie Ombudsman (J.K.) or 'Prosecutor for Civil Affairs' had his origin in the Constitution of 1809. The Militie Ombudsman (M.O.) or 'Prosecutor for military Affairs' was introduced in 1915, to deal with military justice and administration.[2] The Danish Ombudsman defined in the Constitution of 1953 as "a parliamentary commissioner to supervise civil and military administrator of the state," began functioning in 1955. In Finland a well-known jurist is elected as Ombudsman by parliament for three years.

Scope and Jurisdiction

Almost all the attention has been bestowed on the Swedish and Danish Ombudsman, to the total exclusion of Finland. There are significant differences regarding powers, functions and jurisdiction between the Ombudsman in Sweden and Denmark. In Sweden, as pointed out above, there are two Ombudsmen with similar powers and functions within their respective spheres. In Denmark this jurisdiction is combined in a single Ombudsman. In both the countries the Ombudsman is considered as an official of the parliament, appointed by it and can be dismissed only by the parliament. The Danish Ombudsman is required by statute "to keep himself informed whether any, subject to his authority commits injustice or acts negligently in the performance of his official duties".[3] The Swedish Ombudsman's current instructions specifically require him to exercise general supervision over courts and civil service. He is required to investigate charges of illegality, negligence or misuse of official position. He is required to pay particular attention to offences involving fraud, abuse of power, or which impede the course of justice. He is to ensure that no one in an official position breaks the constitution, the laws of the land or the very detailed letters of instruction.[4] In the matter of jurisdiction the judiciary and the municipalities have been placed beyond his reach in Denmark, whereas in Sweden the Judiciary falls within his range of scrutiny.

Wide Powers

The Ombudsman has considerable powers. As Prof. Herwitz himself puts it: "I have the right to see all files of ministers or other authorities that deal with the question concerned; and I ask the police to assist me; and can summon people to give evidence in court."[5] He not only has powers to raise before the superior court questions involving mal-administration of justice, but he also has powers to demand the returns of prisons, asylums, mental institutions, remand homes for alchoholics, and any other cases involving detention of persons and deprivation of liberties. All state establishments are open to his personal inspection.[6]

Procedure

There are two distinct methods of procedure. The Ombudsman may start investigations on the basis of written complaints, from the citizens, filed within one year of the alleged offence. Secondly, the one can start investigations on his own initiative. This initiative is generally taken on the basis of press reports or confidential complaints. Or, cases may be discovered during his inspection tours, averaging about four to five a year, each lasting a week or so.

When a complaint is taken up, most of the investigation is done by correspondence, supplemented by personal interviews. A good production of cases is dropped after initial enquiry for lack of substance. In other cases correspondence is continued until either the complaint is found to be justified or eventually dismissed as unjustified. The typical working of the Ombudsman can be understood from the figures supplied by Mrs. Alva Myrdal, Swedish Ambassador for India, for the year 1959.[7]

(1) Cases referred, 780.
(2) Cases self-initiated, 223.
(3) Cases in which initiative was based on press reports, 39.
(4) Cases dropped as baseless, 184.
(5) Cases withdrawn, 8.
(6) Cases investigated, 619.
(7) No. of admonitions, 247.
(8) Cases remitted to other authorities, 13.
(9) Cases prosecuted, 5.
(10) Advice to Government, 8.

Lack of Executive Power

The wide powers of investigation of the Ombudsman are balanced by a virtually complete lack of executive authority. He has no power to nullify any administrative decision, he has no resources out of which to compensate any aggrieved party. No civil servant can be disciplined by him.[8] He can only bring such cases of miscarriage of justice to the notice of superior courts. This is done by instructing the public prosecutor to start criminal proceedings against the guilty or by recommending the plaintiff for legal aid in the pursuit of civil remedies. But such prosecutions are rare; about ten per year, on an average, in Sweden. In the majority of cases his recommendations are complied with Prof. Herwitz who himself admits that his recommendations are only advisory, and adds, "but as a matter of fact the advice is generally followed by the authorities concerned."[9] In some cases the Ombudsman may be prepared to allow the official to settle matters informally. For instance, military commanders who use their cars for private purposes will usually be asked to pay an amount assessed by the Ombudsman.[10]

Commenting on the success of the Ombudsman Brain Chapman says that the Scandinavians "are to be congratulated on their institutional achievement. The Ombudsman is clearly one of the reasons why Sweden has public services of an integrity, impartiality, and authority hardly matched, if at all, in any other country. It is still too early to comment upon the work of the Danish Ombudsman, but it already seems clear that he is filling a gap in Danish public life."[11] Any description of the Ombudsman will be incomplete without explaining the essential secret of his success. He has no executive power. He is merely a national councellor and a custodian of public conscience in matters of private right. He stands on the sideline of the government to observe, to appraise and to censure.[12] Where, then, lies the basis of his power? In the words of Sir John Whyatt; "In practice the real sanction is the publicity which is given to the Ombudsman's criticisms of the administration in his annual reports to parliament but more specially to the daily press."[13]

References:

1. Keesings Contemporary Archives. July 2-9-1960; Page 17506. For the Text of the Lecture see The Civic Affairs Jan., 1960.
2. Brian Chapman, "The Ombudsman" Public Administration, Winter, 1960.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Brian Chapman "The Profession of Government."
5. Herwitz "The Danish Ombudsman and his office," Listener, May 12, 1960, p. 835. This article is reproduced in the Civic Affairs, July, 1960.
6. T.E. Utley "Occasion for an Ombudsman."
7. Listener, cited above.
10. Chapman, "The Profession of Government."
11. *Ibid.*
12. Utley, Cited above.
13. Sir John Whyatt "The Public and the Aministration" quoted in 'The Economist' November 14, 1961, p. 413.

(*To be Continued*)

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :
Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia :
Gandevi, Dist. Surat,
instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HISTORICAL RELICS, ETC., IN THE BANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD MUSEUM : *By Monoranjan Gupta and Sajani Kanta Das. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Calcutta, 1960. Pp. 57. Price Rs. 2/-.*

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, which dates its origin from 1894, has now grown into a repository not only of the most precious collection of Bengali books and Mss in our country, but also of various objects of historical interest. It is the aim of the present monograph to provide a guide-book for the last-named objects. We have first (Ch. I) an inventory of the Parishad's collection of autographs of some Bengali litterateurs of recent times and mementoes of Rabindranath Tagore as well as of volumes acquired from private libraries by the institution. Then follows (Ch. II) an inventory of the Society's collection of old Mss and paintings as well as of letters of select authors and select historical documents. This is followed by tables of busts, oil-paintings and photographs of Bengali literary men with the names of the donors (Ch. III) and a list of mementoes of Bengali literary men (Ch. IV). The monograph concludes with a classified list of sculptures with descriptions of a few select pieces and a select descriptive list of images of metal (Ch. V), an inventory of copper-plate inscriptions and old weapons (Ch. VI) and a classified list of coins (Ch. VII) in the collection of the Society. The usefulness of the monograph would have been increased by the addition of a descriptive list at least of the rare coin-types and the inclusion of a few illustrations. The preparation of supplementary descriptive catalogues of manuscripts and of sculptures (besides the catalogues already published) and of a descriptive catalogue of coins belonging to the Society is one of its immediate requirements.

IMMORTAL INDIA, Vol. V : *By J. H. Dave. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1961. Pp. 168, 24 illustrations, and a map. Price Rs. 2/-.*

This monograph in continuation of the author's three previous volumes in the same series describing a number of sacred hills and mountains of our country, gives an exhaustive account of the sacred places on the banks of rivers and in the valleys of the great mountains in our country. The geographical configuration of the regions and the topography, summaries of legends from the Epics and the *Puranas*, the existing shrines and historical notices accompany the description of each of these *tirthas*. The long introduction gives a general account of the cult of *tirthas*. The monograph is enriched with a map of India showing the rivers and mountains, a number of illustrations and a glossary. Should a new edition be called for, the glossary might be enlarged and a number of printing mistakes corrected.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MY ENGLISH JOURNEY : *By Professor Sadhan Kumar Ghosh. Published by Writers Workshop, 162/92, Lake Gardens, Calcutta-31. P. 156. Rs. 10/- £1/$4.*

The author is well-known as a critic, teacher and author of "Poetry and the Age" "Tragedy"

and other Essays. As an honoured Guest of the British Council, Professor Ghosh visited some cultural centres and met authors of the United Kingdom. In his foreword C. M. Bowra of Wadham College, Oxford, hails him as "a friend from an ancient land which has, for centuries, cultivated the fine art of words. He knows what he is talking about and it is our privilege to listen to him." This eulogy is followed up by Frank Swinnerton who attests that "Prof. Ghosh was exceptionally familiar with English literature." Such spontaneous tributes prove that the British Council made a worthy choice and that their guest has more than fulfilled his cultural mission. He struck the key-note when he penned his Preface: "*My English Journey* was the realisation of a dream as well as the end of a pilgrimage." It is a testament of human fellowship through literature the master-passion of the Author's life. We are moved not by *what* he saw but *how* he saw the land of Shakespeare and Johnson, Wordsworth and their modern descendants, whom we meet casually in literary interviews but who now speak to us through Professor Ghosh. He has done a real service to the cause of deeper understanding of the main currents of contemporary English literature which would benefit not only the post-graduate students but also the general public, who will get now many "friends, philosophers and guides", thanks to the excellent presentation of Prof. Ghosh's *My English Journey*. The book reminds us of the fact that much water has flowed down the Thames and Avon since the French critic Taine wrote, over a century ago, on English literature. Prof. Ghosh is our Essayist *par excellence*, so his discourses on the Decline of the Essay, Angry Young Men and Literary Specialism, are as inersive as they are illuminating. A life-time of passionate studies of English Literature has made his pilgrimage and its literary survey valuable and suggestive. From across the Atlantic, Emerson and Henry James have written significant things on English Traits. But within a decade of the slogan of *Quit India*, Professor Ghosh showed the "Other Side of the Medal", proving that India needs British cooperation and loves English Literature. His book should be in the library of all colleges and universities where English is taught, to enrich our mind and expand the Indian literary horizons.

The Writers Workshop has done a good job by publishing, in a worthy manner, *My English Journey* of Prof. Ghosh who should be encouraged to revisit Yarrow and other Beauty-spots of Great Britain. We felicitate him on his Testament of Friendships and hope that he will give us a full-length book on Shakespear's England, before the 400 birth anniversary of William Shakespeare who inspired our Poets and Playwrights from Michael Madhusudhan (1824-1873) to Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941).

A local English daily, reviewing Prof. Ghosh's book, good-humoredly satirized him for lion-hunting in the forest of English authors! But he took a noble revenge by producing a book which, in quality if not in quantity, will draw India and England closer to one another. Since the Poet-philologist William Jones (1746-1793) wrote English poems on Vedic deities, many British and Indian writers have used English as the medium of self-expression; now Prof. Ghosh joins the galaxy of prose-writers who added poetry to our appreciation of classical and contemporary English literature.

The workshop, a small and vital group which believes that English has proved its ability as a language to play a creative role in all-India literature, engaged the services of two eminent artists, Paritosh Sen and Mario Trevisan, to design the lay out of this literary causerie. The result is a beautiful specimen of book-craft, and the Catholic Orphan Press deserves credit for producing such a pleasing example of the printer's art. Good wine needs no bush, but this good book has got the art work it deserved.

SISTER NIVEDITA : *By Pravrajika Atmaprana, Sister Nivedita Girls School, Calcutta-3. Pp. 297 and 16 plates. Price Rs. 7.50 nP.*

On the eve of the Centenary of Swami Vivekananda, two inspired lady-disciples wrote on his age and his gift to Mother India, Sister Nivedita (1866-1911). Pravrajika Muktiprana of Sarada Math, wrote in *Bengali* her critical biography in *Bengali* (1959). Now Pravrajika Atmaprana (daughter of Sri K. M. Munshi) completes after years of study the *English* biography of Sister Nivedita. She was also a pioneer and a close collaborator of Ramananda Chatterjee (1865-1943) in nation-building activities. In first 30 pages, the author has given an able summary of Miss Margaret Noble who took (1895-1911), her predestined place in Renascent India as Sister Nivedita. Her life and career are inspiring sermons which will rouse generations of the womanhood of India and the East. They will find Sister Atmaprana's English study very handy and useful. After years of painstaking research, she has corrected many current inaccuracies about Nivedita. But that negative work apart, she revealed the positive aspects of Nivedita's life and teachings, for she was a born teacher as we feel from *My Master as I Saw him*. From her first meeting

with Swami Vivekananda in London (1895) to his funeral at Belur (July, 1902), barely seven years of contact; but what a world of devoted service and spiritual communion, partly recorded in the inspiring essays and books of Sister Nivedita! She often visited the Jorasanko House of the Tagores: Maharshi Debendranath, his sons and daughters, the Poet Rabindranath, Artist Abanindranath and their friends like Dr. J. C. Bose, Lady Bose, and Ramananda Chatterjee,—faithfully recorded (Ch. 43) in Nivedita and her "contemporaries". The Glossary and Index will help many to trace her personal contacts and impersonal visions of Mother India. Her native Ireland and Great Britain will, we hope, institute Nivedita Fellowship, to facilitate exchange of teachers and social workers, between East and West, under Unesco Plan. The now famous Nivedita School is a model Institute, for Indian girls who will rise equal to the occasion and make Sister Nivedita live for our future generation. The history of the School also has been admirably and truly narrated by the learned authoress, a daughter of Gujarat dedicating her life to Sri Ramakrishna and Sarada Devi, Vivekananda and Nivedita. We recommend this admirable book to all Schools, Colleges and Libraries.

A GARLAND FOR SHAUN MANDY: *Edited: By Professor P. Lal, Secretary, Writers Workshop, Calcutta-31. Price Rs. 2/- or One Dollar.*

C. R. Mandy served for over a decade as Editor of *The Illustrated Weekly* of Bombay. But he left the prize-post, bought an Island home Taprobane (Ceylon in classical form) which he suddenly sold out "for a handful of Silver" with which he may build a new Argentina! Thus temparamentally he may be called mercurial even if his guiding planet be not Mercury but our incarnation of *Fish,* linked up Indo-Sumerian mythology. His Anglo-Saxon heredity apart, he contacted (not without collision!) Indo-Anglians like Mulk Raj Anand (met at Colombo, 1946), R. K. Narayan (met in Madras, 1949), Sardar Khushwant Singh who introduced him to Nirad Chaudhuri of Indo-Anglian fame. He retained some as his friends but lost many. Yet his *Festschrift* is the eloquent and symbolical token of the literary camaraderie of the East and West through English, the world-language of this Atomic age of political atomism. Formal felicitations apart, some good food for thought has been patiently and tastefully served for this new *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.* Mandy and his Indian friends are strengthened by the faith that English language and literature has served a cause in the past and will serve a greater cause in future. The virtuosity and originality of the Indo-Anglican ladies and gentlemen are startling: "Tara Sahgel, Kamala Markandaya, Santha Rama Rao and Ruth P. Jhabwala . . . . their talent is only exceeded by their loveliness. . . . ." so whimpers the sly Hero of the centre piece C. R. Many. He may be in Taprobane or in Bangkok, in London or in New York, but he has the satisfaction of evoking a new faith and creative *e'lan* in the heart of many men and women of India, collaborating to complete the bridge of understanding between the Orient and the Occident as hoped by Gurudev Tagore who was bilingual and whose centenary naturally gives a new significance to the Indian Writers Workshop, infusing oriental moods and thoughts in occidental soul-syntax and rhyme-patterns. Prof. Lal offers to publish a similar volume on the coming centenary of Ramananda Chatterjee (1865-1965) pioneer of journalism and creative writing in English Historicus.

KALIDAS NAG

ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE,—*Golden Jubilee Number of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, edited by Pulin Behary Sen and published by Srimati Tagore, Hony. Secretary of the Society. Pp.116. 10 colour plates, numerous Black and White illustrations 15, Park Street, Calcutta-15, Price Rs. 16 (Paper binded) and Rs. 21 (Cloth binded).*

The orgy of tributes recently paid to the pictorial contributions of Rabindranath Tagore had somewhat obscured the greater contribution made by his nephew, Abanindranath Tagore, the acknowledged leader of Modern Indian Painting —and the dynamic personality who, in association with E. B. Havell, discovered, with a rade vision, the glories of old Indian Art and firmly established it in the national consciousness of India. Born in this city in the third quarter of the 19th century, Abanindranath worked incessantly for the whole of his brilliant career, reviving the principles of Indian Art—in a new language of Art suitable for modern times, and, enthroned himself as one of the *greatest* Artists of Asia, in the 19th century, of the same calibre, as Bizhad and Ogata Korin. Somewhat neglected by the narrow literary and artistic coterie of the times in India, dominated by the denationalizing influences of European Art, of the Victorian Era, the fame of this great master—was built in a day, when in August 1914—at an Exhibition of his paintings and those of his disciples, was

opened by President Poinacre at Paris, when all the foremost critics of Europe assembled and lavished on him unstinted praise and admiration of his masterpieces which had dispelled the gloom of the Dark Age which had settled on Indian Art—in the early part of the 19th century. Numerous analysis and critical appraisement of his works were published in the leading Art Journals of Paris *L' Art Decoratif, L' Illustration, Art et Decoration, Gazelse De Beaux Arts* and the whole world of Art in Europe echoed and re-echoed with his eulogies and, the correspondent of Reuter-flashed the news of the "Triumph of Abanindranath"—in banner headings in all the dailies of India. Since then, numerous exhibitions of his works have been held in Europe (Holland, Germany, Italy), and, in all the cities of the United States. In this number of the journal of the Indian Society—the editors have carefully presented all phases of the brillant activities of the great master, who occupies the same position in Art as Rabindranath occupies in Literature. Very interesting details are provided of the history of the growth of the Society of Oriental Art, founded by him. Two very important chapters—on his contribution to Indian Art and Iconography, *Sadanga* and *Indian Artistic Anatomy* (originally published in th pages of the *Modern Review*) are profusely illustrated. Critical appraisements of his Art—are provided by three distinguished contributions: Dr. Sunity Kumar Chatterjee, Sri Saumyendra Nath Tagore, and Sri Benode Behari Mukhopadhyaya. A brilliant analysis of the artist's contribution to Bengali Literature is provided by Pramathanath Bisi, and a useful bibliography has been given at the end. Tagore's paintings and his mystic and evanescent colour schemes are notoriously difficult to reproduce, but, owing to the great care taken by Mrs. Shrimati Tagore the ten full-page colour plates are on the whole accurately reproduced and help to convey the flavour of the originals. On the whole, it is a brilliant publication, to be treasured by every Indian, and, will provide a dignified rebuke to the malicious villification of the merits of his great contributions which have recently come from Bombay and Delhi to belittle his masterpieces by interested persons jealous of his world-wide reputation.

O. C. Gangoly

TEN SAINTS OF INDIA: By T. M. P. Mahadevan. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 147. Price Rs. 2.

The book contains short lives of ten saints, nine of whom belong to South India. They belong to Saiva and Vaisnava faiths and their holy lives worked as great inspirations to their devotees through ages. Of the saints, Tirujnana Sambandhav, Tirunavukkarasu, Sundaramurti, Manikkavacakar, Naumalvai, Andal, are better known and followed in South India. Sankara and Ramanuja are known all over India and have followers widely distributed and their philosophy have tremendous influence on people. Sri Ramakrishna and Raman Maharshi belong to the nineteenth century and their lives and teachings not only influenced India but the people of the West as well.

Of the ten lives, the last four, that is, those of Sankara, Ramanuja, Sri Ramakrishna and Raman Maharshi are best written.

We congratulate the writer for introducing these saints to lay readers in simple English.

A. B. Dutta.

SANSKRIT

CANDRAMAHIPATI: *By Srinivasa Shastri Kavitakanta, 118, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9. Price Rupees Six.*

This is a fairly big modern fiction—apparently a unique work written in ornate Sanskrit. The learned author is actuated by the laudable object of popularising Sanskrit. But how far the object will be fulfilled by a work of this type is difficult to say. As matters stand, modern Sanskrit works fail to attract the attention of even the scholar, not to speak of the layman. Under these circumstances, it is a matter for gratification that the work under review has been highly spoken of by a large number of eminent people as well as Sanskritists whose appreciations have been collected and printed at the beginning of the work. Prizes have been awarded on it, it is stated, by the Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. It will surely occupy a place of honour among the not very few modern Sanskrit texts written and published in different parts of the country.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Indian Periodicals

U. P. Ministry—Magh Mela Crowd

A vivid description of the Magh Mela Crowd, in respect of U.P. Ministry has been published in *Kataka*, a Madras News Weekly, Vol. I. No. 29, March, 1962, which may be of great interest to the readers :

In 1937 when Rajaji formed a ten-man cabinet for the composite Madras State, the late Dr. C. R. Reddi remarked in his inimitable style that if the loophole in provincial autonomy was not plugged, ministers would go on multiplying like Minto's Hares ! Evidently, our Constitution makers have left the gap more wide-open, for in independent India the ministerial family is going on multiplying with a vengeance.

If the progress of a State is to be judged by the strength of the council of ministers, Uttar Pradesh will certainly get the first prize. G. B. Pant's cabinet formed after the 1952 elections consisted of 12 ministers and seven deputy ministers. Sampurnanand's cabinet had seven ministers, three ministers of state, 11 deputy ministers and six parliamentary secretaries, making a total of 27. And now Chandra Bhanu Gupta has established an all-time record of recruiting 42 people for his council of ministers.

This staggering figure seems to have provoked even a daily that has been backing Gupta out and out, to come out with a cartoon depicting Gupta riding an elephant crushing the tax-payer, and the caption read—Greatest show on earth ! People of U.P. can take pride that they are paying the maximum for the upkeep of the ministerial family.

Some figures are worth noting. The Congress strength is 248 in a house of 430. With a council of ministers consisting of 42 members the proportion works out at one minister (whatever his rank) for every six members of the ruling party. Gupta is in the distinguished company of his counter-part in the Punjab, Pratap Singh Kairon, whose ministerial family consists of 31 members. Here again figures make some revealing study. The Government strength in the Punjab is 90, the combined strength of the opposition is 62 and the difference is only 28. Who has outbeaten the other ?

The genesis of the inflated ministries in most of the states should be traced to the Congress High Command's insistence on the dubious term, broad-based ministries, with a view to minimising group bickerings. And the High Command has been caught on the rebound. Instead of eliminating groupism in the party, the party leaders in the states have simply doubled and trebled the strength of the council of ministers to make an outward show.

The U.P. provides the most glaring example of how in spite of Nehru's campaign and Ajit Prasad Jain's strenuous efforts, group rivalries refuse to die. Both Gupta and Jain have been claiming all these days that the groups have patched up their differences, and when the official announcement gave the list of 42 persons, apparently it looked as though he had triumphed at last. But there was a fly in the ointment.

Just a few hours before the swearing-in ceremony, Kamlapati Tripathi, leader of the ex-ministerial group, Bahuguna, Rawat, and Jai Ram Varma sent a note that they would not join the cabinet. These are the stalwarts of what was once known as the Sampurananand group, and that group is now known as Kamlapati group. There was some mutual sympathetic shedding of tears. Gupta said he was extremely unhappy over the turn of events and Kamlapati also said he too was extremely unhappy! And none of them would give any reason.

It appears that two factors were responsible for the last-minute hitch. The one was Kamlapati's feeling that his group would be outnumbered by the Gupta group in the cabinet and the other, the allocation of portifolios. The question is who should hold the portfolio of Home,—Kamlapati or Charan Singh.

How Gupta has tried to extend his ministerial family indiscrimiately with a view to covering up differences is evident from one simple fact. A member, Shah'd Faqri, just came to watch the swearing-in ceremony. He had the greatest surprise of his life when he was asked

to take the oath of office. When a few dissidents did not turn up, Gupta picked up this member among those present to witness the function!

Judged by the allocation of portfolios it can be said that Gupta constitutes half the cabinet. He will be incharge of General Administration, Planning, Home, Medical, Power, Finance and Co-operation, besides being leader of the House in the Assembly. And the crumbs for the rest of the crowd! If one man can administer eight huge departments, besides being leader of the House, where is the need for 41 others to run the rest of the departments? This is a question that concerns the tax-payer.

The most tragic part of the drama was the proposal to take into the cabinet Hargovind Singh, Finance Minister, who was defeated at the polls. He has written to the Governor, saying that he would not like to join the cabinet till he got elected to the upper house. If Gupta was so very keen on taking Hargovind Singh into the cabinet, whether the voters returned him or not, he ought not to have been asked to contest the election. He could gracefully have remained out of the contest and got himself elected honourably to the upper house. The whole episode leaves a bad taste. The verdict at the polls loses its meaning and significance if defeated candidates are catapulted to the cabinet by backdoor methods.

The most unhappy man in U.P. is Ajit Prasad Jain. All his one year's efforts in trying to patch up U.P. Congress differences have gone in vain. This is not a problem for poor Jain only but for the entire Congress organisation. If groupism in U.P. Congress is to be eliminated, the solution has to be sought elsewhere and not in taking a few persons from each group into the cabinet.

Gupta may succeed in bringing in Kamlapati and his close followers into the cabinet after some time but that is not going to solve the problem. The rival groups are now so evenly matched that a crisis may come any moment. Ministry-makings in the states have made one point clear that cabinet expansion is no solution to end groupism. At least in the interests of the tax-payer the high command should issue a directive for a ceiling over the strength of ministers. If Madras can dispense with all the paraphernalia of deputy ministers and ministers of state, why not the other states?

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

West Berlin Issue Requires Early Solution

Delineating on the subject of transformation of West Berlin into a neutral demilitartized Free City for the interest of world peace, the *Information Bulletin* of the German Democratic Republic observes :

"It would be very easy—but not a pleasure—to add hundreds of similar examples. Therefore, we will mention only one more example in evidence of the anomaly in West Berlin, that is the West Berlin press. I do not want to speak of what the papers there are writing about the *GDR*. Everybody can imagine that. But they also write on other countries. And what do they write about them? Let us take for instance India and the liberation of Goa. One of the West Berlin papers, *Der Kurier*, published an article on December 18, 1961, under the headline "Aggressor Nehru." After quoting only one sentence of the statement by the Indian Prime Minister on the necessity of the liberation of Goa, the paper commented: "These words are still in the ears of the world from Hitler. It is bitter to have to express that, but it is necessary." Let us stop here. We think it is sufficient to show the urgency of normalizing the conditions in West Berlin. Now the question arises how that could be done. It has been repeatedly declared that West Berlin does not form part of West Germany because there is no legal basis for such a claim. From the legal point of view, therefore, the GDR Government would have the right to demand that West Berlin be brought within the jurisdiction of the GDR. But taking into consideration the fact that the political, economic and social conditions in West Berlin differ basically from those in the GDR, our Government has expressed its readiness to accept a compromise solution, namely the transformation of West Berlin into a neutral demilitarized Free City. Such a status would mean:

(1) The Government of the GDR on whose territory West Berlin is situated grants the city the status of an internationally guaranteed demilitarized Free City, that means it renounces to exercise its sovereignty over West Berlin until the creation of a united democratic German state.

(2) Until the reunification of Germany, West Berlin is administered by the West Berlin populations exclusively. The choice of the social system which shall exist in West Berlin depends on their decision, but, of course, in accordance with the principles of the Potsdam Agreement, no state shall be allowed to interfere with the internal affairs of West Berlin.

(3) The Free City guarantees the ban of all revanchist and militarist organizations and of all subversive activities against the GDR as well as against other states.

(4) All illegal links with West Germany are to be abolished.

(5) The status of West Berlin is internationally guaranteed by the signatories of the treaty or by the United Nations.

(6) The GDR guarantees the communications from and to the territory of the Free City by corresponding agreements based on international law.

These proposals would lead to the solution of the West Berlin problem and, therefore, deserve to be taken as a basis for serious negotiations which, in the interest of world peace, are urgently required.

Communist China's A-Bomb Program

An article regarding Communist China's A-Bomb Program was published in the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay, which is reproduced here for the interest of our readers :

What progress have the Chinese made in military atomic power during the past three years ? Peking's atomic program is, of course, cloaked in secrecy, and much of what we know —or can surmise—comes from indirect sources. Nevertheless, certain basic facts are clear :

China has large deposits of uranium and thorium. Uranium—probably in large quantities —has been mined and reduced for several years in Sinkiang and other regions for shipment to the Soviet Union. The extraction and processing facilities for natural uranium have thus already been set up. Exploration, mining and reduction-plant construction, which hampered both the American and Soviet programs, will not seriously hold back China.

It is likely that China has at least four large nuclear reactors. Indian and Japanese

sources say they are located at Sian on the Wei River, Chungking on the Yellow River, Peking, and somewhere in Manchuria. At the November Moscow meeting, Liu Shao-chi supposedly claimed that these reactors can be used for either "peaceful or weapons purposes." Apparently, therefore, China intends to make plutonium on a large-scale, if it is not doing so already.

Many experts believe that there have been several atomic explosions in China within the last six years. A nuclear blast was reported in Sinkiang in 1955. Japanese sources spoke of a "small" blast in the summer of 1959 near Lanchow, a rapidly growing city in the North-West which seems to be the heart of China's nuclear and missile programs.

The initial Chinese atomic tests were probably made with Soviet weapons. Since Peking has undoubtedly put heavy pressure on the USSR to "share" its nuclear technology, Moscow may have offered a few demonstration explosions—without revealing the highly complex detail which must be mastered before weapons can be produced. It is possible, however, that China extracted enough plutonium from its new reactors to make the 1959 device itself. In fact, China's first atomic "bomb" may already have been tested.

There is some evidence that Peking has also entered the nuclear arms race *via* separation of uranium isotopes. Each of the atomic powers (including France) has found it necessary to begin large-scale production of U-235 by the so-called gaseous diffusion process. Diffusion plants, with their high initial costs, require huge amounts of electric power to operate. Interestingly, since 1958, Mainland China has pushed hard to increase its electric generating capacity, and it has complained bitterly about Soviet tardiness in supplying turbo-generators for a major hydro-electric project.

The Chinese are very probably building Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IREMS), A launching site has apparently been established at Lanchow and large sums are reportedly being spent on missile development. For this Peking has the services of Dr. Hsue-shen Tsien, one of the world's outstanding jet-propulsion scientists. An advisor to the U.S. Air Force during World War I, he also held a key research post at the California Institute of Technology, and may well be playing the catalytic role of a Robert Oppenheimer or a Wernher von Braun in the Chinese rocket effort.

No Chinese missile tests have been detected in the West—or, at least, none have been reported. But a chain of launching pads, pointed toward Formosa, has been constructed along the South China coast. The authoritative *Times* of India says a similar chain of pads (presumably for medium-range rockets) has been set up along the Tibet-Nepal border, facing India. Well-informed observers in Japan expect Peking to start testing missiles on an expanding scale in 1962, at about the same time that nuclear testing is begun.

China places great emphasis on science, especially the disciplines related to modern armaments. Reviewing Chinese scientific progress during the 10 years following the "Liberation" in the November 1959 issue of *Scientia Sinica* ("Chinese Science"), Du Ruen-sheng, Deputy Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, revealed that China plans to forge ahead in "certain new techniques and important borderline sciences, such as nuclear technique, computing technique, semi-conductors, radio-electronics, automation, chemical physics, biophysics, etc." As might be expected, it is precisely in nuclear physics that some of the greatest effort is being made.

In 1955, when the Chinese government selected 10 major areas for rapid scientific growth, nuclear physics headed the list. Over a dozen Chinese universities now offer programs in the field. At the pinnacle of the Chinese research hierarchy is a new University of Science and Technology, founded in 1958, at Peking, whose departments include nuclear physics, nuclear engineering, radioactive chemistry and automation.

In addition, at least 950 Chinese have been trained in nuclear physics at Dubna, near Moscow, where the Russians apparently have isolated them from their own nuclear weapons projects. The Dubna centre is one of the world's outstanding institutions for study and research in theoretical atomic physics. One-third of the published monographs originating at Dubna are by Chinese authors.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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SHREE KRISHNA

From An Old Rajput Painting

By Courtesy : Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

The World

The main event in the first half of April was the approval of President de Gaulle's Franco-Algerian Peace Agreements by the national referendum called for by the President on that question. It was recorded that 90.7 per cent of the valid votes cast on April 8, was in favour of the Peace Agreements and the procedure for the implementation of the same is now following the lines laid down in the blue-print for the final handing over of Algeria to the Algerians.

This vote of 90.7 per cent in favour of de Gaulle, however, does not reveal the full picture. It was reported that while last year the support for de Gaulle recorded in that referendum was 75.26 per cent, this year's vote is a far more positive indicator of the solidarity of the people of Metropolitan France behind its President. But further analysis of the figures revealed that a high percentage of the electorate—24.6—abstained from voting and a very large number of the votes cast were declared invalid due to deliberate mutilations and alterations which seemed to indicate qualified disapproval of de Gaulle himself though not so much of his Algerian policy.

The referendum was followed by the resignation of France's Premier Michel Debre whose loyalty to his chief seemed to have been exhausted by the ever-changing moods of the President. A new Premier has taken office, Georges Pompidon by name, who is a banker by profession and scholar by repute. He is regarded as being stolid by temperament,—as opposed to the emotional nature of Debre—and as having the same views regarding France and de Gaulle's destiny as the great man himself.

Meanwhile the trial of strength between the French armed forces, charged with the restoration of law and order in Algeria by de Gaulle, and the O.A.S. terrorists is going on with extreme violence. The French army, which is mainly conscript, is staunchly proceeding with its task—contrary to the expectations of the secret army terrorists. The army has definitely broken the morale of the French civilians (*colons*) of Algeria who were giving aid, shelter and thinly-veiled active collaboration to the O.A.S. terrorists. The army has reacted strongly to this opposition and has not hesitated to open fire on massed demonstrators of French-Algerian origin. As a result of this grim attitude on the part of the French armed forces, the civilians are in flight despite threats and pleas of the O.A.S.

Generals Salan and Jouhaud, the head and the second-in-command of the O.A.S., have been captured and wide-scale searches are taking place in all the principal areas where the secret strongholds of the terrorist organization is suspected to be located. Further, the Algerian Moslem forces, under the F.L.N., that were so long being organized armed and trained in Tunisia and Morocco,

have been permitted to operate openly in their homeland where they will have the whole-hearted and open support of 90 per cent of the population who are Muslims. There have been clashes between them and the O.A.S., and in one encounter the demoralized O.A.S. forces—who were the aggressors—broke up in confusion and surrendered to the French army forces in the neighbourhood in order to escape retribution in kind from the F.L.N. troops.

It is clear now that President de Gaulle is not going to let the defiant challenge of the recalcitrant secret army go without punishment and it is equally clear that the French army is proving loyal to de Gaulle. The Algerian provisional government is also getting on with its preparations for taking part in the preliminary set-up.

All this adds upto the conclusion that though the trials and obstacles in the way of Algeria's freedom is not over, the process envisaged for its materialization is proceeding on towards its inevitable conclusion.

In Syria there have been change and counter-change in the month of April. The military *coup d' etat* was followed by another military revolt at the beginning of April, by a small group of pro-Nasser officers who seized control of Aleppo. After making a futile call for aid to Cairo and refusing to obey the orders broadcast from Damascus, the capital, by General Zahreddin, the Commander-in-Chief, to confine themselves to barracks, the rebellious officers hastily submitted to the commands from headquarters. Thus ended the 8th revolt in 13 years of Syrian freedom, the only military revolt that failed.

But that was not the end. Disturbances took place in Homs, Hama and Aleppo in which pro-Nasser elements killed soldiers and there was continuous squabbling amongst the officers of the army. All this made it impossible for General Zahreddin to form "a government of technicians".

Finally at his wits end to find the way towards stabilization, the higher military officers turned towards the President that they had overthrown and placed in jail in the March coup. Nazem El-Kondsi who, with most of the members of his Cabinet, was jailed after the coup was put back in the Presidential Chair and virtually asked to take over the task. The military Junta with Zahreddin at its head was still in control of course, but the role it assumed after Kondsi had been brought back was somehow different from the original one. According to General Zahreddin, the army "is determined to go back to its barracks, after an honest, clean and free government has been established". It is yet to be seen, however, whether Kondsi is more successful in this new term as President. The other trouble spots in Asia, apart from the treacherous Chinese incursions on India's northern territories, are in the regions of Indo-China and Indonesia.

The situation in Laos has now simmered down to a troubled quiet, Russia having lost interest in furthering the Chinese designs on South-East Asia. The three Princes are continuing with their game at miniature power-politics and the Pathet-Lao forces too seem to have got tired of the dingdong fighting that they were carrying on with the guidance of their Chinese mentors. It is not quite clear whether the supplies of war-materials are dwindling down, but in any case there is no longer the round-the-clock probing for weak spots in the loyalist-troop held areas. The loyalist troops were tired of fighting almost from the beginning and, therefore, there is no question of any war-like moves from their side, despite the streams of supplies of war-materials and the millions of dollars, that are being poured in by the U.S. authorities.

The position in South Viet Nam is quite different. There an active campaign has been launched against the Viet Cong guerrillas that are in the remote valleys and forests of South Viet Nam. These Communist-trained and Communist-backed guerrilla bands are following the same technique as those that rendered the administration and Government of Malaya practically ineffective. The Viet Cong has infiltrated deeply into the South Viet Nam territories and has virtually established a dual government in the areas they have penetrated into—Viet Nam by day and Viet Cong at night. Raids on a wide-spread scale and fierce ambushes have become more frequent day by day, presaging the coming of an all-out Communist-led revolt against the Government of President Diem.

The U.S. authorities have viewed the situation with increasing concern for some considerable time and at last they have taken one step

further in the military aid programme, in order to meet the Communist challenge.

The latest move, named "Operation Sunrise", is an attempt to apply the British "Carpet Sweeper" tactics that was used against the Malayan guerrillas in 1948. The method is to remove hamlets, small and big and isloated huts of the civilian population from the guerrilla-affected areas and to concentrate them in well-guarded "strategic" villages, where the guerrillas cannot get at them. These small villages and isolated huts act as the channels of supplies and information to the hidden guerrillas, and without their aid, penetration into new areas or the retention of areas deeply infiltrated into become more and more difficult.

In South Viet Nam, the government forces, aided and actively supervised and supported by trained U.S. army personnel and U.S. planes and helicopters flown by American pilots, started the drive against the Viet Cong under the guidance of U.S. and British military advisers, at the end of March. U.S. personnel is being used increasingly in the active operations and American army men died in battle with a Viet Cong force that suddenly attacked one such guarded village at night, sometime about the middle of April last.

In Indonesia, the dense jungles of Dutch New Guinea, the integration of which is demanded by Indonesia with its own territories, were reported to have been infiltrated into by Indonesian guerrillas and it seemed as if President Sukarno of Indonesia was about to take active measures to settle the question of West Irian—as he calls Dutch New Guinea—once for all. The position, therefore, is uncertain there. But the most disturbing event, where World Peace is concerned, took place in a lonely area in the Pacific, where nuclear tests have been started by the U.S. The new test series was begun on April 25, in the vicinity of the British-owned Christmas Island. This was the first nuclear blast fired by the U.S.A. since the East-West test moratorium began in the autumn of 1958.

The world learned with regret that the U.S. Government had given the orders to their Atomic Energy Commission to proceed on with the tests. Last minute attempts were made by the Non-Aligned nations in the U.N. to halt the start of a new Atomic race, but mutual suspicions and enmity overruled all considerations of World Peace and the safety of mankind—which is threatened with genetic distortion and total extinction, as the radiation content of the atmosphere approaches saturation.

There has been condemnation from the Soviet quarters of this new start given to the Atomic Arms race, and feeble and futile protests from peace-loving nations and individuals. But the Soviets' indignation seems illogical and out-of-place, considering the fact that the first breach of the moratorium—and a major breach at that—was made by the Soviets themselves in September last when they launched a major series of tests.

The fact remains, however, that the world has been brought a step nearer to a horrible fate by the start of this new phase in the Cold War.

The text of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission communique was as follows :

"A nuclear test detonation took place at about 10.45 a.m. Eastern Standard Time today in the vicinity of Christmas Island.

"The detonation was in the intermediate yield range. The device was dropped from an airplane".

The intermediate range means a force equal to between 20,000 and 1,000,000 tons of TNT.

Earlier, the State Department spokesman said, the USA would go ahead with its imminent atmospheric test series in the Pacific even if the Soviet Union now announced its willingness to conclude a test ban treaty.

The spokesman, Mr. Lincoln White, thus made it clear that, after vainly waiting for Soviet agreement for a safeguard test ban treaty, the U.S.A. was fully committed at this stage to carrying out its new series.

Mr. White's comment was made in reply to a Press conference question.

He was asked if the U.S.A. would halt its atmospheric test programme, due to begin this week at Christmas and Johnston Islands, should the Soviet Union now express willingness to conclude a test ban treaty with international control and inspection provisions.

"No", he replied, "because until the announcement of their willingness to do so and the actual working out of the details, there would be an uninspected moratorium, and we have made it clear from the outset that we have had our

experience with an uninspected moratorium, and that experience has not been very pleasant".

Shortly after Mr. White had made his comment, the AEC took one of the final steps before the expected opening of the test series by prohibiting U.S. citizens and other persons under the jurisdiction of the U.S.A. from entering the testing areas in the Pacific.

The AEC said, the prohibition would remain in force as long as the danger areas were in existence.

The situation at Berlin remains unaltered excepting for a slight relaxation of the tension.

China and India

The Chinese have continued their preparations for large-scale aggression on our northern territories. There have been fresh incursions in the Ladakh area, accompanied by highly mendacious protest notes, accusing the Indian Air Force of trespassing into Chinese territories. The outcome of all these is clear and we hope Pandit Nehru and his advisor, Shri Krishna Menon, have finally got rid of their wishful thoughts about a peaceful solution of these intensely vital problems.

The new Chinese have proved beyond all doubt that they set at nought all the time-honoured values attached to international agreements and undertakings. It is certain, from the tenor of their notes and official communiques that there can be no negotiated, peaceful settlement with the present set-up in Red China, where our northern territories are concerned. The following extract from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of April 24, gives ample evidence to that effect:

"The Government of India in their latest note to Peking dated April 11, in reply to Chinese Government's note of March 3, last asking for negotiating a new trade agreement to replace the present one which is due to expire on June 3, 1962, have reiterated that there could be no such negotiation while the Chinese authorities continue to violate the territorial integrity of India along the border.

"The Government of India have asked the Chinese Government to take early steps to implement their undertaking to respect India's territorial integrity and sovereignty, withdraw their forces from Indian territory and restore the *status quo* along the border as it existed in 1954.

"The Prime Minister laid in Parliament today copies of the two notes exchanged between the People's Republic of China and the Government of India on the question of renewal of the 1954, trade agreement between China and India, which for the first time laid down the five principles of Panch Shil.

"While Peking wants the trade agreement to be negotiated without it being linked with the question of border dispute, New Delhi firmly adheres to the point that negotiations for a new trade agreement can hardly be undertaken till confidence in the *bona fides* of the Chinese authorities that they will implement the agreement both in letters and spirit, is restored.

"What is surprising in the Chinese note is that they not only want India to enter into another trade agreement without reference to illegal occupation of Indian territory by China; but they have also stated that it is not China, but India which has 'repeatedly violated the five principles and the agreement'.

"This baseless allegation contained in the Chinese note has been strongly refuted by the Government of India.

"On other points also concerning Sino-Indian relations and observance of the 1954 agreement, the Chinese Government have tried to make reckless and groundless accusations against India in an attempt to deny the charges of violations of which they are guilty. The Government of India have given the lie to all such fictitious charges levelled against India and told China that the more serious of all violations by the Chinese Government is the violation of India's territorial integrity and sovereignty and the occupation of Indian territory in the Aksai China area.

"In addition to the unlawful occupations, the Chinese Government have made unlawful claims to large parts of Indian territory.

"The Chinese allegation, says the Indian note, that India has violated the five principles is manifestly groundless. No territory has been occupied or claimed by the Government of India which is not actually part of India and which was not known to the Chinese Government at the time of negotiations to be part of India.

"The Chinese Government's allegation that Puling Sumdo has since 1954 been occupied by India is without any foundations. It is part of Chinese territory and continues to be in Chinese

occupation. It has not been occupied by the Government of India.

"Another Chinese allegation that Tibetan refugees in India have been allowed to form a Government in exile is completely baseless. Tibetan refugees have been given asylum in India in accordance with international law and practice in this matter. Tibetan refugees have received no encouragement from the Government of India to indulge in political activities.

"The Chinese Government in their note of March 3, have also referred to restrictions imposed on the Chinese trade agency in Kalimpong. It has been already explained to the Chinese Government that certain regulations have been framed under Indian laws to control the activities of foreigners for reasons of national security. The Government of India regret that the Chinese trade agency has been found on many occasions to be violating these regulations and abusing its privileged position. In any case, the regulations in Kalimpong are not nearly as harsh and all-pervasive as the calculated measures which have been taken in the Tibet region to paralyse the activities of Indian Missions.

"The Indian note after pointing out various facts to prove that it is not India but China which has violated the five principles and the provisions of the 1954 agreement, states that armed incursions and occupation of Indian territory by Chinese forces since 1954, have aggravated the situation, led to an undermining of confidence and has created deep resentment among the people of India.

"The Government of India are convinced that friendly and co-operative relations between India and China based on the five principles are in the interest, not only of the two countries, but also of the peace in Asia and the world in conformity with their policy. The Government of India would welcome any genuine effort to restore friendly and co-operative relations between India and China."

Industry and Labour

In this country we are still in the primary stage of industrial development, inasmuch all expansions and increase of efficiency has to be carried out with foreign aid. Industrial Labour also is in its early development period, as the greater part of industrial labour is drawn from that section of the population which is almost illiterate and is mostly totally unskilled at the time of their entry in the actual field of production. Such labour is easily imposed upon and in the old days the profiteer and the exploiter mercilessly utilized their labour solely for his own benefit But those days are gone, and today labour has all the machinery of the Government Labour laws rules and regulations at its disposal to settle all disputes and demands.

But all the same, labour being still as uneducated and ignorant about realities as before the Industrial Labour area offer ample scope as yet for political and personal adventure by professional politicians of a certain type. The recent lock-out in the blast furnace department at Rourkela and the aftermath thereof, seems to offer an example, if the statement of the Chief Minister of Orissa be correct in detail. The news report of the same is as follows :

"Orissa's Chief Minister, Mr Bijoyanand Patnaik, alleged in the State Assembly that the Communists were responsible for the recent labour trouble in Rourkela leading to the lock out in the blast furnace department in the steel plant.

"He was making a statement on an adjournment motion, notice of which was given by a Communist member, Mr. Lakshman Mohapatra, to discuss the "failure" of the State Government to look to the welfare of the labourers in Rourkela

"Mr. Patnaik said even after the lock-out was lifted Communist leaders, Dr. Udayakar Misra of Jamshedpur and Mr. Durga Charan Mohanty Secretary of the Orissa branch of the All-India Trade Union Congress, were trying to dissuade the workers from resuming their duties. This kind of activity of the Communist Party, he said was 'most objectionable and intolerable' and should be ruthlessly suppressed.

"Sri Mohapatra, in his adjournment motion had alledged that although there has been frequent breakdown in the Rourkela steel plant and lock-outs were declared illegally, the State Government by not declaring those lock-outs illegal was pursuing an anti-labour policy resulting in economic loss to the country.

"The Speaker, Mr. Lingaraj Panigrahi, wanted to know what the State Government could do in the present situation. Mr. Mohapatra said labour

welfare in Rourkela was the responsibility of the State Government.

"The Speaker disallowed the adjournment motion after the Chief Minister's statement.

"Workers of the blast furnace department of the Rourkela steel plant did not join their duties till this morning, on the fourth day of the lifting of the lock-out in the department, according to reports received at the State Government's Labour Directorate here.

"About 450 workers were affected by the lock-out, which the management declared on April 3, following 'acts of indiscipline', and subsequently lifted on April 10.

"According to reports received here, about 25 workers have been suspended on charges of violence, intimidation, etc.

"A telegram received here from Mr. Durga Charan Mohanty, Vice-President of the Rourkela Steel Mazdoor Union, said the workers were prepared to join duty only on condition that the management did not insist on their signing letters of regret and there was no victimisation of any kind.

"Meanwhile, the State Government's conciliation officers have started negotiation with the management and the workers in a bid to end the deadlock."—*PTI.*

Asian Education Ministers' Conference

The Conference in Tokyo, where the representatives of the Education Ministries of Asian countries met at the beginning of April, was to end on April 11. Nothing much of the deliberations have appeared in our newspapers, perhaps, because they share the views of our great men of the Central and State Cabinets regarding such minor aspects of "Nation Building" plans, as education, public health, etc. Only *The Hindu* of April 8, carried a news report to the effect that:

"UNESCO offered to help member countries compile their reports by suplying experts.

"It said the Organisation had earmarked in its 1963-66 budget 600,000 United States dollars for secretarial services, 100,000 dollars for consultants and 68,000 dollars for the next Education Ministers' Conference.

"ECAFE said it was ready to spend 40,000 dollars on sending consultants to member nations.

The Education Ministers tentatively agreed to hold the next Conference in December 1965, probably at Bangkok. A final decision was expected next week."

This Conference also requested the member countries to prepare and submit for discussion at the next Conference detailed programmes drawn up in accordance with the Karachi Plan for the provision of seven years' free and compulsory education for Asian children by 1980.

This Conference which was jointly convened by the UNESCO and the ECAFE, set dates for the completion of the programmes. The dates were as follows:

"Ceylon, India and Pakistan by early 1963, Malaya, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand as well as two non-member countries, North Borneo and Sarawak, by mid-1964, South Korea, Formosa and Japan by the end of 1964, Afghanistan, Iran, Nepal and Burma in the later half of 1964 and Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam by early 1965.

The reports will include population figures, national economic plans, social developments such as health, medical care and social security, human resources 'educational priorities'—where emphasis on educational development is needed most, summaries of problems such as school shortages, education expenses, improvements in teaching materials and external aid.

Russia offered at the time of the Conference an all-out assistance to South-East Asian countries in their implementation of the 20-year Karachi plan. This offer was conveyed by Mr. Georgi A. Zhukov, Chairman of the Soviet National Commission on Cultural Relations, to the conference. Mr. Zhukov is leading his country's delegation to the conference.

He said the offer was made in order that the Asian countries shall be liberated from "Western imperialism". He attributed the retarded educational situation in South-East Asia to Western imperialism. Russia, he said, can offer a great deal, both material and moral, from which South-East Asia can benefit.

The delegates submitted a list of each country's needs for the execution of the Karachi plan.

The Medium for Higher Education

The use of the mother-tongue as the teaching medium in higher education, is

undoubtedly a desideratum. But that needs a long and careful preparation in countries like India, where there has been a long-gap, for many centuries, in contact with the outside world, particularly with the world of science and technology. Those steps cannot be curtailed or fore-shortened, without very seriously damaging the educational structure. This fact is overlooked by the enthusiasts for the mother-tongue.

Recently some learned professors have joined the ranks of those enthusiasts. With the characteristic absent-mindedness that seems to be an inevitable adjunct of a long professorial career, they have even ignored the lack of the two most essential requisites for such a new departure. The first being teachers, lecturers and professors trained to impart their knowledge through the new medium and the second being the availability of text-books and reference media, that are adequate and comprehensive for the task.

The Budget Peroration

It was a foregone conclusion, despite all pious and mendacious hopes—there is no other adjective in our dictionary suitable for the occasion—uttered by our Finance Minister, that prices would rise beyond all justification in most of the consumer goods affected by the new imposts. It would have been better for the standing of the Minister concerned, if he had saved his breath and spared the people of India his solicitious peroration. No system of effective price control has been devised in all these years by New Delhi for the very good reason, we are told, that such measures would affect the friends, followers—and in many cases the near relations who were repeuted to be the "left-hand channels" of the Ministry. In the absence of such controls, what is the point of statements that would render the minister concerned open to ridicule or denunciation?

But there is another side to these budgetary imposts, the side that exposes the reverse "Socialistic Policy" of the government, so much extolled by Mr. Desai. It seems that the brand of "Socialism" that the connoisseurs at New Delhi are trying to impose on the Indian nationals, is that soulless and mechanical frame of social behaviour that is pitiless where human suffering is concerned and ruthless regarding human lives as well—always excepting, of course, those cases where the suffering, or the critically poised life, happens to be that of a V.I.P. or a near and dear associate of the powers-that-be.

The imposts and restrictions on life-saving drugs—like Digitalis preparations—of which the Indian "equivalents" are undependable according to almost all qualified physicians who have no interest in the production of such drugs, have caused the extinction of many valuable lives. Now comes the excise import on Oxygen. The rise in price is immaterial. But excise means an excise inspector, which means—according to the producers—that oxygen will be available only between the hours of 8 A.M. to 5 P.M., when the excise Inspector is on duty. Oxygen sylinders are not manufactured in India and the Finance Minister, in one of his previous "Socialistic" brain-storms, prohibited the import of Oxygen Cylinders. Therefore, there can be no stocking of oxygen in hospitals or nursing homes and the day or night replacement of an exhausted cylinder by a fully charged one, or the issue of a new cylinder for an urgent case, after 5 P.M. and before 8 A.M. will be stopped definitely.

Perhaps the Finance Ministry has planned this in order to help the Family Planners, by cutting off some of those who were born—outside the ministerial families—without sanction from the tin-gods of New Delhi.

Abul Kassem Fazlul Huq

One of the most colourful personalities that gained prominence in the political spheres of undivided Bengal, and later of East Pakistan, passed away through the death of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq at Dacca on April 27. He had been admitted to hospital on March 28, after being attacked by uraemia. Thousands of his fellow citizens came to pay their last tributes to a well-beloved and revered leader, who had remained staunch to the

cause of the oppressed and down-trodden sections of his people and was known for his courage in the face of hazardous situations.

A short summary of his biography and career is appended below :

He was born in October, 1873, in the well-known Kazi family of Chakhar, a village in Barisal, East Bengal, being the only son of the late Maulavi Mohammad Wajed Ali. His grandfather, Kazi Akram Ali, had been a scholar, well varsed in a number of oriental languages. Mr. Huq had his early education at Barisal Zilla School. Later he was a student of Presidency College.

As he gradually rose to fame as a lawyer, Mr. Huq came to take an increasing interest in politics. Long before this, during the Swadeshi Agitation, he had been associated with nationalistic journalism, especially as Joint-Editor of "Bharat Suhrid" and Editor of "Balaka." In 1913, his weight as a figure in the field of politics being recognised by the then Government, he was called upon to give evidence before the Srvice Commission. In 1916, he was among the signatories to the League-Congress pact, signed at the Lucknow session of the Congress. In 1918, Mr. Fazlul Huq was elected General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. In 1920, he presided over a session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Midnapore.

Mr. Fazulul Huq was also among the founders of the Muslim League. He was Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League from 1913 to 1916 and President of the All-India Muslim League from 1916 to 1921.

In 1924 he was Minister for Education in Bengal but was thrown out of office by the Swarajist onslaught against diarchy in the province, led by Deshabandhu C. R. Das. In 1930-31 and, again, in 1931-32, he was in London as a member of the Indian Round Table Conference held during these two periods for hammering out the future Indian Constitution.

The inauguration of the new Indian Constitution in 1937 found this seasoned parliamentarian and popular leader of both Hindus and Muslims to be one of the most powerful men in this province. As leader of the newly formed Krishak Praja Party, he had but lately won his spectacular victory over the Muslim League leader Khwaja Nazimuddin, in that year's election in Patuakhali Constituency. He was shortly the first Premier of Bengal, under the new Provincial Autonomy scheme, as head of a League-Praja Coalition. The Congress formed the opposition against him under the leadership of the late Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

In 1941, a Congress-Praja Party coalition was formed with the backing of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, the leader of the Congress Assembly Party. Mr. Huq was called upon to form a new ministry, which he did. He continued in the office this time till March 1943, when he was unexpectedly called by the Governor and was persuaded by him to sign a letter of resignation. The resignation of the Huq Ministry was followed by a suspension of the Constitution. The Sec. 93 rule, inaugurated then in Bengal, was revoked in April that year, only to let Khwaja Nazimuddin to form a League Ministry in the province. This ministry continued to control affairs in Bengal till the general election of 1945 which, bringing the Muslim League into power, was soon followed by the tragic Direct Action episode in Calcutta.

After the partition of India, Mr. Huq left Calcutta for East Pakistan, where he was Advocate-General of the new Government for sometime. There, from the beginning, his politics was at variance with that of the Muslim League Government on most matters. Later, as leader of the Krishak Praja Party, he formed an alliance with the Awami League for the purpose of presenting a united front against the Muslim League in the elections, which were held soon. The elections brought Mr. Huq and the United Front, of which he was the leader, into power with a large majority against the Muslim League. Mr. Huq then formed the U.F. Ministry in Eastern Pakistan in 1954. He was then fairly an octogenarian.

Mr. Huq was not allowed long to conduct the affairs of Government or lead his people in Eastern Pakistan, for President Iskander Mirza soon assumed all powers in the State, suppressing whatever little democracy was at work in the country.

Mr. Huq was for some time Governor of Eastern Pakistan. Bent down under the weight of years and also much worsted in a fruitless

struggle to assert himself in the face of anti-democratic, communal and otherwise reactionary forces, he finally retired from public activities or had to do so only a few years ago. Mr. Fazlul Huq was an open-minded and generous man intrinsically. He earned a reputation for instability in his later political career due to his proneness for hastening into compromises with his intractable and intensely communal associates of the Moslem coalition group. Prior to that he had no reservations in his mind regarding his Hindu friends. There are well-known instances of his befriending his Hindu junior lawyers, even to the extent of largely financing studies abroad, for qualifying as a barrister, of a young Hindu lawyer.

Even in the days when, as the Chief Minister of undivided Bengal he was reputed to be rabidly communal and a ferocious enemy of the Hindus, he had not cast off his Hindu friends and dependants. The latter were mainly from Barisal, being children and relatives of his old Hindu classfellows or of Hindu family friends. In the days of the '42 movement, when the British Government was trying to put down the "Quit India" movement by brutal repression, he had intervened, to our knowledge, in more than one instance on behalf of some persons who were being victimized by the blind ferocity of the British officials.

After the partition, he did not break-off with his Hindu friends and associates as was done by almost all the other Moslem politicians. In the Dacca riots he risked his personal standing with the rabidly communal Pakistan Government in order to ensure the safety of his Hindu juniors and associates at the Dacca Bar.

At heart the man was a tender, sympathetic soul whose first and prevailing impulse was always to come forward for the succour of those who were in trouble or need and had come to him for aid or solace. Being neither crafty nor crooked by nature, as evinced by his straightforward outbursts of feeling during newspaper interviews that got him into trouble with the higher authorities in Pakistan, he was driven into a complex maze of contradictory statements and actions due to the force of circumstances that were beyond his control and were threatening to overwhelm his career.

THE EDITOR

Public Finance in India

The details of the 1962-63 Budget are now well-known all over the country; and the provisions have cheered some into "bull" speculation and cautioned others into hoarding, denying stock and over-charging the public for the common articles of consumption. All this is mainly due to ignorance and the willingness of those who are well informed to take advantage of the ignorance that most people suffer from in India. The Budget is a symptom of India's economic condition. The Budget exhibits an eagerness to squeeze that last drop of all available surplus income out of the individual workers and earners of India. The Budget also is an admission of the failure of some previous budget provisions to realise the expected returns. Which is evidence of Public Finance in India being carried out on assumptions of a purely theoretical variety. Generally speaking, the Budget has been one that will tax all Indians more or less equally heavily with a shade more weight being put on the salaried classes and those who have a high income of a kind which cannot be kept undisclosed. In other words the pressure will be largely upon hardworking and honest people. The middlemen, the traders, the tax-evaders and the blackmarket-dealers will be left in their present unassailable position of affluence and luxury. So will be all those who take bribes, cuts, coverage (foreign and Indian) and other illicit forms of gratification for helping dishonest business people. The great field of tax evasion and illicit earnings is commonly known to be the one field into which Indian Government officials dislike to "trespass" in order not to antagonise people who have access to the great men of India, who are now busy moulding our destiny with their unskilled hands. Those who provide them with what is popularly called "know-how" and the skill which is required to manage public finance in the most effective manner, are also ignorant of the facts of national economy. They try to hide their ignorance by having recourse to algebraical formulae which one has to accept as self-evident truths" in order to conserve and stimulate

one's faith, in national planning and in the perfection of India's administration by the greedy and unprincipled leaders of the Congress party. So that, as far as the principles that have guided the Budget of 1962-63 are concerned, one can say very little in support of the same, for the reason that the principles are not real principles in essence but are largely an elaborate eye-wash for the tax-payers of India.

What are the grounds for giving expression to such strong criticism of the principles that guide the lines and conduct of the very large number of patriots, social servants and internationally admired persons who have suddenly come into being in India since 1947 ? The first and foremost reason is that when India became independent in 1947 by surrendering to the machinations of the British who created a separate state within India for their Muslim supporters and henchmen, the Indians too, in large numbers, took up patriotism as a profession. The P.I.P's i.e., Post Independence Patriots and the V.I.P's became the new exploiters of the Indian people as successors of the British. They set up principles, ideals and plans of Nation-Building which yielded the greatest profit to the smallest number of Indians and the structure of Indian politics and the economy of the nation became utterly poisonous as if by a queer variety of black magic which put all the wrong people in the right places from which they could gainfully control the life of the Indian people. Everything that has happened since those fateful days has been, with a few exceptions, for the benefit of a small body of persons who have dominated the political and economic life of the nation as private capitalists, traders, contractors, agents of foreign commercial and industrial organisations, political leaders, trade unionists, officials and other men and women who have made profit incidentally and by virtue of being connected with others who have been making profit directly. If the general public have gained anything at all in this new set up, it was by being employed by the lucky few and not by reason of any plans which aimed at general economic upliftment. In the circumstances, one may doubt the justice of taxing all people heavily in order to put money in the pockets of a few selected persons. Even the advantages resulting from the various services like defence, policing, irrigation, electrification of railways, post and telegraphs, telephones, etc., etc., cannot be said to be equally beneficial to all members of the public. There is discrimination in every department of State and a few gain much more than all others.

The next argument against heavy taxation in India is that most of the revenues as well as the proceeds of deficit financing and borrowings are being devoted to creating more and more of State-owned and State-manage enterprises. One has to admit that there is nothing wrong with the principle of State ownership and management; but, in India, the personnel employed by the State is phenomenally inefficient, casual, corrupt and deliberately inactive. All the essential services run by the State, such as, the posts and telegraphs department, the railways, the police, the telephone service, etc., etc., are uniformly substandard in point of their usefulness to the nation. The shamelessness with which our administrators allow these services to remain comparatively useless and, yet, go into newer ventures all the time, is just astounding. Unsuccessful managers have a natural diffidence to start on something new; but our statesmen are never daunted by their everlasting lack of success in all that they have undertaken. They will fail everywhere and will never admit it. Rather, they will start something new every time they fail in defending the country, protecting the people's life and property, running their trains on time, delivering letters and telegrams according to schedule or when their flood control schemes fail or their canals remain dry. State control, ownership and management of things in India have become quite farcical now and our leaders should stop playing at business and let the people manage their own affairs. This may break up their parties; but it is better to disperse amicably and voluntarily than to invite forced liquidation. The economic plans of our political leaders are not going through as they were expected to. But our leaders will not admit it. They would go deeper into the morass

of miscalculation, misdirection and crazy extravagance! And all this by taxing a poor nation to the breaking point and by mortgaging its future earnings to the limit of utter bankruptcy.

A national committee with a few disinterested experts from other lands should go round the country examining the details of State owned and State managed enterprises in different fields of national life. This Committee must not have any members of political parties in it; nor any members of the various Chambers of Commerce. If this investigation is carried out, which we are almost sure will not be permitted to be carried out, it will soon be found out that the basis of all State ownership and management is irresponsibility, corruption and waste. Our hospitals (Government) are about the worst in the civilised world. Our schools and colleges fail to educate or train the pupils and starve the teachers. Our electricity, if available, is badly and expensively distributed. Gas supplies are mainly theoretical. Roads are awful and the traffic terrible. The police do not protect the life and property of the tax-payers. The Army Navy and Air Force have not prevented Pakistani and Chinese infiltration into large Chunks of Indian territory. State owned and State managed industries are being set up at exorbitant cost and are not proving as productive and profitable as has been envisaged by their Planners. The machinery have been purchased at prices which are very high and the construction work has also been carried out in a thriftless and money-flinging manner. The cheapest built steel factory at Bhilai has cost the tax-payers 175 crores (!) of rupees and the most expensive factory at Rourkela rupees two hundred and fifty crores (?). A nation with a per capita annual income of less than Rs. 300|- cannot surely afford to buy steel factories at such prices. And Indian factory workers are about the lowest paid in the industrial world. One cannot even justify the extravagance of our national planners by the argument that though the factories are costing Rs. 250,000 per worker employed, the workers' earnings justify such expenditure. For the workers do not earn more than Rs. 1200—Rs. 1800 annually on an average in our steel factories. That will work out at ½ of 1% on the capital invested. It may be said that the workers do not work hard enough or that there are too many of them. But, that is the fault of organisation and management All workers all over the world work according to their earnings and if they are progressively paid more to work more they always respond to such incentive methods Our political leaders cadge for votes with one side of their mouth and give orders to workers with the other side. No wonder they are looked upon with contempt by the workers. Even the members of the opposition have now become suspect; for they have raised huge funds from the workers for Trade Union purposes and have squandered the same as they have liked. In this they have emulated the members of the treasury bench who squander the revenues they obtain from the poor tax-payers with a total disregard for the principle of getting the nation's money's worth.

So that it comes to this that we do not consider the Budget of 1962-63 good or bad from the angle of public finance technique It has been as good or as bad as the previous budgets and that is neither here nor there. We consider that the nation is entitled to be more critical and inquisitive of the manner in which the revenues are spent by the Government. No matter how justly and equitably revenues are obtained no Government has the right to waste national resources with an air of rendering valuable service to the nation. Our Government is run by amateurs and their "experts" are, by and large, amateurs too They send numerous men and women to foreign countries to study and to learn" but most of the foreign exchange and Indian money spent on such tours go down the drain as far as the nation is concerned There should be a full and thorough enquiry into everything done in the name of the nation in every sphere of national life before we can be reconciled to the taxation we are subjected to. For even lower taxes with greater waste of funds is not tolerable And if higher taxes combine with greater waste of national resources, the position becomes the worst. We think the Government should learn to spend money economically and fruitfully and give up their

policy of impressing the public with tall talk. There are a sufficient number of honest and capable men in this country, both in and outside the Government offices, who can help Government to act upto high ideals which have so far remained mainly hot air. The Government of India are not ignorant of the facts of the situation. They are merely bound down by their own methods of work which they have inherited from the imperialist British who, in their turn, inherited all that from the decadant Moghuls. The methods of government must be changed and a more effective system introduced in which all incumbents will have some real work to do and it will be seen that they do that work. Money will not be spent on the advice of alleged experts whose expertness mainly rests in convincing the Prime Minister of their wisdom. And the Prime Minister is an honest and trusting soul whose honesty and trustful nature may cost the nation several thousand million rupees if he continues to think with his heart for some more years. A.C.

The Management of the Private Sector

In view of what has been said about state owned and state managed establishments and organisations in India; one has to protect oneself against allegations regarding the purpose and intention of criticising state inroads into the economy of the country. One must make it quite clear that private ownership and management of establishments and institutions in India is not any less steeped in corruption and malpractices than the Government sponsored units. When private parties raise funds from the public to set up industrial, commercial or other organisations, the promoters are very often inclined to buy and sell machinery, materials and products, not for the advantage of the shareholders so much as for their own profit. Buying at a high price to secure secret "coverage" for themselves and selling at a low price to make a secret gain are quite common in the Private Sector. The quality of the goods supplied as well as the quantities, where there is a shortage, suffer very commonly to put money in the pockets of the persons who manage things. The wage policy and the principles guiding human relations often deteriorate for similar reasons. This is not restricted to the big shorts only but goes down the line of authority through managers, their assistants, to the clerks who handle things directly. Figures of output and rejections as well as those concerning supplies, purchases and sales are quite ordinarily "cooked" to suit the convenience of the authorities. Tax evasion, bribery and corruption when supplies are made to the State and cheating the consumers are the objectives that attract the attention of the bazar types who are gaining in power everywhere in the economic field. Security of service is much less pronounced in the Private Sector and the advent of "nephews" to replace qualified incumbents whenever opportunities offer, is the order of the day. There is a vast field of work, production, purchase and sale in the dark and off the record in the Private Sector which has become an important part of the economy of the country. This is the Black Market and the Government departments are in close touch with it, more for sharing in its profits than for its removal from the Indian scene. So that the Black Market and the vices connected with it, viz., wagon breaking, smuggling and other crimes, are not entirely run by and for the profit of private persons. The Government and the public are also in it to a very large extent.

There is another thing, which should be mentioned, in the Private Sector, which is not so prominently noticeable in the public departments. This is the inordinate importance that is given to mediocre and ignorant foreigners in the industrial and commercial organisations in the Private Sector. This is not entirely due to the ignorance of the "lords" of the Private Sector, for some of them are quite highly educated and know what is what. The types of foreigners who come to India now-a-days are of a different breed. Mainly persons unwanted at home or adventurers. But, thanks to the weaknesses that our industrial and commercial magnates nourish in their hearts, these people are still having a royal time in India without having any kingdom here. One may argue that many Congress men are doing the same whose background and education are comparable to those of the foreign "experts" that India imports. But then, we

have not got much to say against encouraging the ignorance and the ill-bred ways of our own people. Why import foreign rubbish when we have so much of our own ?

-A.C.

No Power In The World

In politics it is permissible to engage in a little bravado, bluster and what not to impress the public and the press , and Shri Krishna Menon's announcement that no power in the world could separate Kashmir from India was in keeping with this tradition. For, in fact, we find a large chunk of Kashmir has been separated from India and occupied by Pakistan. In the same manner China has separated other pieces of India from the main body by forced occupation and Shri Krishna Menon's soldiers have not yet been able to take back those portions from the agressors and to reattach them to the body of India. Going back a few years, India had large slices taken out of it by the British to make a Pakistan and Pandit Nehru agreed to these arrangements. He later on agreed to separate other bits of India and attach those to Pakistan. Summing up the situation we find many "powers" which can cut up India quite successfully. The British, the British-made Pakistan, the Chinese and, last but not the least, the Government of India can separate any part of India from its body, as they have done so from time to time. Less words and more deeds are what we need. A.C.

Nepal

We have written in our columns deploring the attitude of Nepal towards India. The Nepalese probably think that India should provide all facilities for them to work and prosper, but should not mind anything the Nepalese did, even if it endangered India's security or lowered India in the eyes of the world. Nepal should have all rights and no obligations in her relations with India. Nepal must have the freedom to make friends with the enemies of India and even allow them to build roads which will give them access to the heart of India and permit them to survey the frontiers of India as far as that is possible from Nepalese territory. But if India so much as allowed such Nepalese as have been driven out of Nepal by the present rulers of that country, to sit together and plan the political future of that country, India would be considered to be violating the rules of friendship to Nepal. One may ask whether Nepal means the king of Nepal or the people of Nepal ? If the latter, then why should the Indians not be friendly to **all** Nepalese of all shades of political opinion ? The Government of Nepal should not arrogate to themselves all sorts of imaginary rights and privileges in their relations with India. If India ill treated or restricted the freedom of the Nepalese who lived in India, that could be considered unfriendly by the Nepalese. But if India did not agree to supress the anti-Monarchists of Nepal who were living in India, the Nepalese Government could hardly dictate to India to carry out their wishes in this sphere. It is becoming increasing by difficult for India to placate the Government of Nepal, for the more India yields to the whims of the Nepalese Government, the more extensive become their demands.

Nepal has the same religions and culture as the Indians have. Their language, dress and way of life are very similar to those of Indians. In fact the Nepalese are so very like Indians in every way that one may consider them to be Indians in all things excepting in politics. Nepal is an independent kingdom and India is a secular democratic republic. But, of course, it has become possible during recent times, to create new nations and new states overnight by propaganda and by persistent auto-suggestion. We have seen how Pakistan came into existent. We have also seen how Tibet became China. New loyalties are created and old emotions are killed all the time and one never knows what is really true and permanent in human relations. Friends become enemies overnight and enemies become friends with the greatest case. So that, in these circumstances, we have to step carefully where we come into closer contact with Nepal. Nepal possibly thinks it possible to use China in order to extract concessions from India. A monarchical state makes friend with a Communist state to put pressure on a democracy ! In a similar manner, Pakistan, which is a theocratic state, flirts with China, in order to teach India a lesson. And Russia helps Afganistan to feel strong in dealing with Pakistan. There is a strong

element of unreality and falsehood in all this and it will do a lot of good to all concerned, if this game of deceit and subterfuge ceased to be played by the various participants concerned. King Mahendra would be well advised to adopt a realistic policy which will give proper weightage to the facts of history, social-anthropology and Indo-Nepalese economics. If he continues to ignore these facts and forces himself to think like a collaborating Tibetan, he will soon find out his mistake. For China can never link up with Nepal in a living manner and sustain her in her development and the realisation of her real aspirations. A.C.

Ayub's un-Islamic Islam

The Christians, when they gave up their meekness, self-abnegation and willingness to suffer for humane considerations and adopted aggression and all the rest of the inhuman methods of self-assertion for a gainful purpose, soon began to conquer kingdoms and to build empires. The Muslim religion also taught its followers the same virtues that Christanity did and peace and brotherly love remained the inspiration of Islam for quite a long time. But ambition and greed soon replaced devotion and the human virtues and the Musulman became as great a persecutor of man, as the Christians had been before them. Devastation, loot, murder, rape and arson soon overcame creedal considerations and everything irreligious began to be perpetrated upon humanity in the name of religion. Among the followers of other religions too, God had been used as a war cry and as a justification for ungodly acts throughout the known period of human history with the solitary exception of Ashoka the Murya, Emperor of India, who gave up war as a method of conquest after he had been successful in battle in a most spectacular fashion. He won over the peoples of the world by religious appeal and is thus considered to be the greatest emperor of all times. These are matters of history.

In modern times, we have not seen much slaughter and carnage in the name of religion as such. Ideals and ideologies have replaced the religions and we have been subjected to greater horrors than ever before for establishing a better system of human existence. There have been poison gas wars and wars of total annihilation of entire nations for the glorification of *kultur*, for making the world safe for human beings, for abolishing war, for establishing the superman cult or for creating a classless or single class society. Whether these ideals have been achieved is a question to which the answer had been steadily *No*. More men have been killed, maimed and have had their lives and property battered into wanton shapes than ever before and human life had been made drab, dreary, servile and thoroughly worthless and despicable. All in the name of great ideals which are used as war cry and for propaganda and as a mask for hiding the true features of tyranny and exploitation.

The only modern instance of unfurling the religious banner for an insidious and degrading purpose has been the Pakistan movement in India during the last decades of British rule and since the partition of India by the joint efforts of the British and the Muslim Leaguers in 1947. The Muslim invaders of India had tried during several centuries of absolute *raj* in India to convert all Indians to Islam and to destroy the foundations of Hindu society. Having failed to achieve this and having degraded themselves to the lowest depths of corruption and vice, they disappeared from the *takhat* of Delhi, yielding place to the British and leaving behind a large population of converted Musulmans as well as a few who had some blood relation with the Arabs, the Iranians, the Pathans and the Tartars. These people, having lived under the British Government of India for nearly two hundred years as their henchmen, suddenly realised that their religion would be in danger if the British left India to the Indians. The Pakistan movement was conceived in Fleet Street in London in 1926 under British inspiration, and a number of Indian Musulmans, who had the least knowledge of Islam and the greatest admiration for the British, soon became imbued with thoughts of establishing a separate *raj* for Muslims in India and to call it Pakistan—the land of the PURE. In order to safeguard and propagate their purity and the tenets of Islam, these people, with the help of British officialdom, staged a series of communal riots all over India which culminated in the great Calcutta killing and the massacre of innocent Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab. After Pakistan was established by the British in 1947, the Hindus were mercilessly persecuted in East Bengal and chased out of their hearths and homes in their millions. There were also some retaliatory re-

percussions in some places in India; but, generally speaking, the origin, nature and incidents of communal rioting, massacres, looting, and burning down of houses are all traceable to the Muslim Leaguers and their propaganda and secret arming of professional killers. Even after the anglicised Musulmans of the League had achieved their objective of dividing up the motherland by reciting long lists of lies regarding their separateness from Hindu Indians in point of race, language, culture, etc., etc., they continued to act in a manner which no respectable state or nation should ever do. They organised the *razakar* movement in Hyderabad, where Muslims were a very small minority and brought about a great state of anarchy which had to be controlled later on by the Indian Army. The manner in which they put the Pakistan army in fancy dress and invaded Kashmir is well-known to all. The *Kabalis* as these invaders were known, who pretended to be tribal Pakhtoons but were, in fact, members of the Pakistan Army looted, killed and burnt the houses of the Muslim Kashmiris too. They kidnapped Muslim women from Kashmir and molested all who fell into their cultches. Now the Pakistan Government is busy claiming the whole of Jammu and Kashmir as their lawful territory as the people are largely Muslim in that area. Why the Pakistanis do not claim the whole of Arabia and Iran too for the same reason, is not clear to us. Pakistan, even today, sends secret *agents-provocateurs* into India who provoke communal rioting here and there and, when any incidents occur, President Ayub Khan sheds crocodile tears copiously for the advantage of the anti-Indian propagandists in Britain and elsewhere. He calls the Indian Government names and accuses the Indians of communal frenzy and similar vices, which have, however, been a clear monopoly of the Pakistains for a very long time. A better example of the pot calling the kettle black cannot be found anywhere. Ayub Khan also feels that Brahamanism "is a bigoted creed" and is "intolerant of the principles of equality of mankind." This is, indeed, rich after the Muslim Leaguers and others of their kind have perpetrated the worst crimes against all minorities in Pakistan over a period of 15 years! We also did not realise that Ayub Khan was a great believer in the equality of all mankind after he had imposed *one-man* rule in Pakistan. Before him, the Muslim Leaguers had massacred millions of Hindus everywhere in Pakistan as well as 10,000 *kadiyani* muslims in the Lahore area. For sheer unmitigated shameless twisting of facts and lying in a brazen manner, President Ayub Khan and his concocters of falsehoods even surpass the professional liars that Hitler engaged for his propaganda. Ayub's treatment of the Muslim Pakhtoons of Pakistan is even now being discussed in the U.N. Ayub also threatens India with dire consequenecs for India's alleged persecution of the Musilms. If anything should have been done by any state at any time for such reason, Pakistan should have been wiped off the world's map for planned massacre of minorities a long time ago.

A.C.

Ayub's Creed of Equality

Whenever Ayub Khan gives vent to any of his deeper emotions, he merely sets in motion, the forces of communal evil in Pakistan and some more Hindus die at the hands of the "Pure" Musalmans of Pakistan. The recent incidents in Malda in which some Hindus and Muslims were involved immediately provoked sympathetic assaults upon Hindus in Dacca and other places. We do not know what caused the fracas in Malda but we are sure that Pakistan agents were not entirely free from blame in the fanning up of communal feelings there. Whatever that may be, Press reports said on the 29th of April, 1962, that some Hindus had already died in Dacca at the hands of Pakistani killers. This shows how Ayub's Government works. Ayub had become very unpopular in East Pakistan. There were many mass demonstrations against him there and he was feeling vary insecure. Immediately some Muslims were involved in fights with Hindus in Malda in India and the agents of Ayub forthwith murdered a few Hindus in Dacca. The outcome is that Ayub has less fear of being booted out of East Pakistan! Who done it?

A.C.

Dr. M. Visvesvaraya

In the annals of American Science and Industry, the names of four great friends, each preeminent in his own particular line of activities, will remain on record for many years to come. They were Thomas Alva Edison, scientist, inventor and entrepreneur, Henry Ford of Ford Motors'

fame, Eli Fairbanks, the pioneer in pneumatic tyres and Karl Steinmetz, the genius who presided over the research laboratories of the General Electric Co. of United States.

They were fast friends and deeply attached to each to the other and, therefore, on the death of Steinmetz, newsmen rushed to Edison to gather his reaction to the news. Edison's comment was short, simple and expressive. His only comment was, "Electricity is dead !"

The same justification might be advanced for the comment that, with the passing of Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya, Engineer, administrator and elder-statesman on April 14, "Engineering is dead—in India".

He was a man of great Vision but, unlike most visionaries, he had the technical knowledge, the efficiency and the innate sense of dedication, that made his long-life so singularly fruitful and rich in successful ventures for public welfare. A model of personal purity of character, he was a man of frugal tastes. He led an exemplary life that shone as an example to all that came in contact with him.

Born in an Orthodox family in Muddenahalli in the Kolar district of Mysore, on September 15, 1861, he was schooled in Chickbalapur. He lost his father when he was barely 15, but his mother filled the loss to a very great extent. She was his guide in the shaping of his life and career later on. He went to Bangalore in 1875 and took his B.A. degree in 1881.

It was as an assistant engineer in the Public Works Department of the former Bombay State that the late Visvesvaraya began in 1884 his momentous career that spanned more than three generations. He rose to the rank of Superintending Engineer in 1904, but his restless spirit which dreamed of big engineering feats compelled him to abandon the Bombay Government service in 1908.

In 1909, Sir M. Visvesvaraya was appointed special consulting engineer to the Nizam's Government of Hyderabad. Later, he became the Chief Engineer and was also in charge of the State railway.

But the father of Indian engineering did not remain long in Hyderabad. The Government of India spotted his talents and appointed him Dewan of Mysore from 1912 to 1918. Modern Mysore is a lasting tribute to his genius as a statesman, administrator, engineer and town planner.

The University of Mysore owes a debt to the creative genius of this great statesman. He founded the Bhadravati Iron Works. The Bank of Mysore, now one of the most flourishing banking institutions in the country, owes its origin to his planning. The famous Mysore Soap Works was founded by him. He conceived and executed the Mysore Sandalwood Oil Industry which today is one of the valuable foreign exchange earners of the country.

The late engineer-statesman was Chairman of the Bombay Technical and Industrial Committee in 1921-22. He was Chairman, Indian Economic Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1925 and was also a member of the Back-Bay Reclamation Inquiry Committee.

His services were then requisitioned by the Bombay Government which appointed him as Chairman of the Irrigation Inquiry Committee.

In 1941, he was elected President of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation.

The late Visvesvaraya published his "Planned Economy for India" in 1934 and memoirs of his eventful life in 1951.

The Government of India conferred on him the country's highest decoration, the Bharat Ratna, in 1955.

He brought in successfully many new systems, both in engineering and in administration, such as the "block system of irrigation" and the Krishnaraja Sagara Dam on the Kaveri. His "efficiency audit" project for taking the "continuous action necessary for the preservation of discipline and efficiency in government departments, might well he tried in the present-day administrative centres all over the country.

His interests and activities were spread over a very wide area, from mass education to political conciliation, and he was always willing to give out generously from his vast store of knowledge and experience, without any reservation or any condition-precedent regarding reward or recompense. He was particularly easy of access to all who needed his advice in technical and engineering matters and served generations of engineers as a guiding beacon in the matter of industrial technique and efficiency. His advice was sought for and readily accepted by the Government as in the matter of fixing the ganges bridge site at Mokamah.

OUR NATIONAL LABOR POLICY

By NARENDRA KUMAR SETHI

Essential Themes

Industrial civilization, such as ours, stands for Liberalism, Social compromise and Individualism. These are the three pillars of our solidarity and strength. The concept of liberalism calls for a broad pragmatic attitude. Social compromise stresses the process of negotiation and peaceful attitude. The idea of Individualism, which lies at the core of our American way, calls for free enterprise with the minimal of outer governmental participation. In this way, any national force, be it labor-oriented or management-attuned, has to have this triangular framework of operation. Inasmuch as any national proclamation falls short of these requirements, it will be considered to have lagged behind our accepted standards of society.[1]

Can we establish a National Labor Policy on this triangular base? The answer in most plain words is—**Yes**. Do we at the present time have such a policy? The answer, unfortunately is **No**. Then, the third question that arises is how can we establish such a national policy in the near future? The answer, this time, cannot be given in such plain terms because there is no one answer. The "how" of future developments involves speculative judgments, which we must avoid, and vague generalities, which we should refrain from. However, this can be asserted that a series of broad social, cultural, ethical, legal and economic currents are operating now in our country which may eventually lead our national labor policy to our accepted goal and the great ideal. It is through a thoughtful approach to this ideal that we can move along the road to "industrial self-government."[2]

Collective Bargaining

Collective Bargaining is generally used in referring to the central theme of our present national labor policy. Dale Yoder has defined it "as a means of labor marketing and manpower management."[3] Hoebreckx has defined it in more specific terms as:

> A procedure whereby an agent (union) selected by a group of employees bargains with an employer in an atmosphere of compulsion on demands made upon the employer.[4]

A collective bargaining contract is supposed to contain at least the following "basic patterns" if it aspires to the establishment of sound industrial climate.

Discharge
Duration
Employee Benefits
Grievances and Arbitration Procedure
Holidays
Hours and Overtime
Leave of Absence
Management and Union Rights
Seniority; Lay Off; Promotion; Transfer
Strikes and Lockouts

1. Suffrin, Sidney C. and Robert C. Sedgwick, *Labour Law: Development—Administration—Cases*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1954, pp. 11-12 and 577.

2. Taylor, George W. *Government Regulation of Industrial Relations*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948, p. 28.

3. Yoder, Dale, *Personnel Management and Industrial Relations*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958, p. 355.

4. Hoebreckx, O. S., *Management Handbook for Collective Bargaining*, New York: Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1947, p. 19.

Union Security
Vacations and Wages.[5]

By its rather comprehensive contents and peaceful negotiations one may gather an idea that collective bargaining as a tool of labor policy offers a ready-made remedy for all industrial ills and labor problems. Such is not the case, however. As Chamberlain has pointed out, "there is no reason to believe that collective bargaining, as it has evolved to date, constitutes by itself the most desirable process of group adjustment and decision-making which can be devised."[6] Collective bargaining, no doubt, strengthens mutual faith and peaceful solution of all industrial disputes but it leaves much to be desired, at least in its present form. It assumes a great deal; depends largely on legal implications and at times can lead to complicated results. We shall return to this point later in the study.

Government Activity

If we do not quite recognize the functioning of the Collective Bargaining theme as representing the major constituents of our National Labor Policy, how else do we determine its significant areas of operation? How is the national policy inferred and from what sources? How do we define national policy? As Yoder says, "policy may be inferred from laws, from court decisions, and from regulations, directries, and orders issued by agencies charged with administering these laws."[7] Bloom and Northrup say that, "public policy is determined in two general ways: by comon law and by statutory laws."[8] A third writer simply includes the following four laws as embodying the "federal 'code'" of labor relations:

The Labor Reform Act of 1959
The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947
The Norris La Guardia Act of 1932 and
The Railway Labor Act of 1926.[9]

Sufrin and Sedgwick, on the other hand, take a very broad and all-inclusive view of labor legislation. To them, the field is "the statement of the society, acting through the Congress and the Executive, setting forth the limits of behavior imposed upon employers on the one hand, and upon individual employees or unions of employees on the other."[10]

A very striking and radically different view is held by Metz who positively denies the fact that we have any well-defined labor relations policy. He says:

> It is evident that the Federal Government does not have a labor policy that can be regarded as a coherent and integrated system.[11]

And, later he violently asserts that "the lack of any systematic labor policy"[12] has had a disturbing effect on our industrial growth and applied legislation. It seems, on the basis of evidence examined that much of what Metz says is correct. As a matter of fact, all dynamic countries experiencing growth and development cannot

5. *Basic Patterns in Collective Bargaining Contracts,* Reprinted from *Collective Bargaining Negotiations and Contracts,* September, 1948, Washington, D.C.: The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., n.p.

6. Chamberlian, Neil W., *Collective Bargaining,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951, p. 464.

7. Yoder, *Op. Cit.,* p. 395.

8. Bloom, Gordon F. and Herbert R. *Northrup, Economics of Labor Relations,* Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1954, p. 641.

9. Phelps, Orme W. *Introduction to Labour Economics,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961. p, 15.

10. Sufrin and Sedgwick, *Op. Cit.,* p. 3.

11. Metz, Harold W., *Labor Policy of the Federal Government,* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1945, p. 269.

12. *Ibid.,* p. 269. Metz gives the following reason for the lack of an integrated federal labor policy: "Since the Constitution does not confer on the federal government any direct authority to regulate labor relations or the conditions of employment, and since the fundamental law reserves to the exclusive jurisdiction of the states many powers that impinge upon any labor program under our constitutional system, it has not been easy to develop a well-rounded labor policy."

remain contented with a static labor policy. Labor, like everything else but in a greater degree, is a volatile issue—ever-changing and ever-moving.[13] Therefore, as Gregory says, "never a dull moment is a constant characteristic of the ever-changing law of labor relations."[14] We may not have a well-defined and systematic labor policy but then the vicissitudes of labor do not permit of such a solution. In the words of a prominent labor expert, "we must remember at the outset that there is no logical or ultimate solution"[15] to this problem.

Our labor policy, as it appears today is comprehensive but not consistent.[16] It leaves a lot of questions unanswered and therefore provides for a lot of speculative thinking. To mention a few general areas which are still not very consistently examined in our federal labor relations policy:

1. The proper division of responsibility between the federal and state governments.
2. The desirable degrees of union and management security to be encouraged.[17]
3. Question of uniformity of content and treatment among the states on issues such as workmen's compensation; unemployment insurance; minimum wage laws etc.[18]

In addition several additional areas may be enumerated here which need greater amplification and administrative explanation in our labor policy. But then, the fundamental question which we raised in the first section of the paper arises: Is government legislation the only panacea for labor relations? Do we always have to depend on federal intervention in all these labor issues? Is this the concept of individualism and free enterprise which is one of the requisite bases for our American way? Several writers have elaborated on this point.

Some Viewpoints

For example, Bloom and Northrup say:

> Labor policy, in a democracy should recognize that government regulation is not a panacea.[19]

And, Baerwald points out:

> The improvement of industrial relations cannot be brought about by legislation alone; in a free democratic society, it is primarily a matter for management and labor, who as the parties immediately concerned are responsible to the nation for the development of mature labor relations.[20]

Wollett is still more positive:

> Labor-management relations in a free society are not, in the last analysis, contingent upon any law, but upon the parties themselves.[21]

And, Taylor says:

> There should be no avoiding the disturbing fact, however, that government regulated collective bargaining carries a restriction of the latitude and of the judgment exercisable by both labor and management in heir joint dealings.[22]

Even, Hartley believes fully:

13. A dissenting voice opposing this "ever-changing role" of American labor unions is that of an English labor historian, Henry Pelling, *American Labor*, The Chicago History of American Civilization Service; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 210. He examines "the element of continuity" which according to him characterizes the entire history of our labor from the Colonial Period to the present day.
14. Gregory, Charles. O., *Labor and the Law*, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1958, p. 497.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 544.
16. Bloom and Northrup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 767.
17. Yoder, *Op. Cit.*, p. 398.
18. Bloom and Northrup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 767.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 773.
20. Baerwald, Friedrich, *Fundamentals of Labor Economics*, New York: The Declan X. McMullen Company, 1947, p. 392.
21. Wollett, Donald H., *Labor Relations and Federal Law*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1949, p. 147.
22. Taylor, *Op. Cit.*, p. 249.

> In a national labor policy that envisages the total elimination of the Federal Government from the industrial relations picture.[23]

And, finally Summers, points out after examing the Taft-Hartley. Act in its ten years of operation that:

> Ten years have made clear that the mutual interests of union and management cannot be easily defeated by legal measures.[24]

Practically, all writers (with a few exceptions)[25] seem to agree that a well-balanced labor policy, in all its dynamic aspects and essential themes, must emphasize freedom from excessive governmental intervention and exaggerated reliance upon labor legislation. Too much of government in these labor affairs tends to complicate the already perplexing situation. And, in addition, it tries to substitute legislation for mutual faith and restraint. What should be achieved through understanding, social logic and spontaneous goodwill cannot be gotten through any set of legalized actions. By putting a greater faith in the federal legislation, both the union and management disregard their individual rseponsibility. And, none should delude himself in thinking that the unions and management are incapable of solving their problems without the government coming in between. In a free democratic society such as ours, social values, especially those concerned with labor are the functions more of private citizens rather than of the central government. An interesting approach to this problem has been suggested in these words:

> We can reach (our) goal by creating a national labor policy for the Federal Government which will be so fair and so equal in its dealing with both labor and management that neither will see any possible advantage in taking its side of a dispute to the government.[26]

We can assert, at this point that government-controlled collective bargaining, as seen today, "carries a restriction of the latitude and of the judgment exercisable by both labor and management in their joint dealings."[27] We had mentioned earlier about the short-comings of collective bargaining and the assumptions behind which this concept functions.[28] These drawbacks reveal added difficulties when examined in the framework of government-controlled collective bargaining procedure. By this above-mentioned enforcement of collective bargaining at the governmetal level, a decidedly significant tool of group adjustments loses its edge. In more specific terms, following is an outline of the major governmental activities in the present field

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23. Hartley, Fred A. Jr. *Our New National Labor Policy: The Taft-Hartley Act and the Next Steps.* New York: Funk and Wagnals Company, 1948, p. 185.

24. Summers, Clyde W., *A Summary Evalution of the Taft-Hartley Act., The Taft-Hartley Act aften Ten Years: A Symposium,* Reprinted from "Industrial and Labor Relations Review," Volume 11, Number 3, April, 1958, Ithaca, N. Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, pp. 405-412, See, specially, p. 412.

25. For example, Sufrin and Sedgwick, *Op. Cit.*, "By tradition, governments in the United States have been an important factor in setting the pace in the establishment of acceptable labor standards." p. 2.

26. Hartley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 186.

27. Taylor, *Op. Cit.*, p. 249.

28. See back, p. 4. Attention is drawn here to the basic conceptual difference between the functions of free collective bargaining and of government-controlled collective bargaining. . . . Cf. "General Motors holds that the basic interests of employers and employees are the same. However, at times employees and the management have different ideas on various matters affecting their relationship. The management of General Motors is convinced that there is no reason why these differences cannot be peacefully and satisfactorily adjusted by sincere and patient effort on both sides". *Introduction to all Gm-UAW National Agreements—for more than two decades, Free Collective Bargaining Works—A Record of Progress,* Detroit: General Motors Corporation, 1961, p. 2.

of employment relations and industrial practices :[29]

1. Maintaining standards of safety and health in working conditions.
2. Maintaining standards of minimum wages and maximum hours in employment.
3. Preventing child labor and hazardous employment of women.
4. Enforcing standards of training for apprentices.
5. Preventing discrimination based on race, religion, or nationality.
6. Aiding employees in finding jobs and employers in finding and selecting employees.
7. Assisting unemployed workers and their families by providing unemployment insurance.
8. Assisting employees and their families through depression.
9. Assisting in the prevention and settlement of employer-union disputes through conciliation and mediation.
10. Maintaining peace, preventing violence, and interpreting and enforcing the accepted rules of the game in collective bargaining.

The list can be either contracted or expended at desire to be all-conclusive or selective.[30] But, the fact still remains that such governmental activities, in the final analysis, tend to assume the upper hand and remove all initiative from both the parties concerned. Such may be the most desirable and, perhaps, the only effective public policy in a developing nation but in a country like ours, where social values are primarily individualistic rather than totalitarian or authoritatively enforced, such a national political frame can only be a poor substitute for free collective bargaining agreement.

29. Yoder, Dale and Herbert G. Heneman, *Labor Economics and Industrial Relations*, Chicago : South-Western Publishing Company, 1959, p. 168.

30. A similar list of governmental activities in our national labor policy has been suggested by Bloom and Northrup, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 766-774.

Historical Perspective

We have so far examined the various facets of the present labor relations policy in the United States. It should, however, be noted that all social values develop over a period of time. They have to be looked through a historical and developmental perspective otherwise they do not reveal their entire character. In this analysis, then, our labor policy too, is the resultant of several decades of experimentation, change, mistakes and constant evolution. In this section we try to present a brief historical survey of the labor policy.

The background of the American Labor law is definitely British.[31] We have drawn both intensively and extensively from the legacy of British labour law. And, that seems to be quite natural. As parts of the same English-speaking fraternity and containing a great deal of common cultural, social and administrative traits, both these countries are quite close to each other. Therefore, the British background for American labor law is nothing to be unduly cautious or sceptical about.[32]

The various phases of the changing social status of labor in a broad historical sense can be summed as follows :

> Labor moves out of the long period of regimentation of workers, through slavery and serfdom to the freedom of the early 19th century, and from there, to the contemporary collectivism brought about by the predominance of huge organizations of workers and management

31. Sufrin and Sedgwick, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

32. It should, however, be noted that though the background for American labor law is British ; yet, the working processes and historical development of American Unionism has differed rather sharply from the British counterpart. As Bloom and Northrup say : "To an extent greater than labor unions in other countries, organized labor in America has retained confidence in economic action as a means for securing its ends", *Op. Cit.*, p. 29. Cf. also Yoder and Neneman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 168. "American unions are predominantly business unions." Other prominent upholders of this view are Selig Perlman and Herman E. Krooss.

which have transformed personal labor relations into a rigid pattern of official contracts between powerful groups of workers and employers.[33]

In a sense, the following three stages of development can be noted in federal legislation towords labor :

Suppression
Toleration
Encouragement.[34]

Another writer has noted that the history of public policy towards labor relations in the United States has been characterized in a large measure "by statutory enactments aimed first at overturning judicial interpretations of the common law and later at revising judicial interpretations of legislative enactment."[35]

Yoder and Heneman have enumerated the following stages or steps in the development of our labor relations policy :

1. Unions as conspiracies.
2. Public policy by judicial decisions.
3. Unions as illegal restraints of trade ; the Sherman Act and the Clayton Act.
4. Unions as semi-public agencies ; the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and the National Industrial Recovery Act, and the National Labor Relations Act.
5. Reaction and public regulation ; the Taft-Hartley or Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947.[36]

We can elaborate now on this framework and fill in the important details to get a fully integrated picture of the development of our dynamic labor legislation.[37]

For a century and a quarter, the national government was rather inactive in the labor legislation field. It only confined its role to the mere gathering of labor information. Practically, nothing was achieved in the first 100 years of our national history. It was only in 1884, after about 13 years of agitation by various labor groups that the Congress established a Bureau of Labor in the Department of the Interior.[38] But, it is rather interesting to note that it was not until 1913 that a Department of Labor was established with a head of a Cabinet rank. Thus, it is quite clear that the early interest shown by the Federal Government was purely incidental and information-oriented rather than action-oriented.

As a matter of fact, very little regulatory activity was attempted by the Federal Government in the general area of labor relations before 1933. And, few important labor laws were enacted during this period. **The Anti-Trust Act of 1890** was, perhaps, the first positive federal law that had a sort of restrictive effect on Labor.[39] This act prohibited any restraint on interstate commerce, in the form of an agreement contract, or trust. The Supreme Court held that it applied to concerted acts of workers such as strikes and boycotts when designed to restrain inter-state commerce.[40]

In 1914, Labor organizations prevailed upon the Congress to include in the **Clayton Act** several provisions which the unions believed would remove labor activities from the Anti-Trust Law.[41] But the Supreme Court held that "it was but declaratory of the law as it stood before its enactment."[42] By the **Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act** of 1932, Congress again attempted to free labor from the Anti-Trust Law.[43] It can be said that this Act contained the first general legislative statement that it is desirable for labor to organize and to bargain collectively.

33. Baerwald, *Op. Cit.*, p. 15.
34. Metz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 25.
35. Bloom and Northrup, *Op. Cit.*, p. 641.
36. Yoder and Heneman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 198.
37. Much of the following description about the historical growth of our National Labor Policy follows the approach taken by Metz., *Op. Cit.*, Chapters 1 and 11.
38. Act of June 27, 1884, 23 Stat. 60.
39. Act of July 2, 1890, 26 Stat. 209.
40. *Loewe* V. *Lawlor*, 208 U.S. 274 (1908).
41. Act of Oct. 15, 1914, 38 Stat. 730, Secs. 6 and 20.
42. *Duplex Printing Press Company* V. *Deering*, 254 U.S. 443 (1921).
43. Act of March 23, 1932, 47 Stat. 70.

We mentioned earlier that prior to 1933, the labor policy of the Federal Government moved very slowly and was inactive. But after 1933, we notice a tremendous change in the labor policy. It began to move rapidly and with forceful vigor under the impact of the New Deal. In this way, one can point out 1933 as the safe division-line year to indicate the two approaches of the Federal Government in the evolution of our labor policy.

In 1933, Congress enacted the **National** Industrial Recovery Act[44] which provided for the general regulation of all industry by voluntary codes or by government licenses. This act was also instrumental in guaranteeing to the workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.

In 1935, Congress enacted the famous **National Labour Relations Act,** commonly referred to as the Wagner Act.[45] This act specified certain preliminary conditions deliberately designed to encourage joint dealings between organized labor and the managements.[46]

It further guaranteed the workers the right to organize and forbade employers from engaging in unfair labor practices.

Wollett has mentioned the follownig three primary public policy objectives of the Wagner Act :[47]

1. Prevention of depressed wage rates which decrease the purchasing power of wage earners and aggravate business depressions.
2. Encouragement of the stabilization of the competitive wage rates and working conditions within and between industries because instability aggravates business depressions.
3. Removal of certain causes of industrial strife.

Then, in 1935, Congress enacted the liberal provisions contained in the **Social Security Act** which provided for old-age benefits, public assistance and unemployment compensation, all administered by a Social Security Board composed of three members appointed by the President.[48]

Then, after some minor legal enactments we find Congress enacting the almost legendary **Taft-Hartley Amendments** of 1947 to NLRA. There were at least the following four policy goals which were expressly stated in the drafting of this Act.[49] The first was in the words of the Senate Committee Report, "to equalize existing laws" in order to establish "the equality of bargaining power necessary to maintain industrial peace." The second goal was, in the words of the preamble, "to protect the rights of individual employees in their relations with labor organizations." The third was to protect "neutrals" described by Senator Taft as "third persons who are wholly unconcerned in the disagreement." The fourth and the final goal was to obtain stability in labor relations by making collective bargaining agreements binding with effective legal sanctions.

In the final analysis, this Taft-Hartley Act was a determined effort to reduce the power of unionism and restore a greater stability in industrial power-balance and at the same time stamp the role of governmental influence there. But, it is the opinion of several industrial relations experts that "none of the objectives of the framers of the Taft-Hartley Act has been achieved in full measure."[50] And, the

44. Act of June 16, 1933, 48 Stat. 195.
45. Act of July 15, 1935, 49 Stat. 449.
46. Taylor, *Op. Cit.*, p. 34.
47. Wollett, *Op. Cit.*, p. xxii (Introduction).
48. Act of August 14, 1935, 49 Stat. 620.
49. Summers, *Op. Cit.*, p. 406.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

Cf. Davey, Harold W. "The Operational Impact of the Taft-Hartley Act upon Collective Bargaining Relationships", in Harold W. Davey and Howard S. Kaltenborn and Stanley H. Rutterberg, "New Dimensions in Collective Bargaining", New York : Harper and Brothers, 1959, p. 195.

"Certainly, the Taft-Hartley Act in its present form does not constitute the 'last word' on national policy. Efforts to liberalize its provisions or to impose more restrictive policies continue with undiminished vigor. Yet, at this stage, it seems unlikely that the Act will undergo any significant modification for sometime to come."

Cf. also, Taylor, *Op. Cit.*, p. 249 :

"Once the Taft-Hartley Act was placed on the statute books, insistent demands for still more drastic regulations arose almost immediately."

reason is not far too difficult to perceive. The framers of this Act pinned all their hopes on the success of governmental legal enactments and minimized the role of free enterprise and **laissez faire.** As stated previously,[51] such an approach is not best suited to our social and political framework.

To conclude this section of our study which was primarily concerned with the major historical landmarks in the development of our national labor policy, we can enumerate the following specific areas which show us the current stage of NLRA policies and rules in the broad labor field.

1. Union rights and responsibilities
2. Strikes
3. Picketing
4. The Boycott
5. Monopolistic trends and practices
6. Rights and responsibilities of the employers
7. Rights of individual employees
8. Protection of neutrals
9. National emergencies[52]

Summary Recommendations

Our eclectic analysis, thus far, has revealed both the strong assets as well as the weaker joints of our labor policy. To re-iterate, the major footholds are our reliance on evolutionary labor legislation; faith in free enterprise and individual thinking. The apparent weak spots are the over-emphasis on government intervention; inconsistent labor laws; ill-defined statutes and legal interpretations and mutual hostility between both labor and management. We have also traced the gradual development of our labor legislation and examined the role of government therein. We are now in a position to think through the entire labor picture in an integrated perspective and point out towards some of the essential themes which may prove to be decisive in the future course of labor.

In the socio-economic framework of our society, the very idea of unlimited power is quite foreign.[53] Power, in our society, is a democratic institution, wielded for the betterment and the welfare of the people. Therefore, power is to be shared and not to be used autocratically. The concept of "industrial self-government"[54] rests on this division of power. In other words, then, as we said before,[55] our civilization is the product of **liberalism, social compromise** and **individualism.** Everything, and we repeat, everything must be examined on the yardstick of this triangular base. Our labor policy must, by necessity, be fully attuned to this concept. We know well that the present dimensions of our labor policy are not well-attuned to this framework, but there can be no denying of the fact that unless and until, our efforts to identify the future labor policies with this broad frame materialize, we will not be able to achieve the dignity, the stability and the glory of a peaceful industrial self-government. And, this can be achieved not by any single individual or a group but by all the interested parties. Labor, management and the Government face the joint responsibility at the present time. With the gradual secession of government from labor-area, the field would be left to labor and management who would be able to work out a smooth and stable solution of their problems. Of course, that solution would not be the finite one. It would be a dynamic one ready to adapt itself to necessary changes and fluctuations. But, at least, it would enable the labor leaders and the management executives to get an undistorted picture of the real labor dilemma and would bring both the groups nearer to the situation itself.

The future of our society, of our industrial success, of our free world, of our civilization and, indeed, of the entire mankind rests heavily on how well we succeed

51. See back p. 3.
52. Yodr, *Op. Cit.*, p. 400.
53. Weinfield, Abraham C., *Labor Treaties and Labor Compacts, Bloomington*: The Principia Press, Inc., 1937, p. 31.
54. *See back*, p. 3 and also Cf. footnote 2.
55. *See back*, p. 3 and also Cf. footnote 1.

in establishing in our own social frame a truly liberal and independent industrial self-government. The eyes of the world rest on our efforts today. We cannot dare to make a mistake lest the power-hungry communists might get the better of our position. Let both labor and management dedicate itself to the great cause of mutual faith and peace. Then, indeed, we will have a really effective and truly admirable labor policy.

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This article was prepared during the author's tenure as a Research Assistant in Management at New York University Graduate School of Business Administration in 1961-62.

The pronoun "our" in the study refers to the American situation.

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RURAL SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

INDIA is passing through the throes of transition from a predominantly agricultural economy to a predominantly non-agricultural (industrial) economy,—a transformation which goes by the general name of industrialisation. The central aim of planning in this country is two-fold: first to bring about a diversification of the national economy by promoting the growth of non-agricultural production, and secondly to make the changeover from a predominantly agricultural to a largely industrial economy as painless as possible, reduction of inequality in wealth and income being an important plan stipulation.

TRANSFER OF AGRICULTURAL SURPLUS

In this context past developments in other countries make an interesting study. Heretofore, in no country of the world has the transition from agriculture to industry been achieved without considerable suffering on the part of a very large number of people. The essence of industrialisation is the transfer of surplus from agriculture to industry or from established areas of settlement (villages) to new areas (cities and towns). The manner in which this transfer takes place and the way the agrarian population views this process have always been crucially important in all the countries and are bound to be more so in a planned economy. In the capitalist countries it assumed the character of ruthless exploitation and expropriation of large rural areas at home and abroad.[1] Almost inevitably there were peasant uprisings—in the United Kingdom, France and Germany. The process in essence was hardly different in the U.S.S.R. where industrialisation was sought to be planned; there, in addition to economic exploitation, the peasantry was meted out with political discrimination for a considerable period of time after the revolution of 1917.

HISTORICAL RURAL SETTING

In non-planned development, the plight of the rural population remained irrelevant to those who were promoting industrial development, until the peasant uprisings forced them to consider the issue. In the planned economy of the U.S.S.R. also—where the emphasis was almost exclusively on growth—objectively there was no difference in the short run. But in a country like India where in planning the objective of growth is tempered with concern for the well-being of the rural people, the attitude of the latter becomes truly important.

In meeting the challenge of industrialisation, the rural society in India has been placed in a peculiar historical setting which hardly encourages rapid development.[2] Having enjoyed relative immunity from outside influences for centuries, under the British rule the Indian economy was suddenly exposed to the impact of a foreign military, political and economic exploitation of a magnitude and duration which had not been witnessed before. The Indian indigenous industries were exposed to the competition of modern factory production without any moderating or

1. "It became clear to those who wished to reproduce capitalist relations of production in the new country (*i.e.*, America) that the foundation-stone of their endeavour must be the restriction of land-ownership to a minority and the exclusion of majority from any share in property."—Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, London, 1950, Pp. 221-222. See also Chapter Six.

2. The five experts on economics who were asked by the International Labour Office to report on Employment Objectives in Economic Planning, noted that in the underdeveloped countries an additional difficulty was there since "solutions must be found under conditions in many respects less favourable than those prevailed for the now advanced countries in the early phases of their development." (International Labour Office: *Employment Objectives in Economic Development: Report of a Meeting of Experts*, Geneva, 1961, p. 49.

balancing influences. The fact that initially for a long time, the competition had come from *foreign*, in contradistinction to *indigenous*, factory production made matters worse and the problem of economic regeneration infinitely more complex. The country was reduced to a state of pauperdom. There was a number of other contributing factors; taxation and land revenue policies and the official policy of suppression of Indian handicrafts. As the late Shri Romesh Chandra Dutt put it in his inimitable style, "Their (meaning the East India Company and the British Parliament—S.C.S.) fixed policy, pursued during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, was to make India subservient to the industries of Great Britain, and to make the Indian people grow raw produce only, in order to supply material for the looms and manufactures of Great Britain. This policy was pursued with unwavering resolution and with fatal success . . . ."[3] "Little was done to foster new industries after the crown assumed the administration in India in 1858; and the last decades of the century still found the Indian manufacturer and artisan in a state of poverty and decline."[4]

As if this were not enough, on top of all this, the initiative of the people to bring about any possible economic adjustment was deliberately kept in check by a policy which not only did not encourage the growth of non-agricultural production, but was opposed to the rationalisation of agricultural production itself. The utterly inefficient and outmoded land revenue system perpetuated by the British Government in the country and the feudal princes, who were propped up by the British regime over a third of the country, were a positive impediment to the economic development and democratic political growth.[5]

Parasitic Urban Growth

The resultant impact was far from happy. The forced suppression of rural growth barred the possibility of normal urban growth. The process of urbanisation was also very much distorted and divorced from the economic needs of the times. As has been observed in more than one Asian country fallen under western domination, there was a development of commerce in India unrelated to the productive needs of the economy. Towns in the early days of the British rule were centres of foreign trade serving the interests of a foreign bourgeoisie. The cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras—which were primarily centres of *mercantile* activity in contradistinction to *industrial* activity—grew at the expense not only of the villages—as may generally happen—but, worse enough, at the cost of the nation itself. In Western Europe, as Maurice Dobb has explained, the rise of the towns was prompted by primary internal economic and political developments. "In their early stage many, if not most, towns were themselves subordinated to the feudal authority . . . .", Mr. Dobb writes.[6] The principal towns of the British era in India, by contrast, were predominantly foreign settlements to serve foreign interests—military and commercial. They were the entrepots of British manufactures. The foreign trade,

3. Romesh Dutt : *The Economic History of India : Under Early British Rule,* London, 1950, p. viii.

4. Romesh Dutt : *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age,* London, 1959, p. 517.

5. Commenting on the problems of agrarian structure in underdeveloped countries, a U.N. report says : "Among the most important factors which affect rural living standards is the agrarian structure. This term is here used to mean the institutional frame-work of agricultural production. It includes, in the first place land tenure, the legal or customary system under which land is owned; the distribution of ownership of farm property between large estates and peasant farms or among peasant farms of various size; land tenancy, the system under which land is operated and its product divided between operation and owner; the organization of credit, production and marketing; the mechanism through which agriculture is financed; the burdens imposed on rural populations by governments in the form of taxation; and the services supplied by governments to rural populations, such as technical advice and educational facilities, health services, water supply, and communications." United Nations Department of Economic Affairs: "Problems of Agrarian Structure in Underdeveloped Countries" in Bernard Okun and Richard W. Richardson (Eds.), *Studies in Economic Development,* New York, 1961, Pp. 365-366.

6. Maurice Dobb : *Studies in the Development of Capitalism,* London, 1950, p. 71, See Chapter two.

which was the source of the wealth of the cities, was patently denuding the country of its wealth, enriching foreigners—primarily the British.[7]

The commercial origin of the cities in India gave rise to a peculiar urbanrural relationship in which the growth of the cities proceeded inversely with the development of the villages. The basic skill, equipment and material needed for a city had all to be imported. The development of cities did not lead to any considerable expansion in non-agricultural employment in or outside the cities. In one vital respect—supply of food—cities were dependent on the villages; but the adverse terms of exchange between cities and villages reversed the relationship and the urban dependence on villages soon appeared as urban patronage to the villages.

Capital Formation in Rural Society

This led to a marked contrast, if not actual cleavage, between the interests of the cities and villages—the former growing richer and the latter poorer. The persistence of feudalism and the zamindari system, in its turn, created a great inequality of wealth in the rural areas—pauperism for many and concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. This unequal distribution of wealth and income had not led to the degree of capital formation, as would be expected under a comparable situation in a post-feudal society, primarily because most of the income of the richer section of the rural community was dissipated in luxurious living within the country and abroad.[8]

The forced postponement of much-needed economic reforms had resulted in another social calamity, the caste system with its social inflexibilities was perpetuated. In the traditional pattern of land tenure and the general economic order within the villages—where a growing population on a more or less fixed area of land was forcing an increasingly larger number of people into full or partial unemployment and (for an infinitesimal few) wage employment in or outside the villages—there was no room for social reforms which needed a different economic base. Significantly, the cities which had a different pattern of economic organisation had of necessity had to switch over to a different pattern of social organization which was more liberal and accorded more dignity to the individual than that in the villages.

Education Made Irrelevant

The petrification of the worn-out economic and social structure in the villages encouraged and perpetuated illiteracy by making education irrelevant to the main current of life; an educated person was a misfit in a caste-ridden rural society pursuing traditional low-technique agriculture and generally had to migrate to the urban areas to derive sustenance for his way of life which was almost inevitably different from the ways of the illiterate village multitude. In an exploitative authoritarianism—that was the British raj in India, first under the East India Company and then under the British Government-in-Parliament—there was no demand for a literate (far less an educated) citizenry. It required—to parphrase he words of Lieutenant-Governor Campbell of Bengal—some clerks trained in English to man lower positions in trade and government both of which were dominated over by the Europeans. The few educated Indians were conveniently accommodated in the newly set up trading and administrative centres. The expansion of British administration and the consequent growth in the number of English educated Indians generated the need for broadening the scope for education for a larger number of people; but the process was slow and suffered from the lack of both direction and the drive of purpose. The number of educated persons does not—despite the intensive drive of a decade for promotion the

7. "The external trade is carried on by foreign merchants with foreign capital. The profits of the trade come to Europe and do not remain in India. The earnings of the foreign trade are not the earnings of the people . . . . . 1881-1882"—Romesh Chandra Dutt: *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, London, 1950, p. 536.

8. "The dominant classes in backward economies—landlords, traders, moneylenders, priests, soldiers, princes—do not normally think in terms of investing capital productively," writes Prof. W. Arthur Lewis. See his article "Economic Development With Unlimited Supplies of Labour," *The Manchester School*, May, 1954, reproduced in A. N. Agarwala and S. P. Singh (eds.). The *Economics of Underdevelopment*, Bombay, 1958, p. 420.

like of which had never been evidenced before—even now very much exceed the demand of the cities, so that the countryside still suffers from want of suitable teachers, doctors, nurses and administrators of panchayats and co-operatives.

Inequality-Generating Social Structures

The survival of the anachronistic social structure in the rural areas has not only accentuated the existing differences in the status of the villages and cities but has also intensified the inequalities within the village society which has led to a noticeable cleavage between the poverty-stricken majority and the rich few. The growth in the number of landless agricultural labour households coupled with an actual *fall* in their absolute earnings is symptomatic of the growing pauperization and polarization of wealth in village society. In the absence of any reliable statistics on land-holdings and tenurial status, it is not possible to lay bare a precise picture of the situation. The data yielded by the National Sample Survey Report on landholdings are, however, quite revealing. More than one-fifth (23.90 per cent or 15 million) of rural households do not own any land, while about one-fourth of rural households possess the ownership of only a small parcel of less than one acre of land. Almost half the total rural households thus owns either no land or only less than an acre each (while five acres of land are regarded to be the minimum holding to sustain a family). The aggregate share in land-holding of these 50 per cent of rural families comes to 1.37 per cent of the total land owned by rural households. Contrasted to this, only 12.8 per cent (or about one-eighth) of the rural households possess more than 10 acres of land each, accounting for about two-thirds of the whole area, the topmost one per cent households accounting for 17.5 per cent of the total area (owning more than fifty acres each). Various measures for land reform adopted during the past few years may have modified the picture of land ownership here and there a little, but there has been no basic changes. The Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry disclosed that "the landless agricultural labour households in 1956-57 accounted for 57 per cent of all agricultural labour households as against 50 per cent in 1950-51", and that the proportion of landless households as also attached labour households "was slightly *higher* in Community Project Areas than in non-community project areas".[9] A Study Group appointed by the Government of India has estimated that "about 45.50 per cent of the rural households have an annual income of less than Rs. 500/- per annum, about eighty per cent less than Rs. 1,000 per annum".[10] This is far lower than the miserably low average *per capita* income which stood at Rs. 292.5 in 1960-61, (or about Rs. 1,287 per average household of 4.4).

Character of Recent Economic Development

The thwarted process of economic development strictly limited the choice of economic planners in India. To stay where she was, India had to accelerate the pace of development which of necessity therefore gained a priority. In the short run, the acceleration depended on the adoption of the most modern (capital intensive) method of development. To lay the foundation of a sound basis for future growth also required the immediate setting up of steel plants and other heavy industry units. The share of capital and other producers' goods industries has been more than three-quarters of the total investment in industrial development even in the First Five-Year Plan. Investment in the Second Plan period amounted to as much as Rs. 870 crores in the public sector or 56 per cent of the total investment in organized industry, public and private, most of the public sector industries being of a heavy or basic type.[11]

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9. *Agricultural Labour In India: Report of the Second Enquiry,* (labour Bureau, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India), New Delhi, 1960, Vol. 1, *All India,* pp. 57, 61.

10. *Report of the Study-Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community,* (Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Government of India), New Delhi, 1961, Vol. I, Para-2-8.

11. *Third Five-Year Plan*: Planning Commission, (Government of India), New Delhi, 1961, p. 40. Total public sector outlay on industries and minerals amounted to Rs. 974 crores over the decade 1951-61.

The character of economic development also creates its own problems.

Impact of Plan Programmes

The impact of the execution of several programmes under the two Five-Year Plans, although they undoubtedly benefited specific areas, has not, again, made for much difference in the situation in general. The fourth evaluation report of the Programme Evaluation Organisation (PEO) of the Planning Commission, 1957, stated that there was no scope for optimism as regards the benefits of the programme for the economically handicapped classes and the extent of bridging of the distance between better-off and the worn-off sections of rural society. "There is wide disparity in the distribution of achievements and therefore, of the benefits of the programme. Within a village it exists as between cultivators and non-cultivators, and within the cultivating classes it exists as between cultivators of bigger holdings and larger financial resources and those of smaller holdings and less financial resources", the report said and viewed the situation as one of "serious concern not only in terms of social justice but also in terms of political consequences that may ensue in the context of the increasing awakening among the people. . . . ." In its fifth report, the P.E.O. mentioned that while undoubtedly the Harijans and the backward classes had benefited along with others from the construction of village roads, the digging of drinking water wells and the setting up of village schools, the main emphasis of the programme was on cultivation and "inasmuch as Harijans and the backward classes are either landless labourers or rely upon other occupations they have not participated in the benefits of the programme." The Punjab State Evaluation Committee on the working of the Community Development Programmes in that State observed in 1960: "The poor and backward sections of the community had not accepted the programme as their own, as their problems had not been given priority and adequate attention. The economic and social conditions of Harijans and other backward sections of our society in the majority of villages had not shown any improvement. . . . ."

Size of the Rural Problem

Summing up the situation, the Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community finds that on the basis of a "means test" formula that families whose income is less than, say Rs. 1,000 a year would cover cases of chronic economic backwardness. On this basis about eighty per cent of the rural population has to be placed in the category of weaker sections.[12] According to the latest (1961) Census, more than 82 per cent of the population of the country live in villages; if out of them 80 per cent fall in the category of weaker sections having an annual family income of less than Rs. 1,000 that underlines the magnitude of the rural problem from the purely economic point of view.

Economic Implications

Such a situation has got profound economic and political implications. The penury of such an overwhelming majority of the people sets a severe limitation to the progress in planning and higher production by creating a problem of market. The concentration of purchasing power in fewer hands is antithetical to the expansion of production which holds the key to the future prosperity of the country. The dilemma inherent in such a situation was brought to the fore last year by the emergence of huge stocks of unsold sugar—although the total production was less than three million tons, or about 3 lbs. *per capita* per week. The *per capita* availability (even assuming that the entire production is consumed which is *not* the case) fell far short of the nutritional requirement; yet the country's economy was unable to sustain even the very inadequate production of sugar. The same holds good for cloth and many other commodities which fall in the category of "necessities". With such a weak market, how can the economy grow and expand?

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12. *Report of the Study-Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community*, New Delhi, 1961, Vol. I, Paras 2-24 and 2-8.

Political Implications

The political implications follow the economic ones. People can hardly be expected to feel contented at such a miserable standard of living where means are within reach to bring about an improvement. The discontent of a vast mass of people in the villages and cities cannot but have a profound impact on the state of political stability in the country. In Europe in the nineteenth century and in Asia in the twentieth century agrarian unrest spearheaded many a political movement heralding revolutionary changes in the political, social and economic structure of those countries.

Reasons for Rural Backwardness

Analyzing the factors that have gone into the current misery of the village population, an official Study-Group headed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has mentioned the following as accentuating the problem: *social*: illiteracy, lack of education and initiative, poor health, expensive social customs; lack of family planning; traditional social barriers and caste inhibitions; and general lack of a sense of human dignity; *economic* lack of secure and continuous employment; exploitation by big land-owners as well as money-lenders; uneconomic holdings and low return on agriculture; low wages for the landless labourer; lack of opportunity and facilities for the development of agro-industries and other industries; low productivity of traditional crafts and obsolete tools; and the nature of the terrain occupied by the people, the way of life of the people, the difficulty for various development plans to reach them because of lack of means communication, education, etc.; *ideological*: a cult of idleness resulting from a misunderstanding of the philosophy of non-attachment to worldly goods; fatalistic belief that their lot cannot be improved—consequently no ambition to earn or to grow economically better; and refusal to profit fully from modern science and technology.[13]

The Remedy

The list above has been reproduced exactly in the order in which it has been given in the report of the Study-Group. There may obviously be differences of opinion as to the aspect—social, economic or ideological—which should get priority. The present writer would have economic aspects attended to first. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that the Study-Group has undoubtedly listed the problems in a fairly comprehensive manner. If rural society is to be raised from its present boredom and misery, effective measures will have to be taken on all the three fronts—social, economic and ideological. The Study-Group has rightly stressed the primacy of the adoption of economic measures. Full employment, housing and drinking water; education; health, protection from economic exploitation; freedom from social and cultural disabilities; and reform and prevention of wasteful and ruinous habits and customs are mentioned as the immediate requirements to assure a minimum level of well-being to the weaker sections of the village community. There can be hardly any disagreement with the suggested measures. A number of steps has already been taken by the Government directly and indirectly to remedy the situation; but the relative paucity of resources *vis-a-vis* the gigantic proportion of the problem has strictly defined the area of progress.

Rural Industrialisation

In this connection, the Study-Group notes, "rural industrialisation is the supreme requirement both for lifting the rural economy from the morass it has fallen into as also for raising the standard of living of the economically and socially weak." Rural industrialisation is to be rated "higher than agriculture because, though agricultural development is necessary for industrial growth, there is a limit to its growth and to the pace of it."[14]

In other words, the only hope before the villages lies in their own transformation from a predominantly agricultural economy into a more diversified type of economy where non-agricultural (industrial) production would have a very

13. *Report of the Study-Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community*, cited, Para 2-22.

14. *Report of the Study-Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community*, p. 61, paragraph 7 of the "Summary of Main Conclusions and recommendations."

significant role. Rural industrialisation in essence is industrial decentralisation—the extension of the methods of modern, scientific and industrial production to the rural areas. This would call for the survey of resources and potentialities of different regions of the country. Rural industrialisation would also mean production on a scale bigger than is done in traditional village industries but smaller than in contemporary factory production in urban areas where companies are vying with one another in setting up bigger units which are generally more capital-intensive and labour-sparing. On the other hand, the dispersal of modern industrial production to areas away from established urban centres would not be successful without the understanding co-operation and participation by the village masses.[15] Without this contribution from the village community, a programme of rural industrialisation may not become even feasible.[16]

How far is the rural community capable of, or in readiness to offer such co-operation? How again can such capability or readiness be obtained where it does not exist? These and other related questions cannot be answered without a thorough study of contemporary rural sociology in India. A proper understanding of the subject-matter is rendered more difficult by the infinite variety of economic, social and cultural organisations obtaining in different parts of India and—this is very often overlooked—by the uneven progress of economic development (industrialisation) in different regions which accentuates existing differences and creates new ones. The volume[17] edited by Prof. A. R. Desai, provides, besides an instructive introduction by the editor, a number of valuable contributions on different aspects of rural sociology in India by eminent Indian and American writers which would enable the reader to grasp the complexity and diversity of rural life in India. The absence of an index and the rather slipshod manner in which the bibliography and the source references are given are not in keeping with the wealth of subject-matter presented in the book or the reputation of the publishers who represent an association of scholars and academicians.

15. Even industries run along capitalist lines require the co-operation of the village people. As Mr. Nels Anderson has pithily remarked, "the sugar factory could not exist if the farmers in the vicinity did not continue growing the sugar-producing crops". See his *The Urban Community: A World Perspective*, London, 1959, p. 98.

16. Following the submission of the report of the Study-Group, the Planning Commission has set up a Special Committee—the Rural Industries Planning Committee—to examine the implications of the proposal for setting up a Rural Industrialisation Commission.

17. A. R. Desai (Ed.) *Rural Sociology in India*, (The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics), Bombay, 1961, pp. 730, Rs. 25|-.

DIMENSIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

By Dr. DONALD L. BARNES,

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Men through the centuries have sought to establish societal relationships that were constructive, effective and mutually satisfying. In general, these attempts have fostered increased freedom for the individual. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries individuals were granted protection against arbitrary seizure of person and property. They were also granted trial by jury and governmental assistance against force and fraud. The nineteenth century witnessed the extension of voting rights, and governmental offices were opened to candidates of varying status. Finally, in a more positive form, privileges of opportunity are being extended in the form of educational, recreational and cultural opportunities as well as protection against economic insecurity, sickness and squalor. These victories have not been easily won, for there are streaks of anarchy and despotism as well as tolerance and altruism in all of us. In the larger society this struggle among conflicting motivations is much broader and more complicated.

Individual freedom is not simply a legal sanction—it is an ideal and a goal towards which men struggle. Freedom may take many forms. There is political liberty, economic liberty, religious liberty, artistic liberty and many others. These freedoms are rooted in living society and are guaranteed by democracy. In order to function effectively, free societies must help individuals within the society to learn to balance and judge the conflicting freedoms which will inevitably confront them. An individual must be able to balance his own freedoms against his own sense of justice, order and social responsibility. At best these are difficult and complicated decisions. India's recent national elections served to give thousands of citizens this opportunity to make judgments.

It comes as a shock to many of us when we discover that we cannot truly define democracy. It is a philosophy as well as a process. Democracy affirms a faith in the judgment of the common man. Its approach is individual rather than institutional, and it embodies a number of implicit assumptions. It assumes that citizens can and should be treated upon a fraternal rather than a differential basis (monothesim serves as an important base for this assumption). Democracy also rests upon the assumption that man is perfectible (recent psychological studies have affirmed the plasticity of human nature). Democracy also assumes that progress is essentially a mass rather than an individual effort. Confidence is expressed in the ideal of common consent and appears in institutional forms, understandings and practices. Citizens within democracies expect opportunities for public opinion to develop and be translated into action. Democracy serves as a guard against impatience on both the right and the left.

Unfortunately, democracy cannot grow in any kind of soil. An examination of history suggests that this form if societal association flourishes where there is a reasonably high level of educational attainment and an absence of extremes in wealth. A general condition of world stability also appears to be important to the growth of democracy. Perhaps new nations will prove these historical judgments to be incorrect. Many different kinds of political units, economic systems and administrative or managerial arrangements may be subsumed under democracy. It is misleading and dangerous to suggest that only particular economic systems or managerial arrangements can qualify as democratic.

There are, however, a number of elements which seem to be universally present in democratic forms of association. (1) There is a sensitivity to individual differences and personal growth. In contrast to closed social systems, democracy attempts to avoid any stigma attached

to position or birth. (2) Equality before the law is crucial. Cases are tried on their own merits without regard to the individual's wealth or social position. (3) Equality of vote seems equally important. Votes carry equal weight, and qualifications for office may not be directed against particular individuals or groups. (4) Equality of opportunity, likewise, seems to serve as a distinguishing characteristic of democracies. Citizens may choose their occupations and live where they wish to live—subject, of course, to that which is considered important to the common good.

Serious questions have been raised regarding the efficiency of decision-making within democratic associations. Critics need only observe the functioning of democracies under war-time conditions to realize that a democracy may act as decisively as the emergency and the temper of the people demand. Civic cohesion may be extermely strong during periods of crisis and relaxed during periods of calm. Democracy, like any form of government, will dissolve if the differences in social groups become too political and industrial systems under a democratic form of government are readily adaptable to change.

Democracy is dynamic. It requires a continuous re-examination of underlying principles and goals and an equally painstaking examination of the ways and means of putting these principles into practice. Special attention is usually given to minority group rights. Means are most frequently thought to be embedded in the ends, and dialectical elements in human relationships assume importance. The greatest guarantee a democracy may boast is the social sensitivity and awareness of its citizens. Not infrequently, the citizens must look to a few hundred of their number who serve as guiding prophets and spokesmen—men of great stature who are particularly sensitive to the purposes and goals of the nation.

John Dewey and others have discussed the important relationship which exists between democracy and education. Certainly the interdependence is vital! If children are to become effective members of the democratic community their educational programs must reflect this concern. Dewey suggested that children should learn to use problem-solving techniques and also manifest a genuine concern for service to mankind. The child must also understand the basic principles upon which democratic affiliation rests. Only a sincere and deep commitment to the democratic way of life will sustain a society during periods of trial. Voices of impatience will dominate otherwise!

As a part of the problem-solving process children must be taught to establish criteria, weigh alternatives, secure information relative to the problem and reach group decisions amicably. They must learn how to resolve differences and abide by the outcome of group decisions. Individuals and groups alike have achieved a gigantic step when they learn to subordinate their personal wishes to the will of the majority without recrimination. There is no short-cut to democratic living. Children must learn democracy by practising it in their daily lives.

RABINDRANATH—AS I HAVE UNDERSTOOD HIM

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Rabindranath is a 'world-poet'! He is no doubt one in the true sense of the term. His place in the world of poets is unquestionably very high. It can be said to be almost incomparable. But to call him simply a poet—even a great poet—is not enough to do full justice to his all-round creative genius. In poetry, it finds but a partial though very high, expression. To understand him fully, one has to study, with an unbiased mind, all that he has said and done for humanity at large—all that through which his creative genius has found expression and was occasionally, even in his last failing health, finding remarkable outlet. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of his invaluable creations within the small space of an essay like the present one. It is doubtful if any big volume would be sufficient for the purpose. A writer who would undertake the work must have adequate time and abilities, particularly proper intellectual sympathy and artistic insight. It may be confidently hoped that the future will give us a critic of the sort. But the time for such bold undertaking has not, perhaps, arrived yet. For his productive spirit was at work even to the last days of his brilliant life. No one could say during his life-time when the course of his creations would come to stop. Who could imagine, even at the time of celebration of his seventieth year of birth, the new and unique line of expression his creative genius would take in the field of paintings of an original type which has struck the world of artists and been so widely admired and appreciated as marvellous in the present day ? Age and ill-health might have affected his body, as it had done during the past few years. But his brain was found to be still fresh and vigorous, as was evident from his last writings, both in prose and verse. He rather falsified the usual physiological assertions about what they call 'senility.' Thus it was no mere surprise to hope that, if he recovered from his last illness, regaining his precious health, and his life was spared for a longer time, his genius might have found an outlet in a new line and would have expressed itself surprisingly in a new field of creation. It was not possible to form an idea of what might have come, and it is useless now to try to guess what new mode of expression, if any, it might have taken. However, it is not my purpose to offer here any surmise of future possibilities. My object in this piece of writing is simply to give an idea of the fundamental basis, or of the remarkable character of his all-round creative genius as I have understood it. I may be mistaken in my impression or my statements may be defective or inadequate. But there is, I do hope, an excuse for the hazard. For who can comprehend adequately and fully the working mode of a creative mind ?

Most of the extraordinary powers of mind with which our Rabindranath was endowed from birth and the varied fields in which these powers have found expression, there is evident a marvellous freedom of thought and feeling from the usual traditional ideas and sentiments. There is no inhibition on the free flow of his mind imposed by old and effete ideas and age-old prejudices His genius is characterised by a wonderful power of avoiding or getting over all such influences whenever they had crossed his path. The path on which his mind has worked is not of the ordinary kind. It runs on a far higher and purer level. There is no narrowness in the flow or any trace of the influence of customary ideas or tendencies of thought and practice in what he has offered to humanity as its best. We note a marked freshness—a unique novelty—in all that he has undertaken to say or do. There is always a remarkable appearance of new creation in them.

In the history of human culture, we find that those who have left marks of new creation whether in the fields of literature or art or religion, science and philosophy, social and political reform or movements, this freedom of thought and action is a fundamental character there. Hence, they are called **'Super-men'**. They strike out new paths and initiate new ways of life wherever they have found the need or use of the old

order of things was over. They never look to the immediate success of their endeavours. For, they have a rare insight into the truth—the truth that has worked out in human history with ever new aspects. Their vision is wide-open to the distant, but emerging, future and is not confined to the narrow and elapsing present. The eye with which they look at the changing course of events is not the common and usual one of regarding and yielding to them. The truth that underlying the present awaits expression can be apprehended properly only by their deeper insight. It is for this reason that the way in which they apprehend the truth and the language through which they express their knowledge remains for a time incomprehensible to the mind of common people or men of ordinary intellect. Endowed with this vision they want to destroy the old, not for the sake of destruction alone, but to build a new superstructure in its place as demanded by the spirit of the time. We, however, lacking this vision, regard this destructive work of theirs with exclusive attention, and giving undue importance to it fail to realise the purpose underlying the work. And hence we collectively try to oppose such measure and harass those who initiate it or adopt the unfamiliar path-way of thought and action. But try as much as we might, we ultimately fail to obstruct the propagation and fulfilment of the needed aims. It is curiously a fact, found to be ever repeated in the history of man's progress in culture, that the very descendants of the obstructors and thoughtless persecutors come later on to regard the initiators of the new with high honour and commemorate their work with reverent appreciation. To understand our Rabindranath aright this law of progress of humanity, as characterised by recurrent replacement of the old by the new, has to be realised properly and used intelligently by his critics. We honour the leaders of old and are apt to glibly quote their authority in justification of what we blindly adhere to in our thought and practice. But we forget to note that these old leaders themselves had in their own times to go against their own 'old' and to start a new in its place. To call the old as our **Sanatan dharma** would thus be a misnomer, if by 'Sanatana' we mean, as we are apt to do here, something that is eternal in the sense of immutable **(Achalayatan)**.

We find that the writings and activities of our Rabindranath have been regarded in various ways and with different attitudes of mind by his outside critics. Their opinions are not all quite appreciative in spirit or in tone of expression. These criticisms touched his heart deeply, not because they were **personal**, but because they proceeded mostly from misunderstanding of the real intent and purpose with which he spoke or acted. We fail to realise from what high and open level of thought and insight, free from the influence of all old and traditional ideas, he expressed himself in what he said or did. We are apt to judge him by our usual standard accepted uncritically as the only right one. Hardly do we care to think that this 'sacred' standard of ours had its own origin someday, near or distant, when the need of its introduction or adoption was felt keenly by some great man or men of the past, who, like our Rabindranath, truly realised the futility, if not positive perversity, of the old ways of popular valuation. No traditions as such carried, as I have stated above, any exclusive authority with him. His path is different here, as he stands high on the lofty level of freedom of mind and spirit. To him all blind and senseless obedience to the mere traditional and customary is the real bondage of the human soul. This has been charcteristically evident from his early age, as we find in his 'Jivana-Smriti'. That he expresses himself so fearlessly and with such force is due to this unique freedom of spirit. The peculiar character of his teachings and their wide application in his life-work finds its explanation here. The limitations of time and place or of personalities for the matter of that, had for this reason no blind or biased consideration in his wider and larger view of things. For he found, with a true and deep insight, that all discords and dissensions have their source in the narrower and partial outlook of man. He looks on real humanity as above all such limitations in its true and pure nature.

Hence, we find in his writings and messages a characteristic note of harmony touched with a deeper sense of unity. He regards humanity, with all his heart and soul, from that high standpoint where the real spirit of man works in its true and universal aspect. There is no essential difference between man and man at that high level, and hence no discord. He feels deeply and sorely wherever he finds man fighting with man for their narrow and selfish interests. This agony of his heart has, as we note, found pointed expression in various ways in his writings and speeches. There had been, and was coming up from time to time, occasional complaints from our political leaders that Rabindranath had no sympathy with the national aspirations and movements of the day in this country. This might have appeared as an enigma to many. But to those who have tried to understand the real bent of his mind and spirit will realise why he could not throw himself heart and soul into the current ways of political movements. To call him unpatriotic on this account would be a sheer misunderstanding Politics have a lower and higher level of standpoint—they have their universal and partial aspects. The level of insight from which he looked at the current events of the day with no regard for their future results and wider outlooks could, of course, evoke no response from his mind. But for this reason it would be far from the truth to assert that he took no sympathetic interest in them. He has, on the contrary, a deeper and wider interest in them. But his interests were not centered in any affairs of temporary value or in any movements which aimed simply at the attainment of an exclusive nationalism of the type that prevails in the West in an aggressive form, the disastrous results of which we are finding today in the bewildering affairs of the whole continent of Europe as also of the Far East and the adjoining countries involved in them. His politics are far above any such low and narrow level. Here also his vision reaches out to that which is truly of universal and permanent value for humanity at large. Any measures, social or political, which look only to the immediate results of exclusive (and so dubious) value for any nation or nations could not, therefore, find a responsive appeal in his mind. For, he stands at a height where reigns no such exclusiveness generating discard and disaster. His politics are neither national, nor even international (in its usual sense), but truly **humanistic.** He was not unsympathetic at heart; rather deeply sympathetic by nature. But his sympathies were broader and universal, as we find it pointedly expressed in many of his writings on the subject. He was not without a true love for the motherland. But this love issues from a deeper level of his thought and feeling, and is the outcome of an insight into the spirit of humanity and its onward course of progress. Here lies the explanation of the unique attitude he adopted at times towards the current political movements of his day in the country—an attitude which appeared to many as a riddle.

This is how I have understood the real basis or core of the great personality of our Rabindranath and the distinctive character it bears which has found wonderful expression in so many unique ways in his life and activities. What I have written above might appear to be rather apologetic in tone. But that was not my purpose here. I have simply attempted to state humbly the impressions that I have gathered through the years from his writings and by personal contact. A great genius like him needs no apologists. He is above them. His writings and works bear in themselves ample witness to the unique character of his mind and spirit. Of the works, again, that which bears the distinctive mark of his creative spirit is the Visva-Bharati—the well-known Institute at Shantiniketan (Bengal) founded as a common Intellectual Home inviting the world of savants to come and meet there for the mutual interchange of learning and culture and thereby to advance the cause of humanity towards a universal goal of cordial spirituality. It stands and will stand as a real monument to the high creative spirit which activated the great man in this noble work. Let us appreciate this unique undertaking in the manner it deserves and help it on to realise further the ideal which underlies it.

ENGLISH LEGENDS AND MYTHS

By P. S. SHARMA

There is a wealth of interest in myths, legends and traditions of lands the world over. They have been handed down the ages since countless generations and are a storehouse of immense cultural significance—the modern variant of cheap fiction being an entirely inadequate substitute. Sophisticated people in India have been in the habit of decrying Indian myths and traditions as fantastic; they should not be jolted to know that England, the land they are never tired of eulogising, has its own amazing and fascinating myths no less startling and fantastic than their Indian counterparts.

The mythological lore lends itself to an endless variety encompassing within its orbit fairies, brownies, stones and trees bringing out in some cases their retributive aspects, divine or diabolical.

Fairies and Elves

Among the most colourful of mythological personages have been the fairies. Shakespeare has given a most delightful account of fairies in his "Midsummer Night's Dream." Charles Lamb spoke of him, "Shakespeare invented the fairies" —indeed, he said, he created a varitable monarchical realm of fairies with King Oberon, Queen Titania and the ever-merry Puck.

The diminutive stature of the fairies is well-illustrated by Mercutio when he says :

"She is the fairie Midwife and she comes
In shape no bigger than an agate stone
On the forefinge of an alderman."

A certain Laird O' Co had obliged a little elf by giving him ale for his sick mother. Laird O' Co was subsequently taken prisoner in war and sentenced to death. A day before he was due to be hanged, his dungeon door suddenly opened and an elf spoke :

"Laird O' Co
Rise and go."

Elves are also credited with the gigt of doing work for human beings, especially for farmers. They seem to dislike gifts of cloth, although they may readily accept them. One such brownie or pisky used to thrash the corn of a farmer. The farmer, watching the pisky, found that he was wearing tattered clothes. Thereupon, he placed some very fine clothes there and watched for reaction through a chink in the barn. The pisky was delighted to wear them but disappeared with the words :

"Pisky fine and pisky gay
Pisky will now fly away."

The Yorkshire Boggart

The most humorous tale of a brownie is associated with Yorkshire. The brownie was known as boggart and infested a farmhouse. Invisible, he was a tremendous nuisance. Finding no other alternative, the farmer started shifting to another house. A neighbour accosted him. "So you are flitting at last?" "Ay," said the farmer, "that boggart is such a torment we cannot rest night and day, so we are forced to flit." Instantly was heard the boggart's voice from out of a churn in goods on the wagon. "Ay, Ay," said he, "we are flitting!" "Nay," said the farmer, "if you are flitting with us, we w'll flit back again."

Stones and Trees

The great megalithic monument of England, Stonehenge, was formerly known to the Giants' Dance. It is related that King Emrys of Britain wanted to bring Stonehenge from Ireland to Salisbury Plain for commemorating his victory over the Saxons. He attached Ireland, was met

with stout resistance but came out victorious. But when he found it impossible to carry such a multitude of huge stones, enchanter Merlin performed the amazing feat by dint of sorcery.

There is an interesting legend about the Fonbay Stone Sack in Lincolnshire. The Lord riding the ass came across a man with a sack of corn and asked him to give some of it to the ass. The man replied, "I have no corn: this is a stone." "Then," said the Lord, "stone shall it be." And it became stone.

The famous Lone Tree at Dover has tragic associations. A soldier garrisoned at Dover slew his comrade with a staff and in an impulse stuck that staff with the words, "My crime will never be discovered until that dry staff takes root." After a lapse of many years, that soldier was again stationed at Dover. Out of morbid curiosity, he went to the place of assasination and was horrified to see his staff had taken root and was now a flourishing tree. He confessed his crime and was sent to the gallows.

A most famous example is the legend of Sir Taunhauser, a historical personage. The knight had gone for the crusades and there accidentally entered a cavern beneath the Horselberg. There he remained in "sinful delight" with Venus, the heathen goddess of love, for full one year. He felt penitent on hearing the church bells and escaped from the place with the help of the virgin. The Pope was horror-struck at his confession and planting his dry staff spoke, "Sooner shall this dry staff of mine bud and blossom again, than that God should forgive thee."

Three days later the staff budded but despite Pope's frantic efforts, Sir Taunhauser was nowhere to be found.

Curious Tradition and Prophecies

Sir William de Tracy, reputed to have murdered St. Thomas Becket, wanted to go to Jerusalem for penance but was always driven back by the winds. Hence the saying :

The Tracys
Have always the wind in their faces.

A man dreamt that a dragon gave him a fatal bite. The next day the dragon was actually to be hunted so he stayed away in bed. In the evening he went to see the dead body of the dragon and gave it a careless kick. One of the dragon's teeth penetrated his foot and the man died of poisoning.

There is a quaint legend about a goblin bull who was a terror in its neighbourhood. The local parson exorcised the monster, the bull grew smaller and smaller until it entered the church. At this stage the candle burnt out and the last sentences of the services could not be read. As a result, the monster began to grow till it burst the walls of the church.

A tale about St. Lawrence centres round the theme that it is unlucky to disclose your name to a stranger.

The saint was building a cathedral at Lund and was being helped by a troll who wanted the saint's eyes as a reward unless he could disclose his real name. When the church was near completion, the saint overheard the troll's wife soothing her children by saying that their father Finn would bring gifts. When the troll demanded his reward, the saint called him—Finn! and the troll turned into a stone.

Taunt and Folly

Some people acquire a reputation to be traditionally foolish such as the men of Gotham in Nottinghamshire. The men of Gotham checked King John when he wanted to pass through certain fields. The King sent soldiers for punishment. The "wise men of Gotham" thought that the only way out was to pretend madness. So they went on indulging in the pranks of drowning an eel in a pail of water, dragging wagons with position beside a wood to shade the tree from the sum, and wanting to secure a permanent spring by encircling a cuckoo.

The parallels of Gotham are to be found elsewhere also and there is a remarkably intelligent story about Tarascon. It is said that when God had peopled the earth with the sons of Adam he took a bag of fools and started distributing them here and there. When he arrived at Tarascon, the bag burst.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND LIBERATION OF GOA, DAMAN & DIU

By PANNALAL DHAR, M.A., I.P.S.

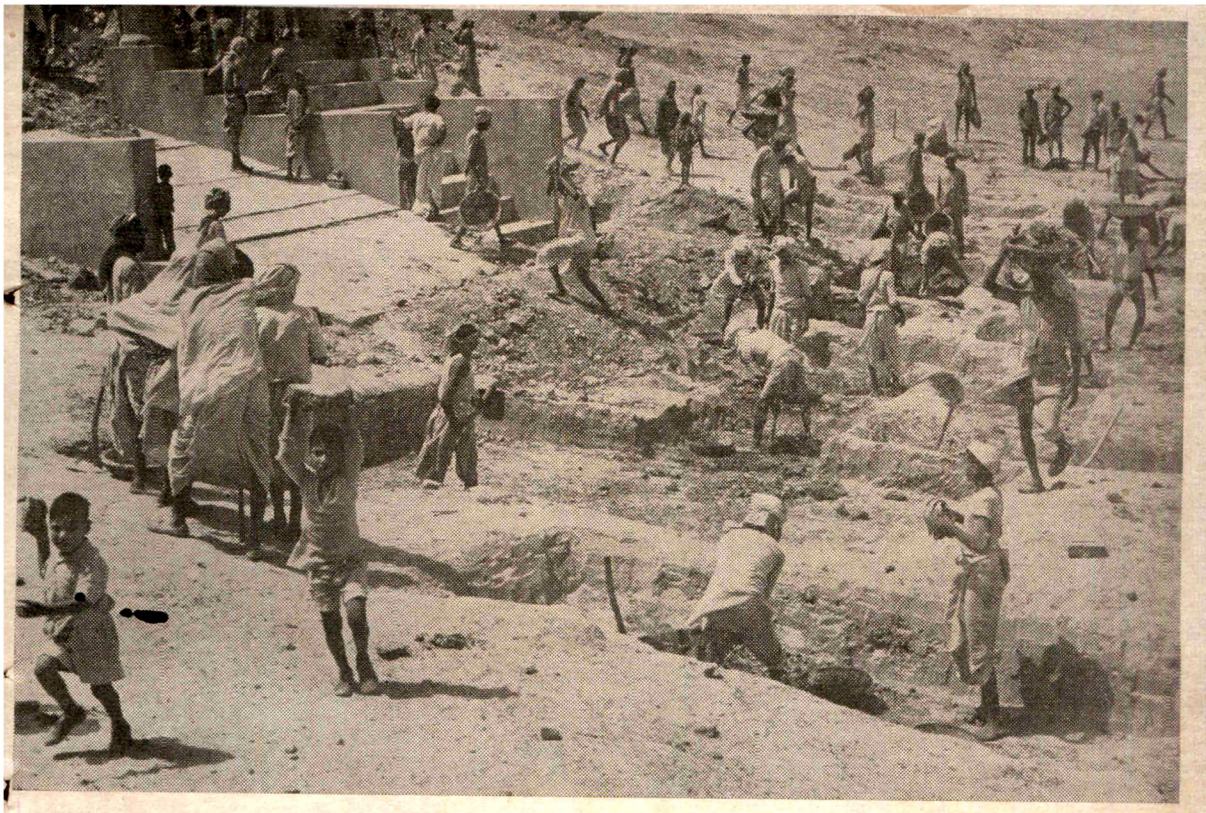
After attainment of Independence, India wanted to have for a few years as little in the way of foreign policy as possible. Her aloofness from power politics was quite distinctive. India would neither join the Western Camp in condemning Communist Russia and China, nor would she join the other group in condemning Englnad and America. On the one hand she kept friendliest possible relation with England who was her master till 1947 and continued to stay within the Commonwealth of Nations, and on the other hand, she vehemently refused to join in any international crusade against communism. India's aloofness from power politics was not only due to her belief that no country had any right to interfere in the domestic affairs of another country, but because she was extremely preoccupied in setting her own house in order—both politically as well as economically. The domestic problems were more pressing and needed immediate solution.

Till the winter of 1951, India hibernated in the doldrums of international politics. In that year, however, India was confronted with a new problem in that China invaded Tibet and established suzerainty over there. For 40 years or so, Tibet had enjoyed autonomy without China and this was recognised by Great Britain inasmuch as autonomous Tibet like autonomous Bhutan and independent Nepal served as buffer states between India and other foreign states. Loss of autonomy by Tibet actually meant lengthening of the frontier with Communist China, and India could not but take note of this important change in geography. The British policy of maintaining friendliest relations with them could not but be accepted by new India as well, and so increasing diplomatic activities on the part of India with Nepal and Bhutan were seen after 1951. India had to deal with New China's invasion of Tibet with extreme caution but at the same time entertained a fond belief that Communist China had no territorial designs against India.

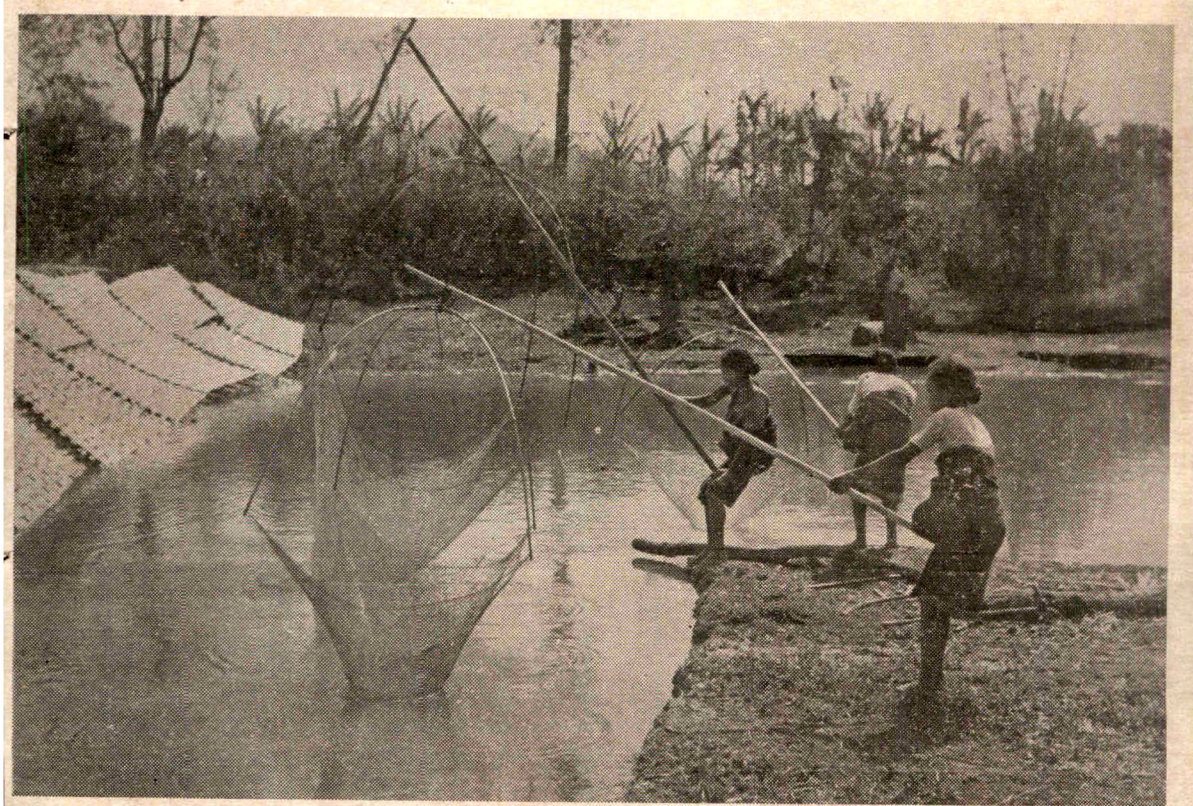
India's aloofness received the first shock at the time of Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1951 as explained above, and India had to take certain actions in maintaining buffer states as they were before. The Korean War and the debacles in Indo-China and Indonesia further made India conscious of the fact that however much India would like to keep herself out of any conflict she was most likely to become a battleground in the event of any international war breaking out. As America and Communist China became more and more involved in the Korean War, there arose the likelihood of Russia joining the conflict. India's neutralism which so long meant aloofness from power politics changed its constant when India realised that it was not enough for her to stand aside from any conflict but it was necessary for her to take an active part in preventing the war breaking out into a world crisis. India therefore started taking more and more interest in international politics and offered her services wherever wanted towards the solution of difficult international problems. Her diplomacy in fostering armistice and supervising the release of prisoners of war in Korea, her part in international commissions in Indo-China, her active part on the Suez issue, in Congo and Berlin affairs will bear testimony to the increasing interest taken by India in international affairs. Mediation in international politics thus become an important feature of India's foreign policy.

This mediation as an application to practical politics flowed directly from the Indian mind prepared and developed for ages by Indian philosophy and tradition.

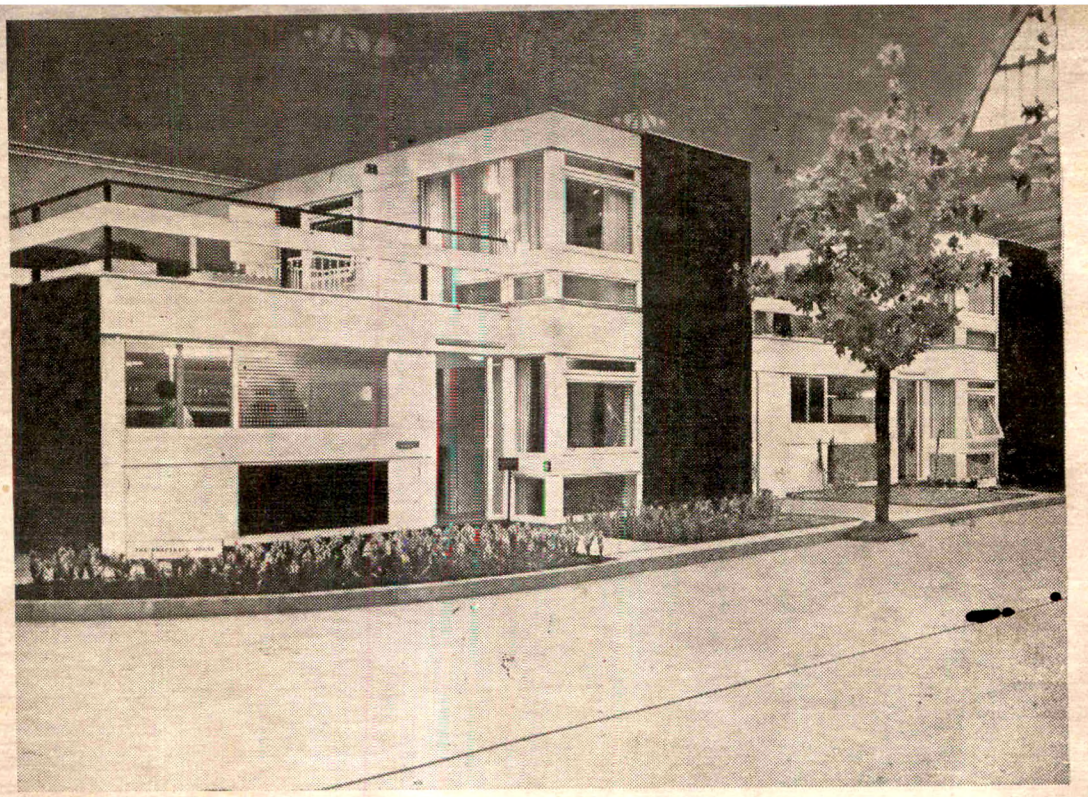
India's essentially pluralistic outlook in life cannot accept one particular expression of truth. Truth, according to Indian philosophy, is one but has different manifestations. Thus traditional outlook has made India instinctively anti-communist on account of the communistic claims to the sole Truth. This has also prevented India on the other hand from regarding communism as the bane of all evils. To India the communist ideal of egalitarianism in the economic and political fields is the best acceptable social ideal but the communistic method of achieving this is anathema to Indian outlook. India also thinks that in the Parliamentary system of



Enthusiastic villagers of the Goverdhan Extension Block (Uttar Pradesh) digging a new tank for the village



Fishing on the river Gajeng in Garo Hills



Adaptable House at London Exhibition

Photographs of Tagore at the "Tagore in America" Exhibition in Calcutta

government in England and Ameria there are good things to emulate and to contribute to social good and individual betterment. Indian Philosophy and tradition thus prevents her from aligning herself with any group to the exclusion of the other, and she believes that every system has good points to offer. She feels that acceptance of the best of all the systems should be the guiding factor in the determination of international relations, and that peaceful negotiations between nations is the only means to arrive at any reconciliation of interests in any case of disputes. India's support to the UN as an instrument of negotiations should be viewed in that light.

India's foreign policy is to approach every problem dispassionately and resolve international conflicts by peaceful means through negotiations. This approach by peaceful means is India's traditional outlook, both philosophically and historically. As early as the 6th century B.C., Gautama Buddha condemned violence in all its forms and through the example of his own renunciation sought a solution to human suffering. Historically, again, Emperor Asoka in the 3rd century B.C. renounced war as a method of conquest at the crest of his military fame. As late as 1947, Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, won Indian Independence by a bloodless revolution in which peaceful negotiations with the British formed important landmarks in the history of India's struggle for freedom. Even after 1947, India forgave Great Britain, once her master, and to the astonishment of all, continued to stay with in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

India's foreign policy wedded to peaceful negotiation cannot but be allergic to military alliances and pacts. This allergy is also born of historical memory. The East India Company, it should be noted, started its career in India by protecting native princes, and the European possessions in Africa also began with protectorates. American military alliances with Japan and Pakistan are disliked by India as India thinks that America by starting its military alliances may end in resurrecting the old imperialism in Asia though in a new garb. India believes that possibilities of a revived form of Western colonialism are as real as possibilities of either Russian or Chinese expansionism. From this again follows directly the Pan-Asian character of India's foreign policy. It should be noted here that during the last century the Europeans thought and spoke of the whole continent of Asia as an entity united by the fact that this area was a target for Western imperialism. Asia thus became a single concept and later on as the same countries freed themselves from slavery one by one, the concept of unity was reinforced by a more radiant force,—the force of nationalism bound together by bitter memory of bondage. Gradually India became the mouth-piece of resurgent Asia. The Asian Conference in Delhi in 1948 sponsored by India was the first step and the more concrete step to air the view of Asian and African countries was later taken at the Bandung Conference in 1956 and at Belgrade in 1961.

It should be noted that India has superiority, neither in economic sphere, nor in armaments, but nonetheless India's influence in international politics has been gradually felt. India's secret lies neither in military nor economic superiority, but entirely on the power of moral pressure,—the power of ideas. Ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity born out of French Revolution were the mother of many subsequent revolutions throughout the world.

So India thinks and believes that if ideas are properly developed and propagated, these may unite the warring nations into a one-world brotherhood. The ideas contained in Panch Shila, the five-fold principles, first stated in the preamble of the agreement between India and China over Tibet in 1954, formed the keystone to India's foreign policy. These five principles are :—

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity,
2. Non-aggression,
3. Non-interference,
4. Equality and mutual benefit, and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

In June, 1954, Mr. Chow En Lai the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, and Shri Nehru re-affirmed the

Panch Shila which, they felt should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as with other parts of the world. In October 1954, the Panch Shila was restated in a joint Russo-Chinese communique in Moscow. The Panch Shila was developed slightly further in the matter of non-interference, when during Shri Nehru's visit to Russia in June 1955, the Nehru-Bulganian Declaration stated non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of economic, political or ideological character and this was further developed in the Tito-Bulganian statement of June 1955, which stated that questions of internal organisation of different social systems and of different forms of socialist development are solely the concern of individual countries.

The first objection to the Panch Shila according to critics is that it is communist-inspired. The answer is that the fact that peaceful co-existence is inspired by the communists is no defect of the idea itself, rather it shows that the Communists have modified their views against co-existence. Properly understood, Panch Shila is as old as human history and is inherent in the religions and philosophies of all countries of the world.

The second objection is that the principles of Panch Shila are very vague in view of the fact that terms like territorial integrity, sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and co-existence admit of different connotations. Except co-existence, however, the other terms used in the Panch Shila are more or less well-known in political science, and their broad outlines are sufficiently well understood and so in the practical field, their interpretation to suit particular situations should not be difficult.

The third objection against Panch Shila is that its principles are rather deceptive in that according to classical communist doctrine, peaceful co-existence between communism and capitalism is rather unthinkable except as a temporary expedient. The post war foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. undoubtedly contributed to this idea but lately there has been a definite shift in the foreign policy of that country openly espousing the cause of co-existence.

The fourth objection against Panch Shila is that it is borrowed from the charter of the United Nations and is, therefore, more or less redundant. The first principle of Panch Shila corresponds to Article 3(1) and 2(4) of the U.N. Charter and the second principle of Panch Shila is also covered by Art. 2(4) of the U.N. Charter and the third principle is covered by Art 2(7) of the U.N. Charter. The fourth principle of Panch Shila is covered by Art. 2(1) and 2(5) of the U.N. Charter.

The fifth principle of Panch Shila may seem to follow derivatively from the preceding 4 principles and in that sense may be treated as included in the corresponding principles of the U.N. Charter. Properly understood, there is nothing new about this idea but as Shri Nehru has himself said that it was actually a new application of an old idea and an application to particular context. An emphasis placed on fundamental principles of any kind can never be redundant specially when such emphasis can save us from a moment of crisis.

The idea of peaceful co-existence has never been claimed as an innovation. The vision of all nations in the world living together in peace and amity notwithstanding the inevitable political and ideological differences between them have inspired men from time immemorial and continue to be a cherished dream of all men of good-will. In recent times, however, a new emphasis has been given to peaceful co-existence in view of the gathering clouds on the international horizon to bring a message of hope and reassurance to frightened humanity. Under the cloud of nuclear warfare, Prime Minister Shri Nehru declared that the only alternative to co-existence is co-extinction.

India's foreign policy has often been criticised on the ground that her policies appear to be highly contradictory to many. Thus India's continued membership of the Commonwealth has been vehemently criticised in many quarters ni view of bitter memories of the past. It may, however, be argued that India's membership of the Commonwealth has not made India less sovereign than the other sovereign states. Such membership is purely voluntary and that

India can secede from the Commonwealth whenever she wants. The Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth is only ceremonial. The epithet "British" before "Commonwealth" has already been dropped in deference to India's sentiment. The advantages of Commonwealth membership are many. This membership has enabled India to get financial assistance for her development plans. India also has with Britain not only cultural bonds fostered by the English Language but also that India got the first lessons in Parliamentary Democracy from the British. Moreover, preferential recognition of Indian citizenship in the U.N. and the Dominions has so long been one of the advantages. India has other tangible bonds of common economic and strategic interests with the Commonwealth.

England is still the leading country in India's foreign trade with Shipping, Banking and Insurance investments and with whom about 50% of India's export trade is tied. India's anxiety in connection with England's proposal to join the E.C.M. is genuine because that will adversely affect India's foreign trade which will no longer enjoy preferential treatment. Britain's war debt to India necessarily ties her to the Sterling bloc. Moreover, India not only gets the facilities for Military training of the defence forces in the U.K. and also supplies of military stores and equipment but that the British Empire still possesses developed bases in the Indian Ocean and its approaches, which are almost invaluable in the strategic defence of India. India being potentially a maritime power should not fail to note the strategic importance of Malaya and Singapore in the defence of the Indian Ocean.

Indian foreign policy has also been criticised on the ground that India gave facilities for the recruitment and transit to Gurkha mercenaries for the British Army. If those facilities were stopped that would result in economic ruin of Nepal which is a buffer state between India and other foreign countries. Such pragmatic considerations outweigh all sentimental objections like the Union Jack flying in India or the queen being still the Head of the Commonwealth. As Shri Nehru stated in his speech in the Constituent Assembly in December 1947, "whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country." Thus India's membership of the Commonwealth is justified in the national interest. Some people have also criticised India on account of Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreements, 1951, without realising the fact that such agreement was essentially necessary for the economic development of the country. As a matter of fact, U.S.A.'s loan to India amounted to 50 million dollars in 1952, 110 million dollars in 1953, and out of the total finances of Rupees 3000 millions during the First Five-Year Plan, the American aid amounted to Rs. 2380 millions.

Certain other contradictions are also pointed out by the critics of Indian foreign policy. Thus, Malayan Liberation movement has been dubbed as terrorism whereas Ho Chi Minh's rise in Indo-China has been acclaimed as a liberation movement though both the movements are communist inspired. Again Britain's colonial interests in Malaya have not been decried but loud voice has been raised against French Colonialism in Tunisia and Morocco and British colonialism in Kenya. North Korea as an aggressor had to be stopped but China as an aggressor had to be appeased, whereas Pakistan as an aggressor in Kashmir stood in a class by herself. All these contradictions are actually apparent than real when studied with reference to India's national interest. Support of Malayan liberation movement would mean stoppage of transit of British Goorkhas and that will bring in economic ruin to Nepal which is a buffer state between India and China. India may also have a finger in the Malayan Dollar pie through the sterling area dollar pool. Further, India being potentially a maritime power cannot fail to note the strategic importance of Malaya and Singapore in the defence of the Indian Ocean and for that matter these places should not go over to the Communists. Support to Ho Chi Minh's rise as well as to the movements in Tunisia and Morocco is born out of India's indifferent attitude to-

wards France whom she did not view as a world power to be reckoned with. Kenya is on the sea-board of the Indian Ocean besides the fact that India wants the most favoured nation rights to be recognised for a large number of Indians settled down there.

In Korea, Communist China did no more than follow the policy of KMT China to its logical conclusion. Immediately after the Second World War was over, Chiang Kai Sheik had formed a provisional government for Korea in Chungking. What Mao Tse Tung did was only to pursue the old policy and turn McArther from the 38th parallel. Mao did no more than make a practical demonstration of the fact that China's security depended very much on Korea on whose affairs she could not but take active interest. From such pragmatic considerations while India condemned aggression in Korea, she also fought for New China's inclusion in the membership of the UN. Recognition of Red China was considered by India as a prerequisite for lasting peace in Korea inasmuch as Chinese interest in Korea is greater than that of any other foreign power. The Indian attitude was neither appeasing China nor condemning her as an aggressor.

The term co-existence, which is a new word in political science might mean the existence of **status quo** in all its details, a kind of co-existence which is impossible in this dynamic age. Shri Nehru during one of his European tours made it absolutely clear that co-existence did not mean continuation of **status quo** like colonialism, etc., but that changes should be made not by violent means but by peaceful means. A dynamic age implies changes, and whether major or minor changes are permissible or not in any particular situation, will be determined by judging the situation in its historical context, and establishment of any criterion for determining the permissible limit of any change is a political impossibility. From this angle French colonialism in Algeria and Portugese colonialism in Angola cannot continue any longer, but in solving these problems the question of a large number of men of European descent who have settled down in Algeria should not be lost sight of. In Suez, Egypt's rights of sovereignty had to be reconciled with international rights of access to the canal by all the nations.

There is no shirking the problem that international peace cannot be permanent without a world state but there is also no shirking the conclusion that in no period of modern history was civilisation more in need of permanent peace and hence, of a world state. Under the present moral, social, and political conditions of the world, establishment of world state is an impossible thing. Short of a world state, Panch Shila generates a feeling that our loyalty to the world, to the whole of humanity is more important than our narrow loyalty to our separate nations. Panch Shila, short of establishing world state, can do a lot to bring peace to frightened humanity.

India has tried to apply the underlying principles of her foreign policy to positive action in three ways. The first one is by negotiation and mediation between the warring parties, secondly by appealing to world public opinion, and thridly by personal contacts with the heads of foreign states. In the bi-polaric cold war tension, the position of a nonaligned country like India is obviously most advantageous in negotiating for peace but the success of mediation will depend largely on the extent to which the warring parties will trust her and to the extent such negotiation will succeed to create an atmosphere conducive to agreement of fundamentals. The affairs in Korea, Vietnam, Palestine, Formosa, Kashmir, Goa, Algeria, Angola, etc., only prove the limitation of negotiations. India's effort to prevent a world war from breaking out in Indo-China in 1953-54, and her renewed efforts in connection with Laos could succeed only because U.S.A., U.K. and now U.S.S.R. largely share India's view. Its continued success will also depend on how far the Saigon Government and the Government of Ho Chi Minh will be prepared to accept India's proposals. The success of negotiation is also limited by considerations as to how far **status quo** in a legally established state can continue against the dynamic necessities of change in power if

brought about by revolt against the rule of the established regime. It would appear that to the extent the popular revolt remains localised without endangering the peace of the world, this may be quite consistent with the principles of India's foreign policy.

Arousing public opinion through modern developments of communication on matters of world peace and security can do a lot in mitigating international tension. Great Britain could not enforce a military solution in Egypt only because there was world public opinion against it and in Britain itself there was an enlightened minority opposing the policy of the government. World public opinion is also succeeding in Congo. India succeeded in rousing world public opinion against the Apartheid policy of South Africa. Personal contact of India's Prime Minister with American President and U.S.S.R. Premier also contributed greatly to smoothen the Berlin tension.

In the drawing room of international politics, India first hesitated to enter inasmuchas she was ill clad, a misfit amongst the fashionables. From 1950 onwards India turned and clothed herself suitably with the garb of non-alignment. That she has not failed to take stock of changing fashions in international politics is borne out of her inquisitiveness in every such change. The keynote of India's foreign policy lies in to find, to keep alive and broaden the common denominator of the foreign policies of rival countries. To find the denominator it is not difficult; to keep it alive is done by direct contact, public relation and negotiation; and to broaden it is done by increasing understanding of the other points of view. India's efforts in these directions have already borne fruit in matters like the Berlin Issue.

India's occupation of Portuguese possessions in India has come up for virulent criticisms from the U.S.A., U.K., France and other European countries. India's philosophy of peaceful negotiation to solve international disputes has, it is argued, not been followed in solving the problem of Goa in which military force contrary to India's avowal of non-violence, was resorted to. It has also been argued that Portuguese possessions in India were either parts of Portugal or its colonies. In the first case the U.N. alone could decide how far its discussion would come under the Domestic jurisdiction clause of the Charter. In the latter case only the U.N. could take action under article 73 of the Charter. At any rate, the critics point out, it was for the U.N. to take action and India, wedded to non-violence and peaceful negotiation, should not have taken recourse to unilateral action of occupation by force.

From India's point of view it can, however, be stated that the ultimate guiding factor of the foreign policy of a country is that of national interest. From this criterion it was no longer safe to allow the Portuguese to continue to occupy these enclaves so vital to India's defence and security. Moreover, there was also the likelihood of Portugal's leasing out these possessions to China or Pakistan. These possessions were also not considered as part of Portugal by the U.N. It is also on record that Portugal consistently refused to give to the U.N. the details of the conditions of the people living in Portuguese colonies and Trust territories, which the U.N. was entitled to get under Article 73 of the Charter. Moreover, all efforts by India for the last 14 years to solve this problem by peaceful means only met with rebuff from Portugal. The U.N. also did not show any positive way to solve this problem. Neither U.S.A., U.K. nor France showed any way out. Since Portuguese possessions were part of India, there was no infringement on Portuguese sovereignty.

It should also be noted that India's struggle for independence against foreign rule continued even after 1947. France evacuated from India long after the British had done in 1947. While the British and the French left India largely after peaceful negotiation, the Portuguese refused to budge. Peaceful negotiation does not mean indefinite toleration of colonialism. When neither the U.N. nor any other power could succeed in convincing Portugal of its ill-advised continuance of occupation of these areas, and India's peaceful approach failed to move Portugal, there was only one

course left open to India. The occupation of Goa, Daman and Dieu marks the culmination of India's struggle for independence

It is also not inconsistent with India's avowed foreign policy. For where peaceful approach failed as in Kashmir and in Congo, India, though wedded to non-violence, did not hesitate to send military force. Moreover, overriding all other factors, the national necessity is the one which is the ultimate determinant of the course of foreign policy to be followed by any nation. Some nations have raised the slogan of international interest in preference to national interest to determine the course of a nation's foreign policy. Before these nations want India to follow these lofty ideals they should first show the way by waiving all interest and claims from such places like Aden, Gibraltar, Kuwaite and Guatemala, not to mention other places. From this test and from other considerations mentioned above India's occupation of Goa,Daman and Dieu is neither inconsistent with the avowed foreign policy of India, nor being a localised affair, was detrimental to world peace. Whether Indonesia will take the cue from Goa in solving the problem of West Irian or Iraq in relation to Kuwaite is entirely another problem to be studied in its respective perspective. India has not prevaricated.

POWERS OF THE INDIAN PRESIDENT

By P. RAJESWARA RAO

THE fact that Dr. Rajendra Prasad functioning as the president of India since the inauguration of the Constitution in 1950, thought it fit to appeal to the jurists in the course of his address to the Indian Institute of Law to ennunciate his Powers under the Constitution as a prelude to his retirement from office is significant. Besides a new person will soon be elected as the President of India.

According to the recently published records maintained by the late Sri B. N. Rao, Constitution Adviser, the Indian Constitution originally combined a schedule of instructions provided among other things that he must act on the ministerial advice. It was later omitted as unnecessary in order to make the President equal to the British Monarch who, standing outside the cliques of parties, gains moral authority while eschewing legal power. In this connection it may be useful to recall the closing address of Dr. Prasad as the President of the Constituent Assembly of India on 26-11-49. Referring to the absence of specific provisions in the Constitution making it binding on the President to accept the advice of his ministers he hoped that the convention in England under which the King always acted on the advice of his ministers would be established in this country as well, and the President not on account of the written word but as a result of very healthy conventions would become a Constitutional President in all matters.

Evidently much water flowed down the river Jamuna at Delhi. Though Prime Minister Nehru and President Prasad are outstanding National Leaders in their own right with mutual affection and esteem, they could not see eye to eye with one another on a number of important matters. Even before the first general elections, Pandit Nehru decided to press for the passage of the Hindu Code Bill and to make it an issue of Confidence on which the Government would stand or fall. It was uncalled for and unwise as the then interim Parliament of 1950-51 had neither the popular support nor the moral authority to enact a measure of such far-reaching importance. It is a settled principle of Constitutional Law that those who were placed in office before the change of constitutional status are incompetent to continue in office after the change. They should function as a care-taker regime. Thus Nehru's attitude

was a clear case of violation of acknowledged constitutional propriety. Then President Prasad rightly thwarted the move and wanted a mandate from the electorate. After the first general elections, the measure was split up into several parts and duly passed with necessary modifications. It may be that due to tempermental differences with Dr. Prasad, Nehru wanted Rajaji to be the first President of India. Again in 1955, Pandit Nehru supported the move to make Dr. Radhakrishnan the President of India. Evidently these successive failures to understand each other might have subconsciously influenced their mutual attitudes. When a deputation of Landholders from the Punjab waited on the President in 1958, he suggested the desirability of keeping the Agrarian Legislation regarding cealing on lands in abeyance for ten years. Probably to avoid such an unpleasantness the Home Ministry without bringing the matter to the notice of the President disposed of a Memorandum submitted by Rajaji to refer the proposed land reforms in the State of Madras to the Supreme court for opinion. When Rajaji wrote to the President directly, he referred the same to the Home Ministry which again reiterated the old reply. Is it open to a Minister to reply on behalf of the President without full discussion of the subject in the Cabinet? When General Thimmayya threatened resignation the President was not kept in touch with developments. What was more the Defence Minister V. K. Krishna Menon being sure of the support of the Prime Minister did not even meet the President during the crisis.

What should be the position of the President when the military tries or actually seizes power? From the time Cromwell walked into Parliment and sent the elected representative of the people to their respective homes, the history of democracy has been strewn with instances of conflicts between Parliamentary authority and military power. Bonaparte with his party of soldiers at the National Assembly, General Yuan Shiweai dissolving the Chinese Parliament, the terrorisation by the Japanese militarists of the successive cabinets are but a few and random instances of the successful refusal of military authorities to obey the orders of Parliament. The new countries of Asia and Africa produced many instances of this contradiction. One of the transient military dictators of Syria col. Shihakly expounced to a distinguished visitor that the only true democratic force in Syria was the Army and, therefore, it was but right on the basis of democratic principles that supreme authority should be vested in the army. The first action of the military council that took over power in Egypt was to dissolve all political parties. We withnessed similar development in Pakistan. The example of this conflict is seen in Indonesia where the authority of Parliament is being defied by a group of young colonels no doubt on grounds of defending democracy. Ceylon narrowly escaped seizure of power by the military. In Burma military authority again steped in. If the democratic institutions are only formal or have become discredited with the people then the army becomes a rival centre of power. This is a danger which faces every democracy specially in Asia and Africa the danger is all the greater as the principle of democractic obedience is unfamiliar and the acceptance of authority based on effective power is traditional.

Whether the President as the visitor to some of the Universities could act in his own rights was doubted in Constitutional circles and caused him no little discomfiture. When the duly constituted Nambudripad Ministry in Kerala commanding majority in the Legislature was dismissed and Presidential regime was promulgated in response to violent agitation by the opposition parties, elder statemen and jurists like Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Rajaji and Sri M. Patanjali Sastry, Ex-chief Justice of India, whose opposition to communism is very well-known, questioned the Constitutional propriety of such a procedure. One fails to see why the popular agitation for the creation of Punjab Suba has been dealt with differently. The Prime Minister agreed to the formation of Linguistic States after a lot of prolonged agitation and bloodshed. Probably these incidents were not relished by the President. Lately Nehru thought it fit to stake his prestige on the issue of the transfer of Berubari of Pakistan in the teeth of opposition from Bengal, to the surprise of all lovers of democracy. Pandit Nehru technically usurped the functions of the President when he unwittingly reviewed the Navy and received their salute at Bombay. The instances are merely illustrative and not in any sense exhaustive.

Under the Constitution the executive power and command over the defence forces are vested in the President. He shall exercise his powers either directly or through officers subordinate to him. He is elected by an electoral college consisting of elected members of both houses of Parliament and the elected members of the Legislatures of States in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and the voting would be by Secret ballot. Though proportional representation has been tried in one or other of its manifold forms in countries like Austria Brazil, Denmark, Italy and Switzerland, the two major democracies of the world like England and U.S.A. have not adopted it. Its prospects for the future are dim in U.S.A. while in England there is no enthusiasm for it. There shall be a council of Ministers with Prime Minister (first among equals) at the head to aid and advise the President. They hold office during his pleasure and they are collectively responsible to the house of the People (Lok Sabha). The President has power to make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Government of India and for the allocation among ministers of the said business. There is the criticism that under a Republican Parliamentary system, it is neither necesary nor desirable that the Head of the State should act as an Umpire in the competition for Cabinet Membership.

In this connection it may be interesting to recall that in the Republic of Germany and Czecoslovakia after the first World War cabinet was given the legal status of Government and made the custodian of Executive power in its own right. The British fiction that the Cabinet is merely a body of advisers was discarded. It is also necessary to bear in mind that though the power of the British Crown is restricted, its influence is far greater. "The presige of Royalty, the long term office by the sovereign and the influence of tradition combine to secure for the King in Britain a degree of consideration and confidence from the cabinet and the Prime Minister, which is rerely accorded to any other constitutional head," as Prof. A. B. Keith aptly put it. It is surprising to find that Sri Nehru has not so far realised the anamoly of an elected president being equated to a heriditary monarch. One wonders whether this attitude of Sri Nehru is due to our Common-Wealth relationship.

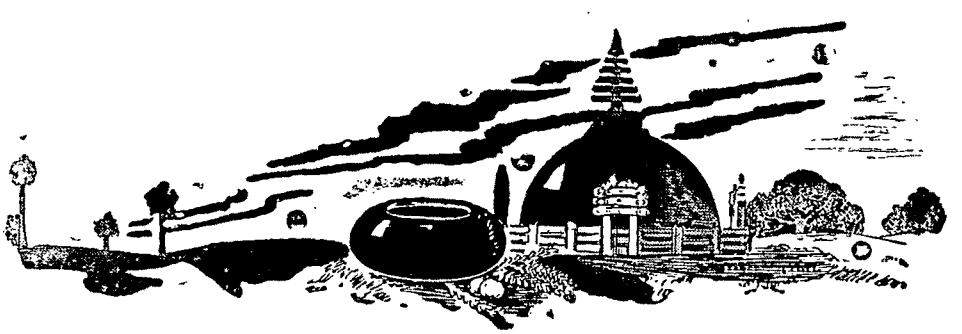
The President though not the Government is the head of the State and the embodiment of national unity. Under the Constitution of Burma, the President appoints the Prime Minister on the nomination of the Chamber of Deputies and appoints other Ministers on the nomination of the Prime Minister. The danger that Parliamentary election of all members of the Cabinet may weaken the leadership of the Prime Minister is thus avoided.

It may be noted that the Burmese Constitution was drafted by our Constitutional Adviser Sri B. N. Rao. Some time ago a constitution revision committee with the Judicial Minister as Chairman was set up to suggest necesary amendments and additions to the constitution so as to transform the symbolic head of the Burmese Republic into a President of the American type. It remains to be seen what results will ensue when the President exercises his Constitutional Power to urge the Prime Minister to include in his Cabinet persons with whom he happens to be in political disagreement. The proposition laid down by the late Dr. Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, a member of the Drafting Committee of our Constitution, that the President of the Union stood in the way of the Council of Ministers discharging their collective responsibility to the House of the People, he would be guilty of the violation of the Constitution, remains to be tested. It is admitted on all hands that there would always be marginal cases in which the President could not accept the advice of his Ministry.

In certain respects our Constitution is a synthesis of American Federalism and French Centralism. Critics say that it combines the vices of both. There are admittedly two schools of opinion about the position and powers of the President. One of them may be described as the constitutional or the realistic view which regards the President just as a figurehead while the other the technical or the juristic view considers the office as a very powerful one which may assume even dictatorial authority. In this connection, it is interesting to recall that in the days of Jackson and again during the regime of Lincoln the executive in the U.S.A., seemed to outweigh the Congress. In the days of Taylor,

Congress thereatened the executive while in the days of Andrew Johnson it reduced the executive to impotence. Whenever the President was a strong man the executive asserted itself against the Congress. On analysing the emergency powers contained in our Constitution one may feel that the President is invested with the powers which cannot be consistent with democracy and responsible Government. But emergency does not create power, does not increase granted power or diminish the restrictions imposed upon power granted or reserved, though emergency conditions might afford a reason for an extraordinary use of existing powers. Making a comparative study of the Latin American constitutions—notably of Mexico Brazil and Argentina one finds a great deal of similarity between the powers of the Indian President and those of the Latin American Presidents. The Similarity is due to inheriting to some extent or other the powers of Viceroys of the days of Imperial rule. Latin American Presidents have real powers entrusted to them and do exercise them not infrequently and function actively and effectively.

Constitution is not a printed finality but a dynamic process. Its application to the actualities of government is not a mechanical exercise but a high function of state-craft. Government is not the product of political science but the outcome of economic and social forces. Hence the jurists while ennunciating the powers of the President will be well advised to bear in mind the case law and codified law, customary law and constitutional law in their historical and comparative aspects. State is the expression of law and law is the expression of moral order. There is no constitutional alchemy by which we can get golden conduct out of leaden instincts. Constitution like a religion lives in its followers and not in Codes however nicely produced. As Bryce said, Constitutions develop by interpretations fringed with decisions and enlarged by custom so that after a time the letter of their texts no longer convey the full effect. Thus Constitution is a formal law, precedent and tradition. Instructed and enlightened public opinion, responsible opposition, freedom of expression and association, high standard of integrity and purity in public life can alone create the congenial atmosphere for the evolution of healthy conventions and growth of sound traditions. The proceses of government are like an iceberg. What appears on the surface may be but a small part of the reality beneath. It is said that the British King reigns, the American President governs and the French President, till General De Gaulle assumed office under the fifth Republic, neither reigned nor governed but merely remained as a figure-head. Time alone will reveal whether the Indian President will reign or govern or will merely remain as a figure-head. Ultimately the powers and prestige of the office of the President will depend on the calibre, integrity, individuality and the Constitutional morality of its holder. If amendment of the Constitution clarifying the powers of the President in unambiguous terms is found to be necessary, the sooner it is done, the better it would be, as their is nothing sacrosanct about our Constitution since it has already been subjected to twelve amendments within twelve years compared to the twenty one amendments to the Constitution of the U.S.A. since 1776.



USE OF 'POWER' IN RURAL INDUSTRIES AND KHADI

By CHITTAPRIYA MUKHERJEE

THE Khadi and Village Industries Commission has recently decided to introduce the use of 'power' in the development of Khadi and other rural industries.

The traditional "Charkha" has, according to the Khadi Evaluation Committee, remained a relatively inefficient instrument in spite of various measures adopted so far; as a result the vicious circle of low output and low wages has persisted.

The recent decision is, indeed, a significant step and Gandhiji would have probably given it his unequivocal blessings.

The problem of bringing about a synthesis of higher productivity with the aid of better tools, removal of unemployment and equitable distribution of wealth is a fundamental question engaging the attention of economists, social thinkers and politicians alike; we can hardly add anything new to the subject.

Stretching the argument in favour of 'labour-intensive' methods for removal of unemployment, we cannot possibly claim elimination of the traditional plough or the bullock cart and go back to the era when man used only his pair of hands for eking out his bare livelihood. If the 'plough' is an antiquated tool *now*, it had surely raised once, in the prehistoric days, the same question as now arises with more advanced labour-saving (or as the saying possibly goes, "Capital intensive") tools?

Whether the *Ambar Charkha*,—an innovation closely resembling the two-hundred-year—old "Spinning Jenny"—has put the clock back at the expense of the community at large, is no doubt a debatable issue; but, as the Khadi Evaluation Committee finds it (*Jagriti*: February 22, 1962, Page 12) "it was expected that the introduction of the Ambar Charkha would lead to efficiency, but these hopes have been belied".

Ultimate test of the desirability of any new machine depends,—as far as the ordinary citizen understands it,—not only on its 'productivity' but also on how far this ensures equitable distribution of wealth derived out of it, and is consistent with the general economic set-up. Price of the machine or the means to procure the 'power' required to run the machine is possibly an important point in this respect.

For illustrating the point, we may take the examples of

(a) development of roads,—particularly in the rural areas,—and use of trucks for very short hauls.
(b) Sale of low-price rice-husking machines.
(c) With the implementation of the road development programme, and indigenous manufacture of fast-moving trucks in recent years, movement of goods,—a vital necessity in every sector of an advanced economy,—has taken a completely new turn. . . . . This is certainly a healthy feature, and we can hardly consider the eclipse of *bullock carts* in *short hauls* in the *rural* areas, as a sufficiently strong case for withdrawal of the development of automobile industry or transport of goods by trucks.

What is needed,—but unfortunately what seems to be lacking,—is a line of demarcation between the role of the bullock-cart and the truck in respect of short distance transport. Easy as it is to decry our bullock-cart economy and hail the automobile, we fail to assess the implications of the immediate or long-term rural unemployment arising out of this change, (Hardly fifteen years back cultivators owning a pair of bullocks and a cart, had the means of supplementing their money income or retaining this real income,—particularly in the idle months,—by transporting bricks,—hay, or other bulky commodities within the village or between the village and the near-by town) on the one hand,—and eventual flow of that income to the comparatively rich owner of the truck, manufacturer of the truck and producer of petroleum.

If the National Income Estimates can assess the money rolling in the 'organised *sector*' it is doubtful if the *loss of income* (With all that is conveyed by the old term "marginal utility of money"!) to the poor villager on this account can be correctly assessed. . . . . With our eyes fixed on the statistical figures relating to the *per capita* income worked out by the law of simple averages we often fail to take any notice of this change in

the pattern of income-distribution resulting from half-way measures of modernization.

(b) The same story is repeated in the case of rice-husking. The *dhenki*, which was a source of real-income to almost every section of the village-women folk, has gradually been replaced by power-driven huskingmachines, invariably owned by either section of the country..... More of Kerosene or Crude oil is consumed, huskingmachine manufacturers get more money, and certainly the 'productivity' per hour is more ! ! One machine denies work to, say, one hundred poor women who, in absence of other means of earning, remain economically more dependent on the menfolk,—the bran,—a by-product of the function of husking and previously retained by the village-women as a part of their remuneration for the service rendered,—has now to be purchased from the huskingmachine owner, for being used as cattle-fodder....The economics of this increased(?) productivity in the organised sector can easily be visualised. . . . The same class of women—who even a few years back had the satisfaction of rendering some useful service to society and of deriving some economic reward in return, now run for doles out of sheer destitution.

"Productivity has perhaps gone up, but at what cost?

Coming back to the topic of power-driven 'Charkha' or other rural industries, we are invariably led to the same basic question: which section of the community will derive the benefit out of the proposed drive for higher productivity of Charkha?

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SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF RURAL INDUSTRIES

By R. SUBRAMANIAN,

Head, Department of Research, Rural Institute, Gandhigram.

ECONOMIC Planning in underdeveloped countries, including India has come to mean everything on a Big-Scale,—industry, transport and communications, two-lane highways, engineering and technology. It is recognised that all lerge-scale units are not more economical than the ones on a small-scale; this applies to industry also. There is a necessity for decentralisation of the industrial power in the underdeveloped countries, so that they need not go through the same stages of industrial development as the West. In the highly industrialised countries of the West like the U.S.A., U.K., West Germany and, of the East, Japan, there are many small industrial nucleii which are responsible for an important and sizable share of the total output of the country concerned, and its employment potential; thus, small units coexist with large-scale establishments and cooperate with them too, and have not totally disappeared even in such countries.

However, India seems to have caught up with this current (and development of village and rural industries was one of the pet ideas of Gandhiji) long back, to some extent, but not far enough; now-a-days she acknowledges this aspect of industrial growth as a concomittant of economic growth; the resultant effect,—an integrated approach to the development of rural industries in the First Five-Year Plan, followed up by the Second Five-Year Plan which voted for a decentralised economy and supported small village industrial units through technical assistance, financial help, supply of raw materials, research and training and co-operative methods of organisation. Small industries and rural industries are not out of focus of the Third Five-Year Plan, but in fact has been recognised as a vital segment in the industrial structure, since they would spread the benefits of industrialisation to the rural areas and towns; the Plan goes a little further and points out the importance of introducing improved techniques in the traditional rural industries. The progress so far has been the result of the positive attitude of the

Government of India and the State Governments through the 6 Boards set up to deal with the problems and maintenance of small-scale and village industries.

Growth of Rural Industries*

The growth of rural industries has to be viewed in the context of certain factors that characterise the Indian economy; they can be summarised as :

(a) Low efficiency of the factors of production in agriculture in terms of its input-output relation, which is now being dealt with on a planned basis.

(b) Growing population which adds to the total labour force in the rural communities, whereas most job opportunities tend to appear in the non-agricultural sectors. The urban centres are at present not in a position to pull for themselves, and seem to be already overpopulated relatively to work opportunities and social overhead facilities.

In this connexion, it is relevant to observe here that the presence of a huge reservoir of labour warrants that industrial development should hinge on labour intensive process; and rural industries *prima facie* are more labour intensive, which should mean saving of capital in rural India; but a device to save both capital and labour many not after all be worthwhile; this should not lead us to assume that if rural industries are more labour intensive, they are also less capital intensive and hence disirable. It may be that they may turn out to be more capital intensive per unit of output due to the low efficiency of labour (measured in terms of the productivity of labour employed). This may be one of the reasons for the higher prices of products of rural industries.

(c) Paucity of enough funds to start big industrial establishments and this is accentuated by the acute foreign exchange crisis.

(d) Initial difficulty of finding technical and managerial skill for large-scale industries.

(e) The necessity for meeting the increased demand for goods as a result of developmental expenditure and cushioning technological unemployment and combating underemployment and unemployment in rural areas.

A comparative study of the economics of decentralisation vs. centralisation of industries need not conern us here. Assuming that decentralisation is certainly more beneficial to Indian conditions, certain considerations should weigh on us when we allocate important scarce resources to rural industries. They are :

1. Can rural industries lead to expansion of output at low cost in terms of resources which have alternative uses? That is to say, higher rate of returns depending on the input-output of the big scarcities, namely, capital and skilled hands.
2. How does the market machanism function for the exchange of goods produced by the rural industries?
3. What are the external economics such as industrial research, credit facilities, common industrial facilities, extension, etc., that are available to them?
4. What are the benefits other than the value of extra output, such as their impact on skill training, development of attitudes towards had work, their effect on the value systems of the rural folks engendering a progressive outlook towards men machines? In other words, the influence of non-economic factors, both social and institutional, that would help build *small communities* in India.

All this would mean direct benefit to rural people instead of the 'trickledown' process.

Closely allied to the above discussion, is the optimum size of the rural industrial units; the optimum size of the rural industries, for that matter any industry, is a function of the nature of the product, techniques of making it, size of the market, availability of transport and organisational and entrepreneurial skill, etc., and there-

fore, the growth of rural industries should be determined by their economic efficiency. We, in India, have plenty of labour, less capital, greater difficulties of transport and less of special skills and these account for the less favourable unit of rural industries. Yet, they offer opportunities of economic growth and tend to advance productivity, income and employment, though they are looked upon more as a means to alleviate unemployment in rural areas. In view of this potential in them, is it worthwhile developing rural industries that will for the *time being* help people, but have no future? It seems to me that such of the rural industries as would not only give employment to the people, but have an industrial multiplier potential that would fix them up firmly on the industrial map of our country, should be encouraged first. If this is acceptable, then what is basic to their further development, is to see whether rural industries are amenable to conversion into small modernised units to contain and sustain modern industrial techiques and organisation, over a period of time. Our perspective should, therefore, be to look upon rural industries as the base or a spring board for allowing the growth of small industrial mucleii in the rural areas with good prospects of generating economic growth. This would also mean looking not through the wrong end of the telescope; ultimately, rural industries would 'fill in the cracks' between small industrial establishments and large blocks of production. Rural industrial Estates are relevant from this standpoint, especially so when the Third Five-Year Plan has recognised the need for introducing technology into traditional rural industries. The above can be realised by helping the rural artisans to improve productive efficiency and to bring their products and methods to the growing requirements of the economy in conformity with standards; by imparting technical and managerial advice through the Block Extension service backed by research and training; by improving the working environment of the rural industries to facilitate location pattern which would increase their efficiency and eventually pave the way for their conversion into small-scale units later on, thereby fostering the growth of 'little communities' and making the 'good' on modern lines. Moreover, if this could be achieved, then rural industries can easily take in modern techniques to their competitive advantage.

A developmental policy as far as the rural industries are concerned, should therefore, consider all these aspects besides recognising them *merely* as 'the' source of employment in the rural areas; it may also be noted that the dynamic momentum they could give to the developing of all aspects of agriculture and village life, and thus act as agents of 'change' in the rural communities, is immense.

The Scope of Research in Rural Industries

The foreging thoughts might indicate the role research has to play in the promotion of rural industries. Research should provide important clues to :

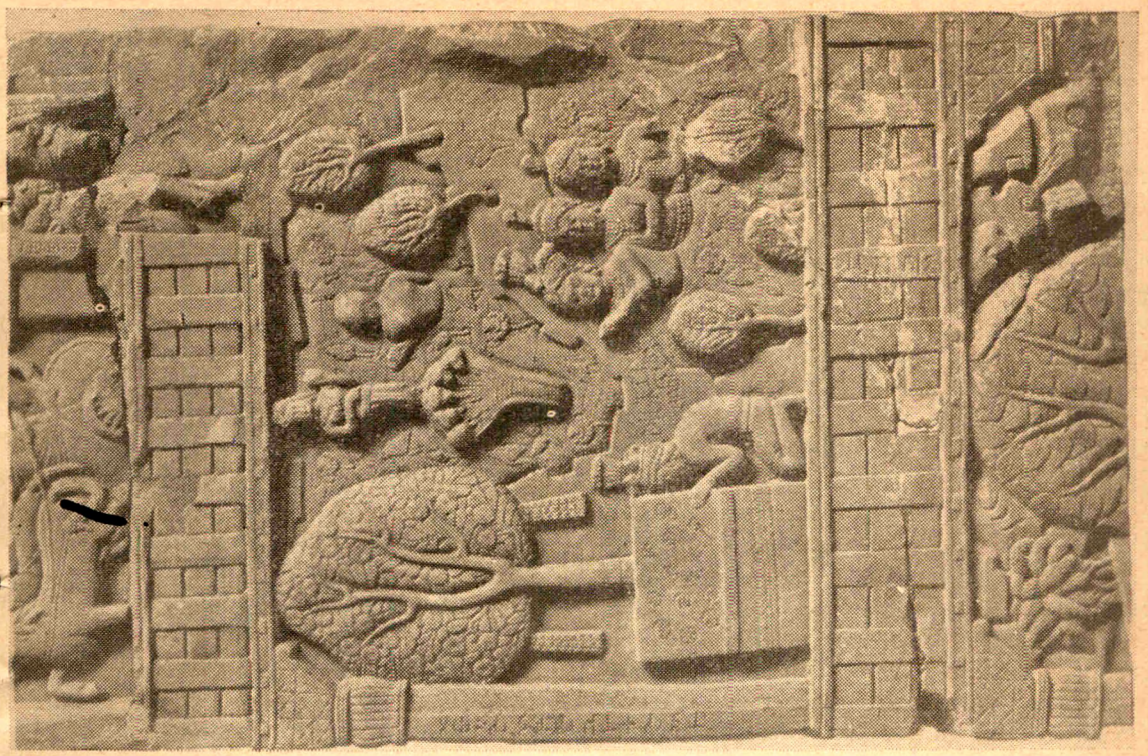
1. The existence or otherwise of specific external economies significant to the progress of rural industries and the feasibility of introducing them to other rural industrial centres as well; and these economies should encourage low cost, increase operational efficiency and provide for the scarce factors needed for their improvement.
2. The impact of rural industries on agricultural productivity since rural industries thriving on agricultural raw materials producing inputs for agricultural production and consumer goods for rural communities could be more economical and well developed.
3. The possible economies derived from modernising the rural industries and their evaluation from the point of view of economic and social costs and operational efficiency.
4. The factors that would facilitate conversion of the rural industries into industries of the small-scale type without impairing their economics and without significantly affecting their competitive position.

SNAKE-CULT IN INDIAN RELIGION

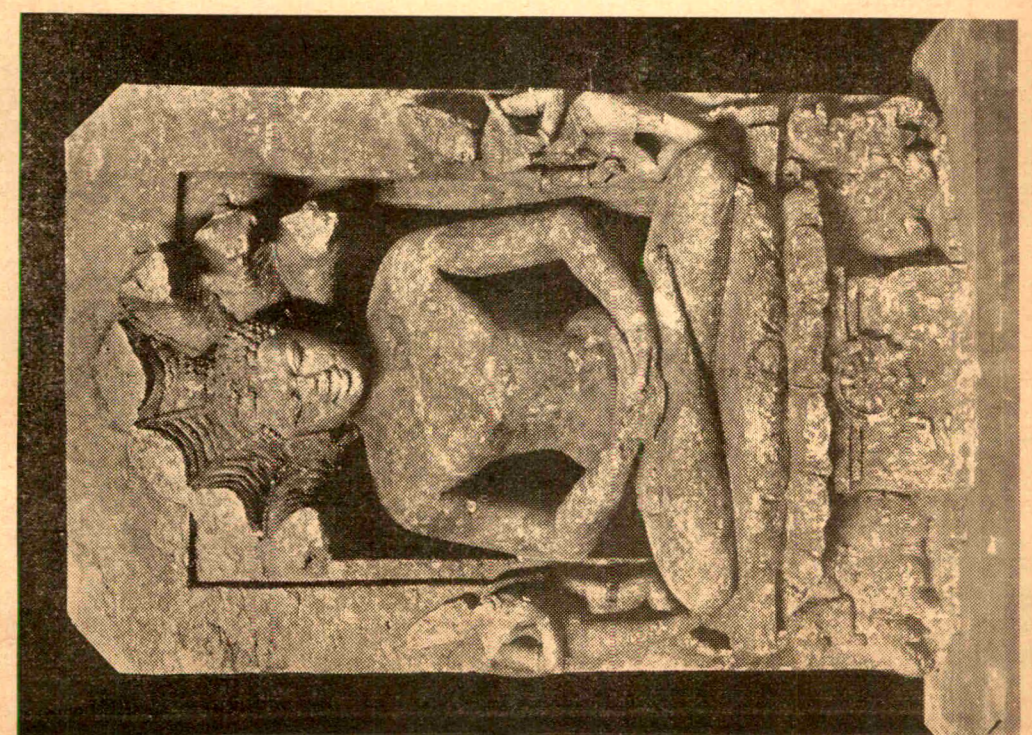
By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

SERPENT-WORSHIP is a common feature in the cultural life of the Indian people; certain tribes of India still claim that they are decended from these water hydras. According to Vincent Smith the Nagas came from Nabhasa, Vesali, Taockaka, Yamuna and Eravana. The earliest inhabitants of Ceylon are spoken of as Yakhas (Yaksas) and Nagas. The nature and importance of the old Indian cult of Nagas can best be realised from a study of its survival in the Punjab Himalayas where snake-gods are still by far the most common objects of worship; the Nagas are genii of lakes and springs, and worshipped as powers of the waters, alike in their beneficient and their destructive aspects. The accounts of Sung Yun and Hsuan Tsang show that the Naga cult was still flourishing in the Punjab and the Ganges Valley in the 5th and 7th centuries. But who these Naga people were has not yet been settled satisfactorily. The Nagas occur frequently on the doorways and among the paintings of Ajanta. They were also adopted by the Jainas and Vaishnavas and their origin is, according to Fergusson. certainly Buddhist and they must represent some class of Dasya people who first adopted Buddhism. Whether the Naga tribes in Sylhet and Assam have any affinity with them beyond the name is not clear. They certainly belong to the same race and their locality is favourable to the idea that they had some connection with the serpent-worshipping races in Cambodia.

In India it is believed that it is the Nagas who guard hidden wealth, they haunt the lakes, the rivers, and the seas, their true habitat is Patala, the underground world, 'the happy under-world' whose capital is Bhagavati, 30,000 Yojanas under the sea, which means the Opulent, the Rich. In most parts of India, especially in Bengal and the South, the worship of the Naga is ancient and deeply enrooted. Under many a village tree are small stones on which snakes are carved in different postures and which receive regular offerings. The Balarama incarnation seems to have some association with the primitive snake (Naga) cult of India. Taxilus, an Indian prince of the time of Alexander, had a serpent of phenomenal size which he revered as 'the living representative of a god which was equivalent to Dionysus.' The cult of the snake is important both in Buddhist and Hindu religions and the snakes frequently appear as dvara-pala (door-keepers) at the portals of Hindu and Buddhist shrines. 'One of the questions put to a candidate seeking admission to the Buddhist order in ancient times was whether or not he was a Naga worshipper. The story of Krishna's subduing the serpent Kaliya (Kaliya-damana episode) is interpreted by many as an allusion to the subjugation of a primitive animistic cult by the noble cult of bhakti centering around Krishna; or it may be that the superiority of Vaishnavism was thereby firmly recongised. The remark made by N. K. Bhattasali, an erudite scholar of Brahmanical iconography is, however, very interesting and is worthy of consideration: "the Nagas were a powerful race of primitive people, probably of Mongolian origin who inhabited large tracts of India, when the Aryans entered India and began to spread." It is perhaps during this period that the Indo-Aryans nourished a feeling of aversion to these Naga people and that every effort was made by the Aryans to oust these fearful snake-people from the soil of India; the memorable story of snake-sacrifice (sarpa-sattra) by Janmejaya bear testimony to this political clash. According to the episode Janmejaya, son of the Aryan king Parikshita, avenged his father's death by performing this sacrifice in which the whole breed of vipers was consumed; but the life of Takshaka, king of the Nagas, was spread and it was he who later established a Naga kingdom somewhere in Northern India amidst the Himalayan regions. Thus the snake-killing sacrifice of Janmejaya is nothing but an open challenge to and onslaught of the powerful Naga people by the followers of Brahmanism. Possibly the outlying regions like Manipur and Kashmir valley became the resort of the Naga-worshippers, who were driven from the plains by Janmejaya. In Kashmir, we know from the different sources, serpent-worship did exist as early as the fifth century B.C. That the Naga-people were powerful can also be gleaned from the fact that the designation of Bhagavati is applicable to Yakshas and Nagas as well as to Vishnu, Siva and the Buddha. Then again Asoka had to give way before



Irapata Nagaraja—Bharhut—2nd Century B.C.



Parsvanatha—23rd preacher of Jainism—Bengal

the Nagas who possessed and claimed part of the relics of the Buddha after His Mahaparinirvana.

Snake-worship in South India was mainly of Dravidian origin and possibly it is due to this fact that the aboriginal tribes of the South were sometimes called Nagas or serpent-worshippers. But it is rather strange that nowhere in the ancient literature of the Southern India we can find any direct reference to serpent-worship. A scholar has gone so far as to say that the most popular snake-goddess Manasa of Bengal has been imported from South India. Prof. Kshitimohan Sen suggests that the goddess Mancha (Manchamma or Mother Mancha) of the Dravidians has obtained in Bengal the semi-Sanskritised name of Manasa and has appropriated the South-Indian lengends of Amvavaru in Bengali form. Manasa is shown as a lady seated with a child on her lap under a canopy of snake-hoods. She is a very popular goddess of Bengal even to the present day and every care is taken by members of a Bengal household to propitiate this snake-goddess. Some believe that Manasa has her origin from the manas (*i.e.*, mind) of Kasyapa but at the same time she is taken to be the spiritual daughter (Manas-kanya) of Siva, who gave her the supreme knowledge. It is plausible that the Senas, who came to Bengal from south-India round about 11th century A.D., brought her along with them and began to worship her in Bengal under the name of Manasa. The popular story of Manasa and Chand Sadagar, the merchant prince and a devotee of Siva, throws an interesting sidelight on the fact as to how the Aryans were forced to admit into the Aryan pantheon the non-Aryan deities to whom they were once inimical: this episode refers to the fight of the Saivaites with the Naga-worshippers. The importance of Manasa lies in another aspect that she very quickly outdid the Buddhist snake-goddess Janguli meaning literally the goddess of the wilds (jangala), the daughter of the Savaras (Savara-kumari); prior to the introduction of Manasa, Januguli or Savara-kumari was perhaps the most popular snake-goddess in the whole region of Bihar and Bengal for the wild tribes.

Serpent is the symbol of wisdon and goodness and inspite of its venom it is not always maleficent. Snakes can be kind and generous and human beings who have won their good graces thus acquiring the power of intelligence and 'invisibility.' Thus the Nagaraja Muchalinda wound his coils around the body of the Buddha to protect him from the temptations of Mara, the god of evil. The Buddhist sacred book, the Prajna-paramita (virtues to wisdom) was kept by the Buddha in custody of the Nagas, who were the most intelligent, until such a time as the human race have acquired sufficient knowledge to understand it. It was Nagarjuna who recovered the the sacred book from the Nagas in the early Christian era and thus sent massages of the Buddha to mankind. The Chief of the serpents is said to be Ananta, the cosmic serpent. The whole subject of the snake-symbol in Indian iconography has been well expressed in the form of this thousand-headed hydra. The term Ananta means Endless (na-anta), he is also known the Remainder, the Residue (Sesa). The multihooded Ananta or Sesa Naga forms the canopy over the Blessed One (Vinsu, the Preserver) in His Anantasayanam and the earth is poised on one of his boods. The god is found recumbent on the coils of Ananta; the god's shoulders and head are "surrounded and protected by nine serpent heads" with expanded hoods; this snake is 'an animal counterpart of the anthropomorphic sleeper himself.' 'The anthropomorphic figure, the serpent coils that form his bed, and the water on which the serpent floats, are triune manifestations of the single divine, imperishable, cosmic substance, the energy underlying and inhabiting all the forms of life.' The word 'Ananta' means endless and this reminds us of the serpentine habit of sloughing the skins by which it is believed to be immortal. Sometime the serpents symbolize the Yoga principle of Union or the Circle of Regeneration when they are represented with their tails in their mouths forming a circle (*i.e.*, eternity). Brahma, the Creator, once said to this Ananta or Sesa Naga "Thou art indeed Sesa; henceforth thou shalt live for ever and shalt be called Ananta." Siva wears the serpent Vasuki as his girdle (symbol of energy): Ananta and Vasuki are objects of veneration but Kaliya, the monstrous reptile is said to represent sin who inhabited the river Kalindi and who was subdued by the boy Krishna. The crushing of Kaliya recalls the legends of Hercules and the Lernean Hydra and Cadmus slaying the dragon.

It is sometimes believed that the worship of

the serpent is, perhaps, less obviously connected with Siva's name than with that of Vishnu but Siva makes the serpent a part of himself and more with the character. This becomes significant when we find that Siva is generally believed to be largely the creation of Hinduism of the indigenous religion of the country acting upon the religious consciousness of the Aryan conquerors. The God Siva at Tiruvarur is called Purridamakoudar (a term related to serpent). A Siva lingam was discovered inside a mound with serpent holes at Tiruvarur. Thus a close association has been achieved between the Vedic religion and the primitive snake-worship.

The Nagins or the female Nagas, like the Apsarases, are believed to be most seductive creatures, and they often come to love men but unlike the celestial damsels they love to remain with man. The oldest traditions recall a lengend that attributes the origin of the first Khmer dynasty to the marriage of a Hindu prince with the danghter of a Naga King. The Khmers, Mon-Kambojas (Cambodians) are of Sino-Tibetan origin, and during the early part of the Christian era they had already occupied Mekong and Menan deltas as well as Southern Burma (Talaingi). Thus the Nagas were supposed to have been the first occupants of the Khmer territory (Cambodia), called on the native tradition Kuk Tholk (land of the Tholk tree), almost the whole area of which was covered with water. The legend recalls the historic fact of a Hindu immigration. The story runs that an Indian Brahman, Kaundinya, landed in Funan from a merchant vessel in the 1st century A.D. and married a princess who had received the name of Soma, and so became the master of the country. The Kaundinya-Soma story is again referred to in a Cam inscription of 659 where the princess is called Nagini. The Nagas, undoubtedly, have all the appearences of being native on Cambodian soil. The kings of Angkor, was are told, slept with a Nagini, the guardian of the land, in the first watch of every night. This lengend of a serpent presiding over the destinies of the kingdom persisted for centuries, and the Chinese traveller Chou-Ta-Kuan, who visited Angkor in the 13th century, relates that this tradition he found in the capital of the Khmer territory.

As the Nagas played an important part in the Cambodian tradition so it also did in case of the Buddhistic ideology. We have already seen that they were the protectors of Prajna-paramita (the Law of the Buddha) which was recovered from them by Nagarjuna, the founder of the Mahayana school in the 1st century B.C. It was also a belief that a member of the Sakya family had married a daughter of a serpent-king, it was from Hiuen-Tsang that we learn of Buddhist priest who was reborn as a serpent because he killed the Elapatra tree. It was also about this time that in the beautiful valley of Kashmir Hiuen-Tsang found in almost every place a shrine dedicated to a local Naga and from this some scholars think that the cult spread south in India along the Indus valley: (a dotted head of a serpent has been found in Mohenjo-daro, the object is lying in the Indian Museum, Calcutta). However, the Nagas were very kind and generous with the Buddha himself. They assisted at Gautama's birth and gave him his first bath. Nanda, Upananda and Apalala, the Naga kings came to hear sermons and becme his disciples. We know also when the Buddha was in a state of samadhi (meditation) under a tree near a pond and Mara, the god of Evil, was bent on disturbing his meditation, Muchalinda, a serpent-king wound his coils about and spread his hood over the Tathagata's head to protect him during his samdhi. The idea behind the winding of coils by Nagaraja Muchalinda possibly refers to the impenetrable armour which the Tathagata fashions for himself by the observance of the ten Paramitas. The Manikantha Jataka relates the story of the love of the serpent king for Bodhisattva who lived as an ascetic. The influence of the Naga people continued even during the Gupta period and we meet with names of kings with the term 'naga' even during the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. like Ganapati Naga, Nagadatta and Nagasena and others. The serpent-worship continued and it is still in vogue in almost all parts of India; as evidence of the continued worship of the serpent in comparatively recent times we have the testimony of Dr. Cornish, who, writing in 1871, says: "In many places the living serpent is to this day sought out and propitiated. About two years ago, at Rajamandri, I came upon an old ant-hill by the side of a public road, on which was placed a modern stone representation of a cobra, and the ground

all around was stuck over with pieces of wood carved very rudely in the shape of a snake. These were offerings left by devotees, at the abode taken up by an old snake, who occasionally would come out of his hole and feast on the milk, eggs, and ghee left for him by his adorers. Around this place I saw many women who had come to make their prayers at the shrine. If they chanced to see the cobra, I was assured that the omen was to be interpreted favourably, and that their prayers for progency would be granted: (some women of Bengal even today believe that if in dream they see a serpent, it means a new offspring will be born in their family): there is a place near Vaisarpadi, close to Madras, in which worship of the living snake draws crowds of votaries who make holiday excursions to the temple grounds; and probably so long as the desire of offspring is a leading characteristic of the Indian people, so long will the worship of the serpent, or of all snake-stones, be a popular cult."

*Report of the Census of the Madras Presidency (1871), Vol. 1, pp. 104-6.

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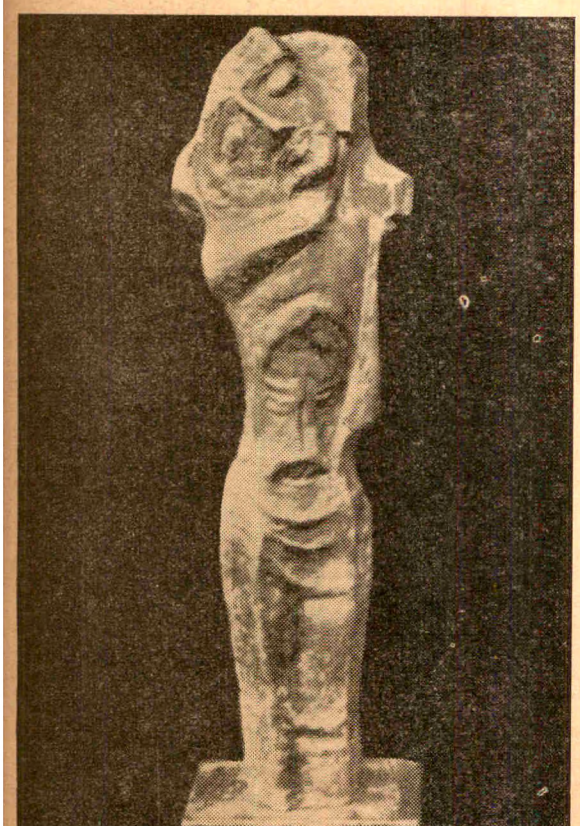
THE NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART

By OUR ART CORRESPONDENT

THE Lalit Kala Academy is the foremost Art organisation of the country and is thriving under Government's patronage. Within the brief period of seven years since its birth it has rendered valuable service to the cause of art by publishing many scholarly works on medieaval Indian sculpture and painting. Side by side with exploring the country's heritage of Art it is encouraging development of modern art in India by affording material help to artists and art organisations, publishing books and albums on contemporary art and arranging seminars on contemporary art and architecture. Apart from these it is holding regular annual exhibitions which people abroad naturally regard as a barometer of India's progress in modern art. As such, its anual shows deserve more than a passing mention.



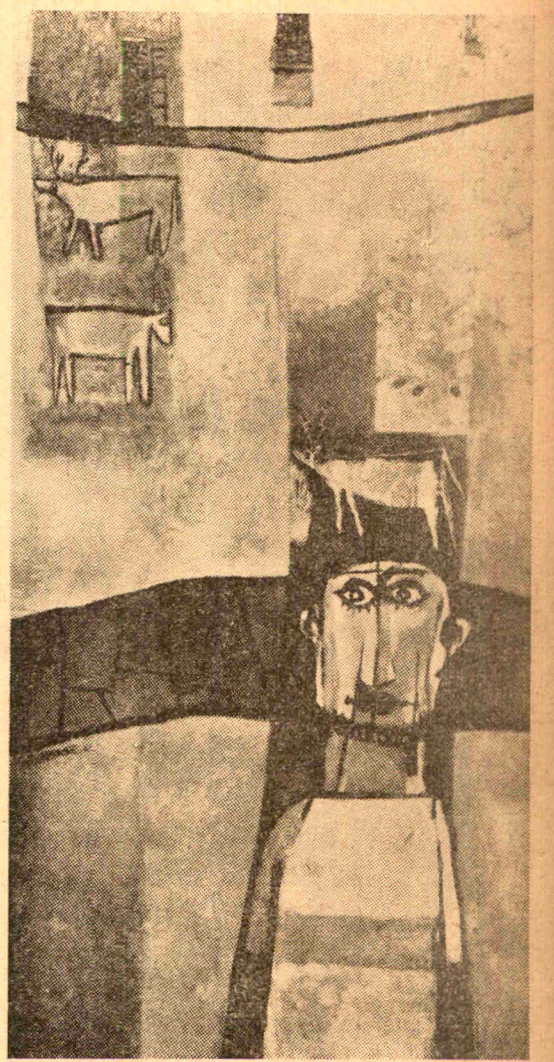
Christ and the Cross
By S. Dhanapal

The world of Art is now divided into two camps; one which upholds the claims of tradition is branded as traditionalist, reactionary, etc., the other which revels in breaking all rules and conventions proclaims itself as the progressive group. The members of this so called progressive group assert that art should not smell any thing national and artists should learn to despise their mother tongue. These modernists believe that tradition is but a fetter to the artist's creative genius and art's language is universal. This universal Esperanto has no alphabet, no vocabulary and no grammer. No training is neccessary, therefore, to speak in this universal language and any one who possesses a brush and

an ink-pot* is authorised to draw pictures in the modernistic manner. There is no dearth of critics who would explain those works of "art" through flowery languages. Thus Art has lost its communicative value and has taken shelter under the critic's verbiage. To hide the inefficiency of these artists a new term 'Abstract Art' has been coined which is the greatest hoax in modern age. Even a Shimpanzee in the London Zoo is experimenting in Abstract Art and his pictures are being highly appreciated by critics. Thus Art in the Western world has been reduced to a state of farce. In our country, too, the same farce is being repeated without evoking any protest.

While the Academy's endeavours in reviving interest in ancient arts and crafts are laudable, its role in the development of contemporary art is highly reprehensible. For sometime past, we are noting with deep concern, it is following a policy that is detrimental to the cause of National Art. It is encouraging and actively patronising that particular group which is avowedly modern. Every year its exhibitions are being dominated by those modernists. Artists whose roots are in the soil of Indian thought are either ignored or assigned an inferior place. Awards and medals are being heaped on those who disown their national heritage and apishly imitate the manner and mannerism of the West. Resort to native dialect is deprecated and artists are encouraged to borrow idioms of Picasso, Matisse, Braque and other lesser mortals. Works of these artists are prominently displayed in the National Gallery of Modern Art and publicity is given through books and journals to boost their achievements. The Bengal School has been a term of abuse and even Ravi Varma is being revived to combat Abanindranarth Tagore. The National Art has servived only in Santiniketan where the greatest living modern artist is still working in seclusion.

The Academy's present exhibition follows its tradition of earlier years. This year, too, the exhibition has been given the preposterous label 'National Art.' It is sheer presumption on the part of the Academy to teach us what is National Art. The exhibition has nothing National in it and very little of Art. This sort of Art could have originated any where in the world. The same



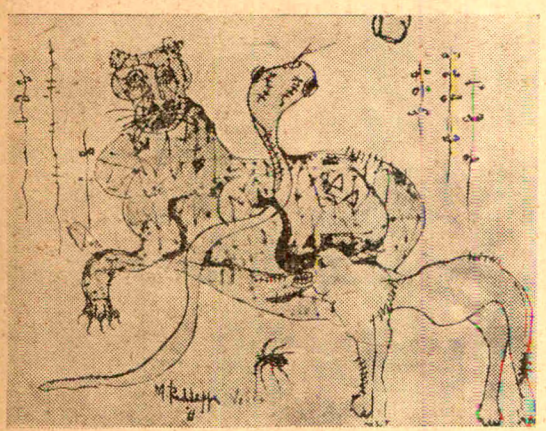
A Man and Wali Painting
By Arun Bose

old jugglery of from and technique and repetition of worn-out formulea are tiresome. Most fantastic figures have been created in the name of distortion and colours have run riot on the canvas. The pictures have been purposely robbed of all artistic beauties and they are more cerebral exercises than objects of art. The exhibition reveals to what absurdities modern art has been

* Even these minimum requirements are sometimes superflous as recently demonstrated by a foreign artist who merely rent his canvas at several places and sent this 'picture' to an exhibition.

reduced by men having pretensions to intellectualism.

From 1284 works of 543 artists only 157 have been selected by the selection committee. Altogether 110 artists have been represented of whom 43 are invited. Some of these invited artists are veteran and commend respect but the remaining have found their way through the back door. Selection is based more on the creed and regional considerations of an artist than on his merit. The selection committee was composed of five practising artists (one failed to attend the



Snake with Animals
By M. Reddeppa Naidu

committee's sittings) all prejudiced against National art at least one of them is a rabid modernist with no education in art. Of the ten pictures that have won award only one is remarkable (Raiba's 'Trees' No. 62) and the rest are all common-place examples of modern art. However, by some mysterious way several good emamples—mostly by younger artists who have not yet got the opportunity to learn the trickery of modern art—have made their entry into the exhibition and these are the real attraction of the show. Chital Dutta's 'Spring Flowers' (16) is a fine rendering of Nature's exuberance in Spring time. Rajesh Mehra's 'Garden Scene' (42) is another delightful example of Nature-study. Raiba's 'Trees' has already been noted his other specimen 'Frozen Impenetrability' (63) is a remarkable characterization of an old man lost in his own thought. Gautam Veghela's two water colours (87, 88) and J. Swaminathan's "Etching on the Wall of the Inner Eye" (84) are the other notable pieces.

Of the veterans Bendre, Bhatt, Vidya Bhusan, Chavda, Kaiko Moti, Biswanath Mukherjee, K. Shrinivasalu and Lakshman Pai have retained their reputation. Bendre's 'Journey' (91) is a masterpiece successfuly combining many old and new elements. Biswanath Mukherjee's two water colours' 'Gossip' (III) and 'More than Shadows' (112) are outstanding examples. But the highlight of the show is Kaiko Moti's 'Two Owls' (109). Such a delicate handling of wash is rarely

Trees
By A. A. Raiba

met with. This picture recalls the best Chinese and Japanese paintings.

The sculpture section fares no better than the painting section and suffers similarly from aggressive modernism. Though as many as 32 pieces are exhibited the only two notable exhibits

are Chintamani Kar's 'Dryad' (163) and Debabrata Chakravarty's 'Composotion' (137).

The Graphic section contains many technically competent but aesthetically poor specimens. The excessive zeal for non-representation has marred many otherwise good examples. Nevertheless, Krishna Reddy's 'Whirl-Pool' (1873 and 'Water Lilies' (188), Usha Pasricha's two etchings (182 & 183) and Somenath Hore's 'Fisherman's Net' (171) are interesting.

It is a pity that many talented new artists who sent their work for consideration fell a victim to the Academy's prejudices and were either refused entry or were accorded step-motherly treatment. There will be no wonder if next year they emerge as champions of modern art.

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THE ADIVASIS OF MAHARASHTRA

By L. K. GOREY

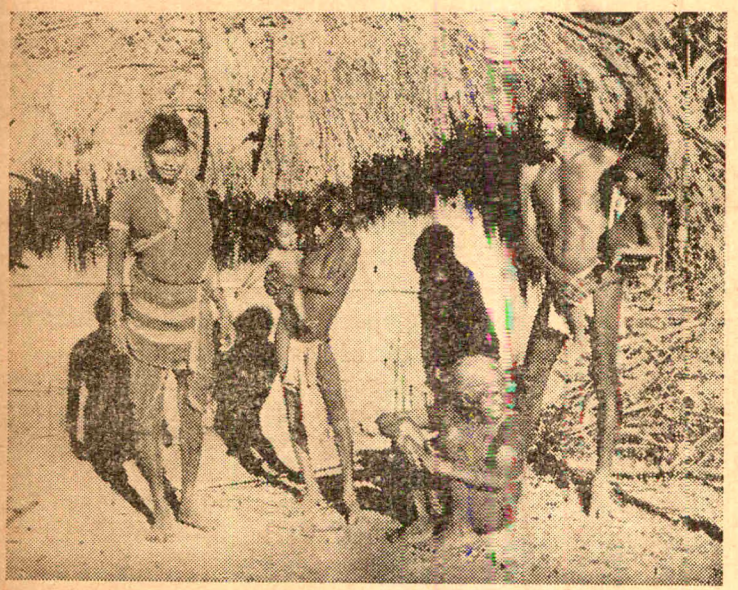
Introductory

The tribal people of Maharashtra known as aboriginals or Adivasis are primitive forest-dwellers and approximately number 15.74 lakhs. Besides, a considerable population (6.15 lakhs) belongs to the "Backward" category, because of their equally backward condition in social, economic and educational matters. The ex-criminal tribes or "Vimukta Jatis" as they are now called and nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes are also covered by the term Scheduled Tribes. The total population of tribals in Maharashtra is roughly 21.89 lakhs. Since most of the tribes subsist on hunting, fishing or by simple form of agriculture, they possess many common characteristics despite some particular differences influenced by environment.

Out of 61 Scheduled Tribes of Maharashtra, the important ones are Varlis, Thakurs, Mahadeo Kolis, Bhils, Korwas and Gonds. The members of these tribes, excepting Bhils, Gonds and Korwas are found mainly in the districts of Thana, Kolaba, Nasik, Ahmednagar and Poona. Whereas the Bhils are found in the districts of Dhulia formerly known as West Khandesh, the Gonds and Korwas are found in some districts of Marathwada and Vidarbha. These tribes seem to have settled in the districts from pre-historic times. According to Dr. Wilson, as far as Varlis are concerned, "Varul" means a tilled patch of land. The people who cultivated these lands are, therefore, called Varlis or Varalis. On the other hand, according to Dr. V. K. Rajwade, the tribe of Varlis is non-Aryan in origin and lived in the country near the Vindyas or Satpuras from where it came southwards.

Varli Girls going for work

Varle also means from the "upper regions," and the theory is, therefore, based on this meaning. Those who moved southwards imbibed the culture of the people of the region in regard to the birth and marriage customs, language and religion. Enthoven has described Varlis as a sub-division of Bhils with whom they have many traits in common.



A Varli Family

It max be mentioned in this connection that the culture of a community comprises the sum total of all their activities, customs and beliefs. There was a notion that primiman was devoid of culture. This was moditive fied by Rousseau and others, who held that man in a state of nature lives a contented and peaceful life free from want. The forces which influence human action are the natural, human and mental environments. The history of human culture is thus the result of that environment. Of all the aspects of culture, material culture is most closely allied to environmental factors, since it deals with such material things as food, habitation, clothing, ornaments and implements.

The culture of the people concerning the human and mental environment finds its expression in the social customs, festivals and folklores. Man was nowhere content with humdrum existence. He craved for entertainment, and consequently the festivals afforded him an opportunity to break the everyday routine. As a matter of fact, all the year round tribal life is enlivened by festivals, marriages and dances. Singing and dancing form an important part of the lives of the tribal people. In the paragraphs that follow an attempt has been made to draw a picture of the tribal people residing in Maharashtra.

Varlis: Habit & Vocation

The Varlis are an aboriginal tribe found mainly in the districts of Thana, Dhulia and Nasik. It is said that they were the owners of the land over 150 years age, but their ownership passed into the hands of sowkars or money-lenders, who become their landlords. The Varlis are mainly cultivators. They also work in forest coupes. They ply carts in carrying timber and charcoal from forest coupes to the inland ports and railway stations. They gather wild fruits and hunt with bows and arrows. But hunting is not the avocation for their maintenance. They live in plains and forests but not on hills. They do not mix with the people in general, but they have no objection to live with other aboriginal tribes like Thakurs, Kolis or Katkaris. Their hamlets are isolated, and they live in small bambo and bramble huts.

Food

They are scantily clothed. Their food consists of rice and nagali, leafy vegetables grown in the jungle during the monsoon season and fish if available. They also eat dry fish, fowls and flesh of some animals like deer and hare. When they do not get food, they eat bitter kandas grown below the soil in the forests, after boiling them with ash for over 12 hours.

Social Customs: Birth & Marriage

Varlis celebrate all the important occasions in life with ceremonies and

rituals. The birth of a child is an occasion for joy. The child is named by the Bhagat, who is the conductor of rituals besides being a medicine man and an arbitrator. The children are not regarded as a burden, as they are found to be helpful to the family in general.

Marriages are performed by a Varil woman called a Dhavleri. Widow marriages are common, and a widow can marry her husband's younger brother. A man can lead a married life without undergoing ceremony, which can be performed at a later stage when he gets money to spend for the ceremony.

Religion

They do not follow any orthodox Hinduism. Among Hindu Gods Shiv is known as Iswar and he is referred to with his consort Gauri in their ritual songs. They worship also the elements of nature. The Sun and the Moon are regarded as the two eyes of God. Rain is also known as Pavana Dev, because he helps grow corn. Other natural phenomena such as clouds, wind, lightning, sea, etc., are considered divine. Earth, cow and corn are goddesses. Among the tribal deities Narandev, Hirva and Himay figure prominently. Narandev is the God **per excellence.** An image of Narandev in the form of a stone or an areca-nut besmeared with red lead is maintained. These images are kept separately in small baskets half filled with rice and hung on a stick which, again, is hung on the reed wall of the hut. The gods are worshipped in every religious ceremony particularly in February when youngmen and women spend the night in singing and dancing.

The Varlis have implicit faith in the powers of the witches, whom they fear very much. That is why a Bhagat is held in high esteem, for, he is supposed to undo what witches have done. He, in his turn, trains or initiates 3 or 4 pupils every year. The initiation begins with the rainy season and lasts for about 4 months at intervals. However, one has to spend years to be a full-fledged Bhagat.

Bhagat is also a medicine man, a diviner, a medium, an arbitrator, a conductor of rituals and above all an enemy of witches. He is the all-in-all man of pre-eminent social position. As such he is respected and revered by all. There is not a ceremony, a ritual or a social function in which he has no place. He invokes spirits and brings them into his body.

Tarpa Dance of Adivasis

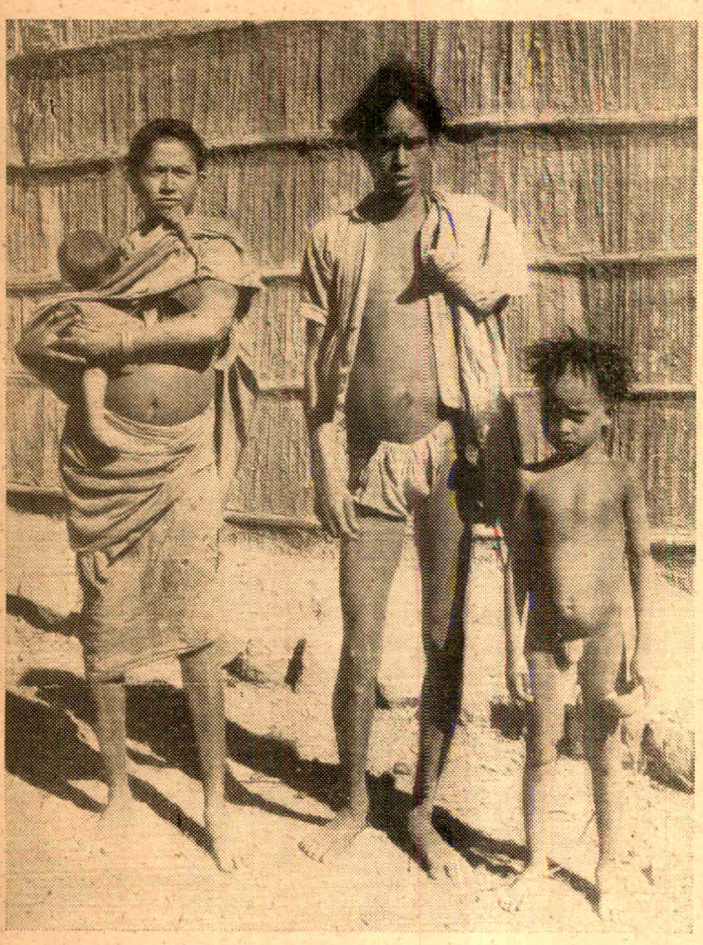
Thakurs, Katkaris, Mahadev Kolis and Bhils: Living Conditions

Thakurs live exclusively in the hills. Katkaris, Mahadev Kolis and Bhils live in the villages in huts or houses made of bricks but separately from the village people. Katkaris work mainly in forests felling trees and preparing charcoal out of them. They collect fruits from the jungle and are fond of hunting also.

The food of these people consists of rice, nagali accompanied by leafy vegetables, dry fish and flesh of some shikars. They are scantily clothed. The dress of a Koli, male or female, today approximates to the dress of the Kunbi people of the Deccan. The men have now taken to a wide dhoti, whenever they can afford it, and have a white cap.

Thakurs are, however, better looking than Katkaris or other tribal people. Al-

though not of very good physique because of the absence of nourishing food in their daily diet, the Thakurs like other tribal people show remarkable powers of endurance.



A Thakur Family

Children are not regarded as a drain on their resources. When they are 7 years of age, they begin to contribute their quota of work and almost earn their own bread.

Social Customs

The Brahmin culture has so much influenced the life of Thakurs and Kolis that their marriage rites follow the same pattern with a little difference. The assimilation began to proceed at a greater pace when the Thakurs began to employ a Brahmin priest for some of their rites.

The marriage ceremony among the Katkaris is performed by a male Katkari who is called "Goturana." Among Bhils the Punjaro offers worship to the gods with paddy and leaves of bili for the bride and the bridegroom. Among Katkaris the son after coming of age generally separates from his father and stays with his wife. If a woman does not like her husband, she leaves him and stays with another man of her choice.

Religion

The complex of religious beliefs and practices current among the Mahadev Kolis is fundamentally the same as among the Kunbis with the addition of a few gods and goddesses whom they have in common with the Scheduled Tribes of Maharashtra. In general, they refer to Mahadeo. The goddess Kamalja is also represented there. the Thakurs, like Mahadev Kolis worship a number of deities. The Bhils have considerable number of Gods and Goddesses like Raja Pantha, Mata Pandhar, his chief queen, Pormesri or Malkho; Nandervo, the God of Corn; Hirkulyo, Agricultural God; etc., Besides, there are deities like Waghdev, Megh Raja, the son-in-law of Raja Pantha.

The Bhils have no Brahmin priests for any ceremony whatsoever. They have three classes of intermediaries between themselves and the supernatural. The Badwa, commanding magic; Punjaro, who worships the pantheon and the Kotwal, who performs all the ceremonies of the dead are the three intermediaries who are held in high esteem.

Position of Women

The stage of civilization of a society is often gauged by the status accorded to women in that society. In the tribal society

of Maharashtra, the position of a woman varies from that of a personal chattel to that of undisputed mistress of a family. Generally women enjoy an inferior status to that of a man. Only on occasions like marriages a Varli woman, who is designated as Dhavleri, acts as a priest and as such she is respected by men and women alike.

Panchayats

The affairs of a village or group of villages or hamlets are regulated by a Council of five tribesmen. This Council is called Panchas duly approved by the villagers. The Bhagats and old men, because of their experience and seniority, are taken to be authorities on tribal matters. They meet at a stipulated time and place, and the cases are decided by the Panchas. The punishment is in the form of fines, a part of which is given to the person wronged. Social boycott is a very effective weapon, which the village may utilise against any person who disobeys the verdict of the Panchas. When there is a dispute involving persons of two different villages, the Panchas from both the villages decide the matter. In some cases the matter is referred to the Panchas of two other villages, who may look into the matter with unbiased mind. However, nowadays there is the tendency among the Varlis to approach the Village Patel (Government Officer) to settle their quarrels.

Recreation : Dancing, etc.

As has been mentioned already that all the year round tribal life is enlivened by festivals, marriages and dances. Occasions like Holi (Shimaga), Diwali festivals and marriages afford the tribal people an opportunity to break the monotony of life by participating in dancing.

The tribal people of Maharashtra like those of other States take to dancing with a gay abandon on all such occasions. The dances reveal not only the individual talents of the people, but the characteristics and the collective traditions of the community. While differences of landscape and atmosphere have brought about a great variety of rhythms, musical compositions and dance styles, a spontaneous and emotional rhythmic expression preparatory to a ritual is common to all tribal dances. The Varlis, Malhar Kolis, Thakurs and others dance with accompaniment of a big drum (dhol). In other dances like "Tarapi" a curved big brass flute (Tarapi) is played. The Katkaris are very fond of dancing in and out of season. Generally any occasion, when leisure is available, is good enough for them to dance and be merry.

The welfare activities of the Government are covered under three heads :

Social Welfare Activities

1. Education. 2. Economic Rehabilitation. 3. Social Welfare.

In the sphere of education various concessions such as monthly scholarships, lump sum scholarships for purposes of books, stationery, etc., payment of examination fees, provision for hostel facilities, freeships, etc., are provided at all stages of education —primary, secondary, collegiate, including technical and vocational education also. Liberal grants are paid to voluntary agencies to run hostels for the tribal pupils. Asharms, schools-**cum-Sanskar-kendras** have been opened for the pupils from the Scheduled Tribes, where training is imparted to these pupils in crafts like weaving, spinning and agriculture.

The economc uplift is mainly effected by the following measures :

(a) Grant of cultivable lands and forest lands to the tribal people and grant of Tagai loans and other facilities for rehabilitating them in agriculture.

(b) Organisation of Co-operative Housing Societies, Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies, Industrial and Multi-purpose Co-operatives, etc., and grant of forest coupes to the Co-operative Societies and provision of special concession to them in respect of removal of timbers and minor forest produce.

(c) Fixation of minimum wages for work in the forest coupes.

(d) In order to give a greater scope in the matter of the economic rehabilitation of the Scheduled Tribes a Committee for

the development of Forest Co-operative Societies has been formed since 1947. This has resulted in securing the profits of the forest industry for those who live and work in the forests.

(e) Reservation of certain percentage of vacancies in Class III and Class IV services for the Scheduled Tribes.

Social Welfare

This is undertaken to rehabilitate the Scheduled Tribes and the Ex-criminal Tribes with the object of raising their social status. Legislation and propaganda through the agency of social welfare organisations are other means by which social welfare is being achieved. Various special measures are being adopted to educate the Scheduled Tribes and bring them into line with the general public by enhancing their economic progress and by giving due regard to maintaining their culture intact. The stigma of criminality which was attached to some of the tribes has been removed with the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1949. They are now termed as "Vimukta Jatis."

During the Second Five-Year Plan period, 7 Multi-purpose Development projects were sanctioned by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Community Development in the composite Bombay State. In the State of Maharashtra, however, the following 4 Multi-purpose development projects have been working with effect from 1.4.1961 in the districts of Thana, Nasik, Dhulia and Chanda at Mokhada, Peint, Akrni and Aheri respectively.

For each of these blocks the Community Development Ministry has allotted Rs. 12 lakhs and the Ministry of Home Affairs contributed Rs. 15 lakhs for the first stage which expired on 1st April, 1962. In the second stage the blocks will each get Rs. 5 lakhs to be spent within a further period of 5 years.

During the Third Five-Year Plan, the Government of India have sanctioned 16 tribal development blocks two of which have been started in the districts of Thana and Dhulia at Talasari and Mulgi respectively. These blocks will be opened in a phased manner during the period of the Third Five-Year Plan.

Under health and rural sanitation medical aid has been provided by opening primary health centres and water supply and drainage facilities in a large number of villages in the blocks. Malaria control measures are undertaken to reduce the prevalence of malaria and other diseases.

THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

By Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.Com., LL.B.

Introduction

The idea of European unification is not new. Its origins have been traced to the Greeks, and the later evolution of the Roman Empire has been cited as an expression of the idea of unification. In more recent times the idea gained momentum in the aftermath of World War II although in the years even before World War I, Western Europe had attained some degree of economic integration. At that time this was facilitated by a number of conditions. The gold standard with its automatic adjustment of prices and incomes was almost universal among West-European countries, so that payment restrictions were virtually non-existent. Quantitative restrictions on trade were few and limited and internal governmental controls were largely confined to the fiscal and monetary spheres.

The picture of a relatively integrated Europe before 1914, later disappeared due to the disintegrating effects of the two World Wars and the world-wide depression of the thirties. Therefore, towards the end of World War II and in the early post-war period, efforts to deal with the problem of economic disintegration began to be made. Countries started drawing up new world-wide agreements through the reduction of trade barriers and elimination of exchange restrictions. This approach was formally embodied in the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund and in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which was adopted in 1947. In the special situation of post-war Europe, however, the GATT and the IMF failed to meet the needs and problems which Europe was facing at this time. The first major problem was to revive European economies from near collapse and to cope with the acute dollar shortage—a situation which was partly the result of war time destruction and partly the result of protected internal markets and highly restrictionist policies externally. To restore the economic life of Europe was also urgent in the face of growing Soviet political and military threat and the growing challenge of Asian and African nationalism. Therefore, soon after the cessation of hostilities it became clear that some sort of regional approach to these problems was essential. Further, this approach had to include two distinct phases. First was the elimination of governmental and other artificial barriers to the movement of goods and services and factors of production within the region and the second was the coordination of internal goevrnmental action, for example, the separate national monetary systems and national tax and expenditure policies.

Commercial Policy Aspects Before the E.E.C. Treaty

From the beginning of the last decade, therefore, sincere efforts began to be made to bring about close economic cooperation on the pattern of world multilateral trade. In this direction the achievements of GATT were also significant. Under the procedure laid down in the GATT any contracting nation acquired a legal right to all tariff concessions negotiated under the GATT even though the initial negotiations might have taken place between two contracting parties. In fact, this process of world-wide tariff reductions was facilitated by the peculiar economic conditions stemming from the war. So far as the European countries were concerned, they were adopting quantitative restrictions to meet their balance of payments difficulties. These restrictions tended to neutralise the tariff concessions which they had to concede under the GATT. So there was practically no protectionist opposition to such concessions. On the side of the United States the opposition was to some extent reduced by the fact that foreign competition in manufactured goods had not yet posed a threat.

Despite this substantial progress in world-wide tariff reduction under the aegis of the GATT, difficulties began to emerge. Thus, for example, Benelux and the Scandinavians which were tradi-

tionally low-tariff countries, after they had removed their quotas, began to feel that they had exhausted their bargaining power and had no means of obtaining reductions in the duties of high-tariff countries like France and Italy. As an alternative several plans were suggested, the most important being the Council of Europe Plan in which the West-European countries were to be pooled together to form a "customs union". However, none of them saw the light of day. But they very much influenced the current thinking on European integration and led to the establishment of European Coal and Steel Community in 1952.

The Coal and Steel Community was, as a matter of fact, the first concerted attempt of West-European countries towards economic integration. Under this the coal and steel production of France and Germany was pooled in a community open to other European countries and national controls were removed. The Coal and Steel Community was to be the forerunner of the Common Market.

The European Common Market

The West-European countries which began the European Free Trade Movement about the middle of the 1950s were soon divided into blocks. Six of them, namely, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, who believed in a closely integrated union formed, in 1957, the European Economic Community popularly known as the Common Market or the Rome Treaty. Seven other West-European countries, namely, the U.K., Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, Norway, Sweden and Denmark grouped together to form, in 1959, a more loose association known as the European Free Trade Association.

There are mainly three differences between these two blocks. First, while the E. E. C. will gradually abolish all internal tariffs and will have a common external tariff, the E. F. T. A. will abolish internal tariffs only and will retain individual external tariffs against non-members. Second, the E. E. C., unlike the E. F. T. A., associates the overseas territories of the members. Third, the E. F. T. A. confined itself only to trade in industrial goods whereas the E. E. C. scheme applies to both industry and agriculture.

In the following paragraphs the discussion will mainly concern the E.E. C. and its effects.

Achievements of E. E. C.

Only 15 years ago the six nations that composed the Common Market lay shattered under the ruins of War. Today, bound together, they constitute the fastest growing economy in the Free World. They are building themselves a free trade area nearly as huge (170 milions people) as the one that makes America rich. The constituents have already started reaping the benefits of specialisation, mass production and mass marketing. In 1960 commerce among the Common Market countries was 28 per cent higher than in the year before. Primarily this has been achieved by the most drastic cuts in tariffs in economic history. The seventeen thousand miles of customs lines which for generations separated the six nations and stifled their trade have now been removed from the face of these nations. Tariffs on manufactured imports—precision instruments going into France, for instance—were as high as 66 per cent. By January, 1961, the six nations had reduced all internal tariffs by 25 to 30 per cent.

Actually the original plan had been to eliminate internal duties gradually over 12 to 15 years. But the reduction has been so quick that now it appears that all internal customs will be reduced to zero by 1966.

That tariff reduction creates prosperity is evident all over Europe. In the first ten months of 1960, for example, France sold Rs. 364 crores worth of goods to Germany as compared to only Rs. 276 crores in the previous year. In the same period, Germany's exports to France totalled Rs. 387 crores—an all time high.

Another good result of this economic integration has been that the industrial units of these six countries have become more efficient and better able to compete overseas. The member countries have also decided to equalise welfare benefits to avoid unfair competition. This means, for example, that German industry may some day have to adopt equal wage treatment for men and women such as France has long enjoyed. The Market has established a Bank of Rs. 475 crores to finance industrial developments within

the member nations. A Monetary Committee is working to bring about in the future a common European currency.

The head quarters of the Market are situated at Brussels in Belgium. The President of the Common Market is Walter Hallstein a former university Professor in Germany. About 1,800 economists, diplomats, labour leaders and businessmen work under his supervision.

In fine, the achievements of the Market have been, first, that it has brought about a fusing of the two traditional antagonists—France and Germany—in a fruitful business partnership and second, that there has been a virtual abolition of frontiers. Thus, for example, a new pipe line is being built right across the Common Market countries. Telephone companies now base their continental long distance rates on distance only and do not charge extra for international calls. Italy's big Fiat interests have car assembly plants in Belgium and Germany and in the near-future will have their plants in all the six nations.

India and the Common Market

The economic implications of the Common Market have become increasingly significant for us also from the time the United Kingdom has started thinking of joining the market. In October, 1961, plagued by economic troubles, it has also applied for the membership of the Market. The objections to her joining the Market are equally significant. One is that Britain's closer association with the E.C.M. countries and the consequent adjustment of tariff walls between the U.K. and the Inner Six would lead to a more difficult position for the Commonwealth countries in respect of their exports to the U.K. as well as to the E.C.M. countries. The second is that as a result of the loosening of the economic ties between the U.K. and the Commonwealth countries, the very concept and the working of the Commonwealth may suffer a serious setback. The present benefits of membership of the Commonwealth are more economic than political in nature. Therefore, if these ties are weakened, this may lead to a gardual dissolution of the Commonwealth.

On these grounds Great Britain has been warned that unless the interests of the Commonwealth countries in respect of their exports to the U.K., and the E.C.M. are properly safeguarded, Britain's entry into the Market would be harmful from the point of view of the Commonwealth.

A correct assessment of the effect on our own country of Britain's joining the Common Market can only be known later when the new policies to be followed by the Common Market are decided upon. However, one certain result would be that instead of the preferences Indian goods enjoy in the British market today, there will be a reverse preference operating against our exports. As a way out it has been suggested that Commonwealth countries may also be admitted in to the E. C. M. as associate members on lines similar to the position offered and accepted by the overseas territories of France, Belgium and Holland. But countries like India have expressed their resentment at the idea of occupying a position lower in status than any other member nation. Under such conditions before Great Britain joins the Market it will have to find solution for the problems of the Commonwealth and the E.F.T.A. of which it is already a member.

A Plea for A South-East Asian Common Market

One important reaction to the formation of the E.C.M. has been that many Asian countries (notably India, Japan and Thailand) have started discussing the desirability of mutual economic cooperation among themselves in the form of a South-East Asian Common Market on lines similar to the E.C.M. It is argued that there is a growing trend towards regionalisation. Thus within a period of less than two years there have come into existence many regional economic associations. They are the Central American Common Market, Latin American Free Trade Area and Arab Common Market. Then why not form a South-East Asian Common Market comprising of Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Burma, Nepal, Ceylon, Cambodia, Malaya, Indonesia, Phillipines, Singapore, Thailand, Japan and Vietnam? All these countries, except Japan, are underdeveloped and all of them accept the idea of development planning. In all these countries the State is assuming increasing responsibility for economic development again, Japan, being the only

possible exception. So, it is clear that these countries possess similar economic outlook. This area can easily establish its monopoly in several products by acting in concert. For example, in the exports of jute, rubber, rice, tea and tin it holds a monopoly position and there is no reason why it should not exploit this position to its fullest possible advantage.

Quite apart from the question of consistency with the GATT, (which enjoins that new preferences should not be created), however, the above course of action is not likely to prove effective unless ways of moving towards monetary integration are simultaneously explored. A single currency should be the ultimate step to rule out the possibility of a member experiencing a crisis in its balance of payments and in the meantime the creation of a halfway house in the form of S.E.A.C.M. may not offer promising results.

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THE OMBUDSMAN AND ITS RELEVANCE TO INDIA

By J. B. MONTEIRO, M.A.

III

Present Machinery

Any suggestion for the introduction of the Ombudsman in India should be based on the inadequacy of the present arrangements for the redress of grievances. The main constitutional channels for the redress of grievances are the courts and parliament. It is true that the courts in this country are enjoying a good measure of independence from the executive as, for instance, can be seen from the occasional tussles between the executive and the legislatures on the one hand and the courts on the other. Yet, the courts in this country, as in Britain, have always been rather Hobbesian in their outlook upon the sovereignty of the cabinet through parliament. It is generally true to say that the courts are now virtually confined to determining whether an action taken by the executive is, in fact, covered by the general authorisation which can be inferred from the Act of Parliament. Whether the action is consistent with natural justice or common sense does not generally come under their determination. The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1954, serves to illustrate this point. Further, considering the serious burden of the backlog of cases pending before our courts, and the scant facilties for free legal aid, available in this country, it will be difficult for the courts to do much in this direction.

Next, there are the administrative courts. In this regard we have to adopt the two-fold distinction of complaints, pointed out in the Whyatt report.[14] The first is the case where the aggrieved individual is not satisfied with the content of the decision of civil servants exercising discretion. In this case it is open to him to appeal to the Tribunal. Sir John Whyatt's recommendations here are that new tribunals of enquiry should be establishable by statutory order whenever the independent council on tribunals judges that there is scope for one, and, in particular, that a general tribunal, on the Swedish model, should be set up "to deal with appeals for miscellaneous discretionary decisions which cannot suitably be allocated to specialised tribunals."[15] The proposals are all the more applicable to India because of the chaos of jurisdiction that we find in this field today. No doubt there had been in the past a couple of sensational enquiries into the actions of officials. But they tend to be costly and elaborate. The cost of the Bose Enquiry Board, set up to look into the Mundhra-L.I.C. scandal alone has been Rs. 1,55,000.[16] Besides, in this regard conditions are not better in this country than in England as

pointed out by **The Economist**: "Anybody who has studied this problem knows that the real, as distinct from the most publicised, cases of injustice to an individual more often occurs when a government department can make a decision against which the aggrieved citizen has no opportunity of making an appeal or calling for an enquiry at all."[17]

The second kind of complaint occurs when an individual wishes not to appeal from its decision but to make actual accusations against it—accusations of maladministration of discretion. In this case the present arrangements in this country offer us very little help.

The second constitutional body for securing redress of grievances is the parliament. The devices adopted are the adjournment motion and question to Ministers. Even a cursory reading of the Lok Sabha proceedings is enough to dispel any illusion regarding the efficacy of the adjournment motions in the matter of safeguarding individual liberties. Most of the motions are too "political" in character and are moved with an eye on the public gallaries, rather than to ventilate the grievances of constituents.

The method of questioning the Ministers is costly and inadequate. Generally a member of the majority party will try to avoid embarrassing questions for the sake of the party. Secondly, all constituents may not find favour with their M.P. himself, because of party affiliations, which play such an important part in this country. Thirdly, the questions of a 'grievance' nature form a very small proportion of the total questions. Lastly, the procedure involves a good deal of precious time both of legislators and administrators. Referring to this difficulty, in the case of Britain, Mr. Nevil Johnson says: "It may take as much as two hours to do the first draft of the reply and notes for a comparatively straighttforward question. Considering that in a session it is not unusual for upto 15,000 questions to be asked, it is apparent that the total cost in time and money is not negligible, especially as questions take up so much of the time of senior officials."[18] In the case of India the case is bound to be worse.

It should be remembered that one of the dangers for all concerned is that the institution of questions can encourage argumentative and debating skills at the expense of sound information and reasoned enquiry. The limitations of questions are inherent in the device itself. Usually replies are lacking in that kind of detailed information which, it is essential to have, if much of the activity of the government today is to be understood and subjected to reasonable criticism in the legislature and elsewhere.

A further inadequacy of the question is that it touches the activities of the 'higher-ups' only, letting the 'men behind the counter' scot-free. It is of help only to fix responsibility for the abuses discovered. On the ability of Parliament to remedy grievances, Laski concludes, "I do not say that it does give an assurance that justice will be done, it does give an assurance that there will be a careful examination into the accusations of injustice."

Special Police Establishment

It is true that in recent years the police have been put on the job of combating corruption. They work through such units as, Anti-corruption Bureaux, Special Police Establishments, Vigillance Depts, etc. In every state this unit is placed under a Superintendent of Police who, himself, is subject to the higher police hierarchy. This arrangement has certain inherent defects.

Firstly, the police themselves do not seem to have a clean record so as to inspire confidence in the public. It might be due to an historical accident; yet we cannot affort to ignore the deep-rooted feelings of the people.

Secondly, the methods used by the police are not satisfactory. The method of setting up "traps" to catch the officials can be used maliciously by people having an axe to grind against the officials concerned.

It should be remembered that the police work under the executive which can effectively stifle its working to suit its political convenience. Dr. N. Das, who has first-hand experience of this problem says: "At present, officers engaged in anti-corruption

work do not have any real independence; they are part of the general administrative machinery and are, therefore, subject to usual pulls and stresses. If the anti-corruption machinery could be given a status similar to that of the Public Service Commission.....there would, perhaps, be a considerable improvement in the standard of integrity in public administration."[19]

Lastly, this mode of enquiry is unsuitable in cases where police, themselves, are involved in the complaints. In U.P., for example, out of the 19,131 cases received by the Anti-Corruption Department, between 1956-58, 16,265 related to the Police Department.[20] Under these circumstances the S.P.E. has only served the purpose of showing the widespread incidence of corruption, but not in inspiring confidence in the public regarding its ability to deal with it. Even a couple of High Courts have made adverse remarks regarding the working of the police.[21] In the matter of extra-constitutional scrutiny of governmental action, we are hopelessly ill-equipped. We do not have the wealth of serious weeklies like, 'The Economist,' 'Spectator,' etc., which cater to the general public. Neither the correspondence columns of our newspapers are well exploited for this purpose. The role of the Press is effectively abridged by the legislatures which tend to be very touchy about their privileges. Free legal aid has not made much headway. No doubt we have such a body as the "All India Civil Liberties Union." But in their leadership, approach and influence they do not compare favourably with the corresponding bodies in Western countries. In a country where there is no consensus on basics of the State such bodies cannot work without being considered partisan.[22] For all these reasons the individual, if he is not a member of some organised group, has very little chance to get his complaints investigated.

No Invitation

Accepting that some machinery is necessary to investigate complaints of violation of individual rights, etc., can we proceed to introduce the Ombudsman outright? Does he fit in with our belief in the sovereignty of parliament and stable government? The difficulty with our system of government is evident. Matters which are entrusted to the discretion of the executive are, by definition, matters in which it is held that no settled rule to cover all relevant cases is applicable. If there is a case for executive discretion, it is argued, there can be no case for annihilating this discretion by subjecting it to rigid scrutiny by the Ombudsman. This argument misses the point. What the Ombudsman tries to ensure is that executive and legislative action alike is governed by certain standards of fairness and impartiality. This is borne out by the nature of cases handled by the Ombudsman. In most of the cases the applicants were dissatisfied with the way the authorities had exercised their discretion. The cases where the commission has actually criticised the exercise of discretion are, however, few and far between compared with the numerous cases where the methods in dealing with cases are discussed.[23]

With regard to Ministerial responsibility Prof. Herwitz says. "It would not have had to stop with the Ministers' responsibility. An Ombudsman in Denmark has the full right to criticise also the cabinet Ministers if the case touches their administrative responsibility."[24] In Sweden five Cabinet Ministers have been prosecuted so far. We cannot be expected to go as far as that, at least not now. The parliament should be allowed to exercise its sole right in this regard.

General Objections

Duplication of Administration. Those who oppose the introduction of the Ombudsman have advanced some objections of a general nature. They argue that the new machinery will result in the duplication of administration. This danger is all the more evident in a country having six million public officials of all types.[25] In the Scandinavian countries the Ombudsman is a 'one man-show.' After six years of existence the staff of the Danish Ombudsman numbers only ten.[26] In the case of Sweden, after 150 years of its founding, the Ombuds-

man has only five legal assistants and a few typists.[27] The number of cases handled, on an average, have been, below 1,000 per year. One of the characteristic features of the Ombudsman is that any man can have direct access to him. This is not likely to be so easy in this country. We have the case of a corresponding service—the financial audit. Mr. Asok Chanda estimated that the separation of audit from accounts would involve a recurring expenditure of Rs. 12 crores per year, and the additional employment of 45,000 men.[28] However, if we could establish Ombudsman on regional basis (state) and restrict his functional jurisdictions appropriately, there is a fair chance of reducing this difficulty.

Frustration in Administration

Secondly, it is pointed out that the interference of the Ommudsman is likely to frustrate efficient administration. This argument has been proved to be shallow when it was used in the past to oppose audit and parliamentary scrutiny. In fact, Prof. Herwitz tells us, that there is a remarkable harmony between the Ombudsman and the administration. The aim of both being efficient and clean administration, there can never be any conflict of interests. In certain cases the Minister himself prefers an enquiry by the Ombudsman to that by the Department. It will eliminate such awkward and unpromising situations like the one we had here, when the Cabinet Secretary was asked to enquire into the assets of Mr. O.M. Mathai.

In any case we cannot go as far as the Swedish Ombudsman in demanding access to all the documents of a dept. The reasons advanced by the civil servants, that if every civil servant has to draft every minute in the way that is designed to guard himself against possible later public criticism, the administration process will be slowed down, seems to have a certain force. To overcome this difficulty the Ombudsman should have access only to the inward and outward correspondence of the accused dept. Only in exceptional cases he may be allowed to see interval minutes. If this is refused, as it is more likely to be done in this country, he may record the fact in his annual report to parliament.[29]

Abuse of Facility

The fear that the one may be flooded with complaints from every crank and lunatic in the country has been expressed by many people. Mr. Nehru expressed the same fear at his press Conference on 8th January, 1960. "If such a tribunal is appointed there will be charges and countercharges; it will create an odd situation as as we are a gossiping people."[30] It may be argued that the habit of gossiping and complaining itself may be mainly due to the absence of any genuine machinery of redress. Referring to this condition the Civic Affairs (September 1959) Comments: "Such charges and enquiries where made, have not helped in cleaning public life. Their only result has been some scandalising, the hardening of guilty peoples' conscience, and development of cynicism among the people. Charges of corruption too are, therefore, sometimes made with a sense of utter irresponsibility."[31] The scorn with which the "complaint books" are looked upon, both by the public and the officials, is a good illustration of this. Further, this fear is unjustified in the light of the experience of the Danish Ombudsman. There is a measure of stability in the number of complaints as can be seen from the following figures:[32]

Year	No. of complaints received	No. of complaints dealt with
1955 April-Dec.	565	315
1956	869	432
1957	1029	384
1958	1101	300

The relatively small number of cases may imply that people did not take an undue advantage of a permanent vehicle of complaint. The increase in complaints in later years may indicate the faith of the people in the utility of the new institution. In India we cannot expect things to be so easy.

People subject to frustration on various grounds are likely to give vent to their wrath through an appeal to the Ombudsman. However, from the side of Social Services, we are likely to have much less complaints than in Sweden and Denmark. Besides, we should not fight shy of complaints. If the grievances of the people are not given a medium for ventilation, they are likely to smoulder in the body politic and result in greater harm. This situation may cut at the very root of democracy, as can be seen from developments in Pakistan. Even in the case of habitual malcontents a reasoned letter from the Ombudsman is likely to have, to some degree, a pycho-therapeutic value.[33]

Conclusion

In conclusion, we may say that we need, in this country, some sort of a 'Grievance Man' of the Scandinativian type. The objections put forward by the Prime Minister to the appointment of a tribunal are not convincing. He quotes the Appleby Report, "India is one of the dozen or so governments in which honesty has been carried to its highest levels," and denies widespread corruption. We hear our esteemed Vice President saying, "We hear frequently reports of corruption, nepotism, adulteration of foodstuffs, hoarding, black-marketing. We cannot dismiss all reports as wild talk, highly exaggerated, if not utterly unfounded . . . . We should not, therefore, turn a blind eye to public criticism."[34] In other places the P. M.'s arguments are very personal. Speaking in Parliament Mr. Nehru says, "Either this Parliament believes in the personal integrity of the members of the Government as a whole or my personal integrity, or it does not," adding "if it does not naturally it has a right to say so, and a right even to remove me from office."[35] It is no secret that the party position in this country and the personal standing of the P. M., excludes this type of solution, for the present. Further, no one wants the baby to be thrown out with the bath water. Again he says, in a bitter tone, "I should have thought that even those who differ from us would at least do the courtesy, in the afternoon of our days, not to make charges which they cannot themselves justify, or not to repeat them."[36] We can only say that the P.M.'s loyalty to his colleagues cannot be allowed to come in the way of redressing the grievances of the nation.

The setting up of the "Vigillance Committee,"[37] by the Congress does not suffice for our present needs. Corruption is not a party issue, it is a problem of the nation. As Mr. Pothan Joseph has remarked, "A sham-trial by party-hacks is not likely to blast blacketeering and racketeering out of existence."[38]

The proposed Ombudsman in this country shall not supplant but supplement the present machinery for the control of the executive—initially his jurisdiction may be limited to the civil service, police—and the military, if practicable. The larger municipalities, where the complaints arising from the direction of social services are likely to be large, may be included within his jurisdiction. He may be asked to take special interest in the field of recruitment and promotion, minority affairs, etc. This may help us to eliminate the need for setting up of such institutions as commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, for Minorities, etc. The latter imply some of the defects of a separate electorate, with its historical evil results.

The Ombudsman may be set up on a territorial basis, preferably on the state level. In the initial stages the right of sifting and forwarding complaints may be limited to legislators only, as a precaution against abuse of facility, and as a measure of public education. The whole institution should be suitably modified, taking into consideration Indian conditions and administrative needs.

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A NEW MOVEMENT IN MUSEOLOGY

Prof Hiren Mukherjee

MUSEOLOGY in India has not much advanced despite change in political condition. A National Museum has been founded but its service ends with the yearly acquisition of art objects. Other museums such as the Indian Museum, Calcutta, are still following the line that was chalked out about a hundred years ago.

The function of a museum is two-fold; to preserve antiquities and to facilitate research. Our museum authorities seem to attach very little importance to the second object. In foreign countries, however, the art-treasures of a museum is brought within the reach of scholars and art-lovers through regularly issued bulletins and catalogues. They are fully illustrated and well-documented so as to provide useful materials for research.

In our country the only two museums that are struggling hard to modernize themselves are the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. The latter has, however, outstripped the former by recently publishing a fully documented and well-illustrated catalogue of its entire collection of miniature paintings.

This catalogue has been prepared by Dr O. C. Gangoly—one of the pioneers in the study of Indian Art. To enable him to go through the pictures the whole collection was brought to Calcutta in his presence, thanks to the good offices of the then Government of Bombay. Dr Gangoly deserves our praise for completing this onerous task despite his old age and indifferen health.

The Baroda Musum was raised to its present status by Dr. Hermann Goetz—a well-known scholar of Indian Art—who fortunately was appointed Curator in 1943 and continued till 1953 He revolutionized the administration of this museum and set up a live policy of acquiring important art-treasures with special attention to paintings as a result of which the picture gallery of this museum is one of the best in this country.

The collection of miniature paintings covers almost every phase of Indian miniature painting, starting with the Pala Ms. illusration style of Bengal and ending with the sikh style. Each branch is represented by choice specimens which apart from their aesthetic considerations are of

unusual interest to scholars working in the field of mediaeval Indian painting.

The catalogue has been prepared on the model of Coomaraswamy's famous six-volume catalogue of Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Every picture has been subjected to critical analysis, classified and annotated. The scenes are identified wherever possible and inscriptions if any are translated. Parallel sets or isolated miniatures in other museums are cited and dates and provenances have been ascertained after close scrutiny. Exhaustive references are given which provide additional tools for research.

Two scholarly introductions to Rajput and Moghul paintings sum up our present state of knowledge of these schools. Similar introductions to Deccani and Maratha paintings would have enhanced the value of this publication. One of the chief merits of this catalogue is the exhaustive bibliography appended at the end of each chapter and the copious references to published articles related to a painting. But these should have been brought up-to-date by incorporating latest researches. The important omissions that have come to our notice are the monographs published by the Faber Gallery and the Lalitkala Akademi and several important articles on Rajasthani and Deccani paintings appearing in Marg, Lalit Kala and the Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The attribution of several miniatures to the school of Amber, following Dr. Goetz, is doubtful. The development of later Jaipur paintings is known to us but our knowledge of early Kachawaha painting is still very meagre. With these insufficient data it is not proper to construct a school of early Kachawaha painting. P 1. XLIIIB ascribed to the school of Amber in our opinion is a Deccani miniature.

The portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah II PL. XVIIA) though a late copy, yet affords interesting comparisons with his known portraits. Recently so many portraits of this famous king have come to light that one should take extreme precaution in judging the authenticity of these portraits. (vide Skelton's article on Bijapuri Painting in Arts Asiatiques Tom V Fasicule 2 and Khandalwala's review of it in Lalit Kala No. 7).

We have noted several inaccuracies as regards datings and ascriptions. Pl. XXIIIA is a miniature in Jodhpur style which later gave birth to the Kishengadh style. P. 1. XXIVA cannot be as early as 17th century A.D. The stunted figures of the cowherds suggest a much later date. Pl. XXIV B is a missing leaf of the famous *Ramayana* set in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, dated 1649 A.D., and painted at Udaipur by an artist named Monohar. Pl. XXV is an example of the Kotah School. Several miniatures in this style are in the Kanoria collection, Calcutta. Pl. XXXIIIA ascribed to Mandi is in all probability an example of the Guler idiom as the array of the blossoming trees in the background and the female figures suggest, (compare with the portrait of Raja Prokash Chand of Guler,—Khandalwala, Pahari Miniature, Fig. 68 and Toilette of Radha-Rupam No. 29). Pl. XXXIVA, is stylistically similar to the National Museum, *Bhagavata Purana* dated 1794 (Khandalwala, Pahari Miniature—Fig. 21) and should be dated accordingly. Pl. XLIXA labelled Rajasthani (Bikanir) is, in fact, a Pahari miniature of late 18th century A.D. The most likely provenance is Guler.

But apart from these minor blemishes the catalogue is an important publication and should find its way to every museum and library. The letter press is neatly printed but the qualities of the coloured and monochrome illustrations are far from satisfactory.*

*A critical catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum. Price Rs. 15|-.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia :

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,

instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

RABINDRANATH TAGORE : *Centenary Number of the Sangeet Natak Akademi Bulletin. Edited by Pulinbehari Sen and Kshitis Ray. Published by Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi. Price Rupees Ten.*

The Sangeet Natak Akademi has presented to the English reading public a study of one aspect of the many-sided genius that was Rabindranath Tagore. Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya says in the foreword :

"—The present volume seeks to deal with one such facet of his genius. The editors describe the volume as a survey of Tagore's contributions to Music, Drama and Dance. It is designed to be our Akademi's tribute to this aspect of Tagore's many-sided genius. We do not claim that it is an adequate tribute or a comprehensive one."

The editors have attempted, nevertheless, within the short compass of this exquisitely illustrated and produced little volume to depict the development of Tagore's genius as a musician, composer of songs and dramatist, from the very earliest beginnings. They have attempted to compose the picture through excerpts from the writings and reminiscences of Tagore himself and through a collection of articles written by those who were deemed to have been authorities, both from their specialized knowledge of the subjects they dealt with and through their intimate association with Tagore.

The writers are too well-known to need any special mention and the articles they have written have truly stood the test of time. But the editors are to be felicitated on their careful culling from a vast field. The results of their labors will prove rewarding to any reader who desires to view the panorama of Tagore's dramas and songs in separate—but linked—miniatures that are fairly vivid.

KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

INDIAN WRITING IN ENGLISH : *By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962, pp. 440, price Rs. 18.50.*

Professor K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar is a distinguished educationist who has been associated for many years with the Andhra University. He is the author of more than a dozen books, many of them critical studies of distinguished authors and public men. In the present volume he has attempted a critical appraisal of Indian writings in English from the pioneering work of Raja Rammohan Roy to the largely political writings of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. The volume includes full-length studies of Toru Dutt, Ramesh Chander Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Shri Aurobindo and Sarojini Naidu. Even apart from the total value of this book, it should be an important addition to the not numerous studies in English of the above-mentioned Indian men and women of letters. Prof. Iyengar excels when he deals with Toru Dutt and Shri Auro-

bindo. The two were very different writers and poets and yet Prof. Iyengar has dealt with them in a masterly manner. The delicate lyrics of Toru Dutt charmed such English critics as Edmund Gosse, while Aurobindo's epic poetry is still largely unappreciated in the West. Prof. Iyengar says, "Without question Shri Aurobindo is the one uncontestedly outstanding figure in Indo-Anglian literature. Tagore, no doubt, holds a comparable position in modern Bengali literature, though Indo-Anglian literature can claim him as one of its own unique reflected glories. But Shri Aurobindo, in so far as he was a writer, was not merely a writer who happened to write in English but really an English writer—almost as much as, say, a George Moore, a Lawrence Binyon or a W. B. Yeats. To acknowledge and salute the poet and the master of the 'other harmony' of prose is not, of course, to deny the teacher or the fighter or the patriot, the *yogi*, the philosopher or the prophetic engineer of the Life Divine. But they are indeed all of a piece : or rather is the same diamond—the Immortal Diamond—with different facets turned to our gaze at differene times."

Prof. Srinivasa Iyengar's main thesis is that Indian writings in English is a distinctive literature which claims recognition on its own merit—"a tree that has sprung up on hospitable soil from a seed that a random breeze has brought from afar". This Indo-Anglian literature has grown in spite of many difficulties not the least of which has been the pitiful neglect it has been treated with in England and the "superior" indifference it has met with at home. All that the author pleads for is an open mind approach to this literature "not too impatient to pause, nor too ready to condemn". He assures the reader with an open mind that he will "see some good in it after all". Some of the notable Indian writers have not written in any language but English and among them are Gandhi, Nehru, Aurobindo and Sarojini Naidu. It will be foolish to dismiss the writings of these great persons, much of which is really creative.

Not one of the least attractive aspects of the book is the brief but illuminating references to the works of a fairly large number of Indian poets, many of whom are not known beyond the narrow frontiers of their own language. Whether or not Prof. Srinivasa Iyengar succeeds in winning for Indian writings in English a recognition in the English-speaking world, he has certainly done the very important work of introducing Indian readers to a vast treasure house of Indian writing over the past one hundred and fifty years.

AFRICA SPEAKS : *Edited by James Duffy and Robert A. Manners, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., 1961, pp. 223, price Rs. 26/-.*

This book on Africa is different from others as it collects together contributions made by some of the leading African personalities of the time including Mr. Tom Mboya, President Kwame Nkrumah, President Sekou Toure, and the late Patrice Lumumba. They deal with particular aspects of Africa's emergence from Western domination and the problems which have followd political emancipation. Mr. Basil Davidson has written a most illuminating Introduction in which he has given the broad outlines of Africa's ancient civilization and culture. Mr. Mboya has dealt with the peculiar problems of East and Central Africa, while Mr. Julius Nyerere has touched the problem of building a democracy out of African realities. Mr. Nkrumah and Mr. Toure have both spoken in Pan-African terms. There are also articles dealing with the former Belgian Congo, the independence of the small Republic of Togo, the prospects in Kenya and in the Central African Federation and the complex problems of Portuguese Africa and South Africa. The inclusion of contributions by men like Mr. Michael Blundell, Sir Roy Welensky, Mr. Garfield Todd and Mr. Henrique Calvao enable the reader to look at the African panorama with the eyes of very different interests. This does not, however, make a solution of the problems necessarily easier. All in all, it is the voice of the black leaders of Africa which stands out and by and large, it is a voice of challenge and of inspired and dedicated vision.

CHANAKYA SEN

LE MONDE EN FRICHE : *By Gabriel Ardant. (Issued in 1959, by the Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 307 pages, price not stated).*

"Le monde en friche" or the world lying fallow. Granted that the aid given to the developing countries by the affluent countries of the West and of the New World has been timely as well as substantial. Granted that much more needs to be given and quickly unless the many worthy projects already started are to be abandoned. Granted that there is a growing appreciation in the advanced countries that the rising industries in the developing countries need outlets in the industrially mature countries if they are to survive. All good will granted, there still arise at least two intriguing questions: need the targets of the evo-

lution be necessarily the same for the developing countries as for the West and, moreover, need the development, spectacular as it is, be limited to the aid? No doubt, a better technique in management, that is a better deployment of skill and capital and avoidance of waste will render the programmes built up on aid far more effective but what is equally pressing is how by modifying the ends and by a better exploitation of the means, the results may be obtained quicker and be in the long run the more satisfactory. While there are many writers preoccupied with the immediate problems of aid and trade, it is refreshing to come across a writer in Monsieur Ardant who has many practical and interesting things to say about this supplementary approach.

Monsieur Ardant is a former Commissioner General of Productivity and has had much experience in the underdeveloped areas of Europe as well as of North Africa. He is the author of several books dealing with the problems of the developing areas and has written "La Science Economique et l'Action" in collaboration with Pierre Mende's-France. The fruits of his experience in North Africa have been embodied in "La Tunisie d'aujourd'hui et de demain ; une experience de developpement economique."

Devoted as he is to the drive for development or the "revolution of rising expectations" as the United Nations refer to it, Monsieur Ardant is yet emphatic on the need for the advanced countries to put their own house in order for, it is precisely in the growth in the latter countries through full employment, that there lies the hope of the developing countries for obtaining bigger and better aid. Moreover, he sees much merit in the programmes which the F.A.O. advocates of using surplus agricultural products to finance the economic development of the developing countries.

But Monsieur Ardant's forte lies really in the practical experience he has gained in helping the poorer countries to stand on their own feet. The author takes up Professor Frankel's point that the reshaping of the social structure is a necessary forerunner of every development policy and stresses that the so-called traditional structures are less the effect of religion or culture and more the consequence of the lack of essential factors of economic development, of unemployment and of insufficiency of industry and technical training. Having lived in the midst of it he has no terror of the "population explosion"; on the contrary, he regards population not as a liability but as an asset presenting opportunities for increased production. He is an anti-Malthusian but with a sophistication. With every mouth God has given an extra pair of hands but the hands must have work to do. Every village has improvements to carry out—wells to be dug, fields to be terraced, irrigation works to be built. With every piece of work, however small, comes the opportunity to develop man's self-respect, self-confidence and hope. Each piece of employment creates further employment. The future lies, therefore, not so much in a costly infrastructure and academic education though they are right enough in the right places, but in the multiplicity of simple works for ordinary people capable in the aggregate of contributing a greater power of good in the long run.

Monsieur Ardant considers that the absence of an intellectual heritage weighs more heavily on the underdeveloped countries than the absence of a material heritage. Paradoxically, he argues that it is only the most advanced type of administration that will meet the needs of the insufficiently developed countries since the higher the intellect guiding it the more capable will it be of simplifying problems, developing responsibility and creating initiative. To the truly imaginative like Monsieur Ardant the world is lying fallow!

MARGARET BASU

THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA: *By Paul Carus (Illustrated). Published by The Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. pp. 252, price Rs. 2/-.*

Buddhism has left a permanent mark on Indian Mind. Most of the later systems of thought were influenced either directly or indirectly by the ethical teachings of Buddha, Buddha's life and teachings still compel the reverence of mankind and his religion continues for decades as a dominating factor in human society not so much for its adhearance to logic and reason but for its uncompromising devotion to moral law. Buddhism has become a universal religion and scholars like Buhler, Rhys Davids, Lanman, Max Muller, Oldenburg have shown indefatiguable zeal to make Buddhism accessible to the Western World. The work under review is an illustration to the point. The author has compiled from old Buddhist canons the most significant passages and has given a free English rendering of the same. It characterises, in short compass, the spirit of

Buddhism and for this reason it has received warm welcome throughout the entire Buddhist world. Just after its first appearance in 1894 it was translated into Japanese, Chinese and subsequently in German, French, Spanish, Dutch, etc. In English version twelve editions have already been exhausted and the present work is the first Indian edition of the same.

In seven chapters the present compiler depicts the most cardinal doctrines of Buddhist Philosophy and Religion. He follows none of the sectarian doctrines like Mahayana and Hinayana, but his choice has been for the common elements of all the rival schools. The anecdotes of Buddha's life have been selected from that point of view. The prominent feature of the work is its lucid style of presentation of the most intricate metaphysical problems enunciated by Buddha. It evinces the compiler's clear understanding of those puzzling problems, viz., doctrine of Atman, Negativism, Buddhistic Monism, etc. The present volume does not contain any solution of historical problems relating to Buddha's life. It is not an attempt to popularise Buddhism but, as the author remarks, 'is intended to help people to comprehend Buddhism better' and to understand the trend of thought of those religious leaders of the remote past. The illustrations supplied by Olga Kopetzky are most befitting to the stories and faithfully reflect the spirit of the classical period of Buddhist Art. The Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, deserves congratulations of the academic world for bringing out this nice edition of a work of repute.

Gopikamohan Bhattacharya

CREATIVE TEACHING OF HISTORY: *By K. D. Ghose. Chuckarvertty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd. Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 5.*

History is a facinating study. The rise and fall of empires, and the common man's simple joys and sufferings get into the wide compass of history with equal felicity. To a true historian they get their due shares in treatment. But to historians who profess a lopsided ideology, this or that aspect of the Socio-political panorama might look important. This under-emphasis makes bad history books and when teachers uncritically accept such others and preach their gospels in history classes, incalculable harm is done thereby. We, in India, have been so harmed for centuries together. Our historians mostly belonged to people who ruled us. History was divested of its impartial character and it was made a tool for propaganda and exploitation. The teaching of history was so arranged in classes as to make us disbelieve our glorious part and to disown our old values, until recently the teaching of history did not receive much attention in India. As a result, the equipment of the teacher of history and his teaching methods were far from satisfactory. We had good teachers with personality and they strove their very best to make us history-conscious. But pupils did not respond satisfactorily. Because, to rouse their minds to apply themselves to understanding the lessons of the past and developing a critical attitude towards the problems of history, required more than personality and sincerity of purpose. The teacher of history must be familiar with the modern trends in education and methods of teaching which have proved good both here and abroad. The book under review proposes to introduce such methods and trends to the reading public. We must admit that very little has been written with particular reference to Indian history and to teaching conditions in India although we have a good number of similar books in Europe and America dealing local history and teaching conditions of the places concerned. Dr. Ghose was an eminent teacher and a noted educationist. He has done his very best to teach us how history could be taught as a living subject. He has referred to modern methods or techniques and the problem has received a complete reorientation at his hands. He has divided his book into eleven chapters. Notable amongst them are: Aims and values, The History course and its organization, The Presentation of History, The Source Method, History of Poetry and The History Teacher. The style of writing is lucid and this lucidity is punctuated by a deep and profound scholarship. We recommend the book to all teachers of history.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Cabinet: Right or Left?

The Economic Weekly of April, 14, gives the following analysis of the "new" Cabinet formed by Pandit Nehru:

Political pundits were confident that the General Elections had left a distinct imprint on the mind of the Prime Minister—as was clearly indicated from his fighting election speeches—and the ageing Jawaharlal would choose his new team with an eye to the future. It was, therefore, believed that the composition of the new Government would be slanted in favour of left as against right in the Congress. However, the general verdict in New Delhi is that the new Cabinet shows pronounced preference for *status quo*—'Old wine in old bottle.' May be there are more changes to come and the verdict is premature.

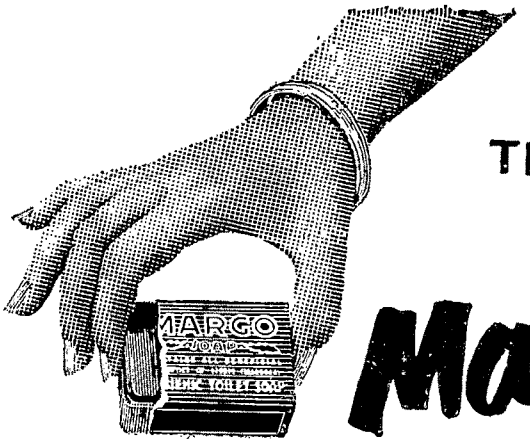
It had been thought that the wings of Shri Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil—the two who personalise the traditional right—would be clipped. It was also thought most probable that the Finance Ministry would be bifurcated and its most important department of Economic Affairs taken away from Shri Morarji. But Morarji retains his grip and so does Patil. Progressive circles are disappointed most on this count. They also regreat that Shri T. T. Krishnamachari has been left out. T. T. K., however, pegged his demand too high. He was prepared to accept no portfolio other than that of Finance as it is, or that of Economic Affairs *plus* Planning. He was offered Heavy Industries and Steel as it was thought that the essence of the 'socialist pattern' at the present stage is to strengthen these two sectors which constitute the backbone of the public sector. T. T. K., however, addressed a letter to the Prime Minister expressing his inability to join the Cabinet under the "present circumstances."

The better informed among the progressive circles are not, however, crestfallen. They read much in the promotion of Shri Keshav Dev Malaviya. "Shri Krishna Menon has now got his right hand" remarked a knowledgeable observer on the inclusion of Shri Malaviya in the Cabinet. Both these people have the tacit support on all policy matters of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shri Gulzarilal Nanda—two of the senior-most Ministers. The new-comer, Shri C. Subramaniam, will have ideological affinity with the Menon-Malaviya group rather than with the Desai-Patil group. Shri Jagjiwan Ram, another old guard in the Cabinet, though he has now been in a way demoted, has aligned himself against Morarji since the contest for Deputy Leadership. So from a negative standpoint, he can be expected to support the Menon-Malaviya group.

The remaining eight members of the Cabinet—Sardar Swaran Singh, K. C. Reddy, Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, Asoke Kumar Sen, B. Gopala Reddi, K. L. Shrimali, Humayun Kabir and Satya Narayan Sinha—have no particular alignment and are not committed to either of the groups. They will not do anything against the wishes of the Prime Minister. They will back the winning horse. It is not impossible that if—this is a big "if"—Menon and Malaviya are able to gain the upper hand in both policy and organisation, they will carry those non-committed with them. So it is contended that if any body has gained, it is the left, though the gain is marginal.

Emotionally, perhaps, the Prime Minister shares the outlook of Menon and Malaviya, though he may not always like to go to the extent to which they want him to go. There is also the question of morale. The Menon-Malaviya group feels it has emerged stronger. Morarji's stock, on the other hand, is on the decline. He was outmanoeuvred on the question of Deputy Leadership and then snubbed by the Goa operation. In the elections, he was badly mauled in his home State as all his key men were defeated. He also failed to install his nominees in the Chief Minister's *gaddi* in Mysore and Bihar. In the other States, he has no hold. It does not follow, however, that in the politics of the States, the Menon-Malaviya group is better placed.

Adverse comments has been made about the size of the Cabinet which is held to be unwieldly. In actual practice, the Cabinet will function in committees—the Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee, the Economic Affairs Sub-Committee and the Defence Sub-Committee. There would be less of collective functioning and reliance on one man—the Prime Minister—for policy decision, and his tendency of not taking his colleagues into confidence even on major issues will grow. The size of the Cabinet swelled as a result of the Prime Minister's desire to strike political and regional balances. Malaviya's claim for promotion was irresistible. But to balance that, the Prime Minister decided to upgrade Kabir and Sinha though on merit alone it could be hardly justified. Having decided to upgrade Kabir, Dr. Radhakrishnan pointed out that it would be indiscreet not to give the same promotion to Shrimali who was holding in fact a more important department than Kabir. Nehru accepted this suggestion. Gopala Reddi was upgraded on the ground of giving proper representation to the South. Thus in this process the size of the Cabinet grew from 12 to 17.



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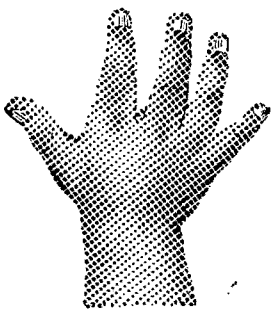

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Despite its large size, the composition of the Cabinet, however, has revealed the poverty of talent in the Congress party. For instance, there was a frantic search for an Education Minister who would give a fresh orientation to the educational system of the country to match the tasks of industrialisation of India. Apparently, no one could be found better than Shrimali. So the Education Ministry remains the weakest Ministry in the new Government. It is contended that at least three or four of the new entrants are below the mark of Cabinet Ministers. But other trees probably cannot flourish under the shade of a 'banyan' tree. The present Cabinet confirms the truth of this adage.

The Cabinet-making and appointments to some other senior Government and State jobs have also revealed the Hamlet in Jawaharlal Nehru. His inability to make up his mind in time caused embarrassment to a number of persons. The glaring case in point is that of M. C. Chagla. Within five days of his election to the Rajya Sabha on the understanding that he would find a place in the Cabinet, he was shunted off to London. Similarly, both Dr. Subbaroyan and Shri Ayyangar could have been spared the trouble of fighting the elections if they were to be made Governors. This time the Prime Minister did have additional difficulty as he did not have the benefit of the counsel of his senior colleagues. In 1957, there were Maulana Azad and Pandit Pant to help him to make up his mind. This time Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri could not carry the burden of advising the Prime Minister on selection of each and every Minister. But Dr. Radhakrishnan more than in his capacity as the next President, is learnt to have played a noteworthy role in helping the Prime Minister in Cabinet-making. Quite a few changes were made on the Vice-President's suggestion. This also indicates that Dr. Radhakrishnan will not be a mere figure-head and, as President, would be taking more active interest in advising his Prime Minister.

Pandit Nehru's vacillations are partly the result of his political outlook. His greatest anxiety, perhaps, is to pull both right and left together and yet give a progressive slant to the Government's policies. That he has been successful in this is mainly because of his powerful personality. The last elections have shown, however, that there is no other force in the country which could keep these two groups of the Congress together. "What after Nehru?" is, therefore, not futile political speculation in the context of the present situation and in view of the advancing age of the Prime Minister. It is a question posed by the developing political situation. To evade it would be to close one's eyes to reality.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Success Costs Less Than Failure

There has been a lot of controversy over the U.N. intervention in the Congo, and further the expenses have been challenged likewise, when further monetary aid was being asked for. The following editorial in the **Saturday Review** of New York, February 10, gives a clear comparative statement:

When the fighting ended in Korea in 1953, this was the reckoning:
800,000 Koreans homeless;
415,000 Korean soldiers dead;
56,000 U.N. troops from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Turkey, Australia, France, Columbia, Ethiopia, Greece, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, New Zealand, South Africa, Thailand, and the Philippines dead.

The dollar cost to the United States was $18,000,000,000—and we haven't finished paying for it yet. The current expense of maintaining armed forces in Korea, as well as policing the truce, runs in excess of $100,000,000 a year.

The question that many people asked about the Korean War at the time was whether the U.N. might not have been able to prevent it from occurring by having troops at the highly volatile dividing line between the two parts of Korea. In a more general way, of course, people have asked why the U.N. has to wait until a crisis develops into a shooting war before it is able to act.

These questions are being answered today. For this is precisely what the U.N. has been doing in the Congo. All the elements of a super-Korea were present in the Congo in July, 1960, when the Congo became an independent nation. The Congo is situated in the heart of Africa and has radiating power throughout a large part of the continent. It is one of the richest nations in the world in terms of material resources, being a prime producing center for copper, tin, uranium, and cobalt.

The Congolese were not prepared for self-government. The result was the kind of disintegration that made it a potential arena of conflict among outside powers. Belgium's troops returned in an attempt to restore order. The Soviet Union sent arms, trucks, and planes to the Congo at the personal request of the then Premier, Patrice Lumumba. The United Nations sent troops to restore order and reduce the danger that the vacuum in the Congo would be filled by the Soviet Union or any other outside nation, large or small. The United States Government supported the action of the U.N. in the Congo both because of its commitments to an independent Africa and because Soviet troops in the African heartland might have forced a U.S. decision to go into the Congo with force of its own.

In any event, the only agency in the world that was in a position to head off a showdown situation acted in time. It sent 20,000 troops. It also sent large numbers of teachers, engineers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, business and trade experts, agricultural specialists, road builders, mechanics, communications and transportation experts.

Danger in the Congo has not been fully dissolved. But for the first time since July, 1960, when the trouble began, affairs in the Congo seem to be in hand. The threat of the big-power confrontation has sharply diminished. The United Nations still faces an ordeal in the Congo, but it has already made its most important contribution to world peace since its founding.

It costs money to fight a war. It also costs money to avert one. The cost of maintaining U.N. stabilizing operations in the Congo has been about $10,000,000 a month. This is added to the cost of maintaining U.N. emergency forces in Gaza. As a result, the U.N. will have an estimated deficit of almost $200,000,000 by the end of 1962. The money has to come from somewhere. If it doesn't, the U.N. cannot continue. It is not a national sovereign government that can levy taxes or maintain a debt indefinitely. Therefore, the U.N. is asking the member nations to subscribe to a bond issue of $200,000,000. The money would be repaid over a twenty-five-year period with an annual interest yield of 2 per cent.

The question now before the United States is whether it will subscribe to its full share. The United States, enjoying 80 per cent of the world's income, has a quota of only half the full amount of the bond issue, or $100,000,000. This is equivalent to less than one cent for every five dollars we put into national armaments each year. It is far less than the amount we write off each year in false starts in manufacturing military equipment or in planes or missiles that are obsolete even before they go into general production. It is less than one-fifth of one per cent of the cost of putting a man on the moon. Finally, it is less than it cost to fight a war in Korea for only one week. Yet an attempt is being made in the United States to block the required appropriation of funds—not a gift, not an assessment, but a loan repayable with interest.

What is being debated now is the cost of U.N. success. It might be useful to consider what the cost would be if the U.N. should fail. In the latter case, the amount of the bond issue could be multiplied by one thousand times or even ten thousand times and no one would have any way of knowing whether it would be enough. But the essential question has nothing to do with dollars or bond issues or deficits. The essential question is whether the peace of the world can be kept without a world organization and, also, what has to be done to develop that organization into an agency with the responsible powers of enforceable law. For if the U.N. can evolve into such a body, then the people on this earth have a reasonable chance of staying alive, improving the conditions of meaningful existence, and advancing the prospects of human freedom.

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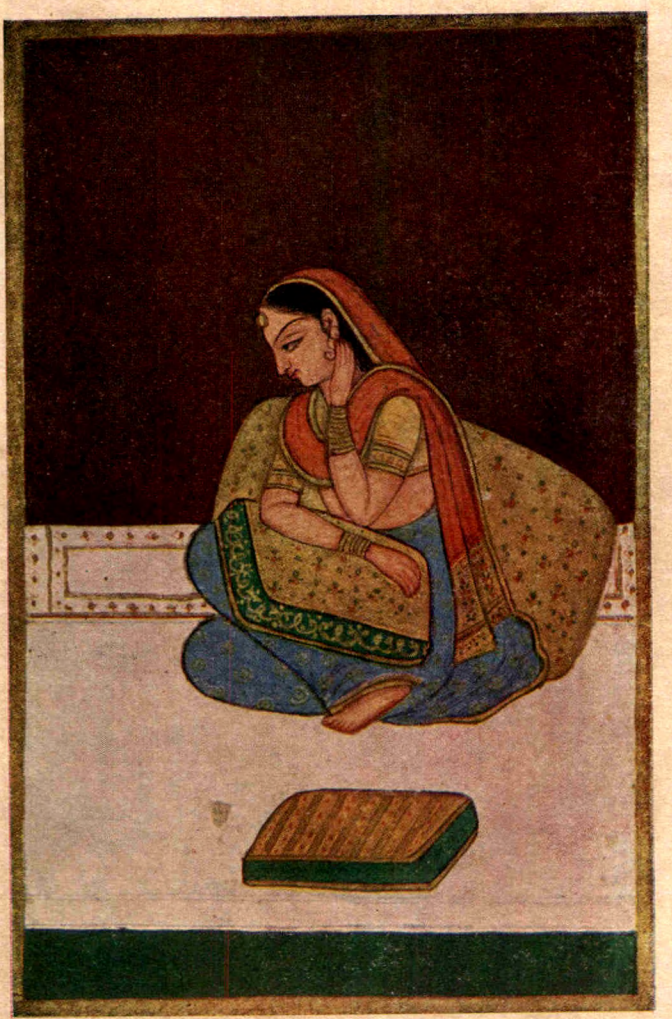

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NOTES

The World

On April 22, 1961, four Generals of the French army, no longer on active service, led a rebellion in Algeria in an attempt to stall and defeat the peace-negotiations that General de Gaulle had initiated as the President of the Republic of France to settle the terms and conditions for a cease-fire in Algeria and for the progressive steps leading to the liberation of Algeria and the Algerians. President de Gaulle had obtained the sanction of the people of France proper, through a nation-wide plebiscite, in which the vast majority of the voters indicated their assent to the proposals of the President to end this genocidal war which was being waged in Algeria in the name of France, against the children of the soil of that stricken and agonised country and against all the moral and ethical principles that were the bases of human liberties. In reality this war was being waged to perpetuate the domination of a million French **colons** (colonists) over nine million Moslem Algerians who had been ruthlessly exploited and deprived of their birth-rights in order to feed the rapacious maws of the French settlers. The details of this seven-year long war, which had lowered French prestige to abysmal depths by the atrocious methods practised by the army commanders, are too well-known to need capitulation here.

The rebellion, which was sparked off by a mutiny led by some paratroopers, collapsed because the bulk of the army remained loyal and because there were no armed uprisings in France proper, much to the surprise and disappointment of the rebel leaders. But a new terror was born out of this abortive **putch,** in the form of a secret army organization, the O.A.S., formed of the die-hard and ruthless elements in the army and their civilian supporters, and led by General Raoul Salan. The objective was, as before, to launch an organized campaign of terror in order to precipitate large scale disorders that would upset General de Gaulle's programme for the transfer of power in Algeria. In this attempt they received active support from the **colons** who were mostly irreconciliables. **The New York Times** gave a summary of the situation up to the arrest of General Salan in the following editorial:

"The one million European settlers of Algeria call themselves **pieds noirs**—black feet—in proud reference to the time their forefathers arrived barefoot, figuratively speaking, onto Algerian soil. It is their way of saying they belong to Algeria, and Algeria to them.

"Down the years, the **pieds noirs** have thrown their full support to any movement which set itself up against concessions to

Algeria's nine million Moslems. They rioted in 1956 and 1958 when Paris proposed talks with the Moslem rebel leaders; they became Gaullists until General de Gaulle, who came to power in the 1958 uprising, showed he was not their man; they banked on the Army until even the Army proved an unsure ally. In April and May, 1961, they placed their last hope on the **Organisation de l'Armee Secrete**—the O.A.S. In doing so they wedded their cause with one of the strangest insurrectionary movements in modern history.

"Its leader, Salan, was a man the settler extremists tried to murder in 1957, when he was French Commander-in-Chief in Algeria and was regarded as a liberal. The mystique of **"Algerie Francaise"** began to work on General Salan, however, he was involved in the settler-Army insurrection that pulled down the Fourth Republic in May, 1958, and was a rallying point for extreme rightists by the time he retired from the Army in 1959. From self-exile in Spain he flew to Algiers when Generals Maurice Challe, Edmond Jouhaud and Andre Zeller raised the mutiny of April, 1961. When the revolt collapsed four days later, Challe and Zeller gave themselves up; Salan went into hiding with Jouhaud and organized the O.A.S. along military lines.

"Under Salan in the O.A.S. was a clutch of colonels—veterans, like him, of the Indo-China war—waging "revolutionary war" learned from Mao Tse-tung (as they explained it) against "Communism" (their name for any anti-colonial movement) in Algeria. Under these leaders gathered a motley collection of thugs, neo-Fascists, romantic youths, deserters from the Foreign Legion, and ordinary people who compared their fight with that of the Irish Republican Army or the wartime French resistance.

"But the most important source of the Secret Army strength were the **pieds noirs** who did not join the O. A. S., but paid 'contributions,' connived at its lawlessness, made their homes hiding places for killers and stolen arms.

"The showdown wtih Paris began when a cease-fire ended the Algerian war five weeks ago. Stepping up its campaign of terrorism and destruction the O.A.S. collided with the French Army and was thrown back with a heavy loss of lives. The capture last month of General Jouhaud, Salan's second in command, was a blow to O.A.S. morale.

"Since then, however, the O.A.S. has settled down to steady indiscriminate slaughter of Moslems in Algiers and Oran. with the purpose of goading them into mass attacks on the Europeans. The O.A.S. hope has been that the French Army would then fire on the Moslems and become 're-engaged' in a struggle to keep Algeria French."

Then on April 20, that is, almost a year to-a-day after the original **putch**, General Salan was captured in a flat in Algiers, disguised as a business man, with dyed hair and a moustache, without any struggle whatsover. He was flown to Paris and incarcerated in the Sante prison. He had been sentenced to death in absentia but was given a new trial in accordance with French law before the same tribunal that retried General Jouhaud and confirmed his sentence of death in April.

But, contrary to what was expected the tribunal passed the sentence of life-imprisonment on Salan. As to why this leniency on this arch-criminal, the free-world is at a loss to conjecture.

Salan was once the most decorated soldier in France, though his record has been tarnished beyond redemption by the well-planned mass-slaughter of unarmed civilians, inclusive of women and children and the singular unwillingness of his ruthless killers to show fight when faced with armed opposition. It is said that the military Tribunal, set-up to try the rebel officers, have admitted the appeal of Jouhaud against the death sentence pronounced on him, although there is neither any precedent nor any legal authorization for such a procedure and then they have let Salan get-away with his life. General de Gaulle has dismissed the Tribunal publicly as a measure of censure against these lapses on their part, which seem to indicate their unwillingness

to mete out just and condign punishment on these criminals.

There is nothing heroic about the O.A.S., they are just a large band of criminals who are committing by stealth and secret manouvres particularly heinous crimes that offend against all accepted tenets of humane relations. They are efficient killers having had the requisite training in the handling of weapons and uptil recently they have had the open and brazen support of hundreds of thousands of European settlers who were equally lost to all sense of human dignity and freedom. These settlers—the **pied-noir** of the French—are now flying back to their homeland in Continental France by the tens of thousand, and by their behaviour are arousing the intense disgust and resentment of the French, who had not realized how depraved these **colons** could be, prior to actual contact with them. The O.A.S. is trying to prevent their supporters from leaving the country in panic-stricken flight after the French conscript soldiers started retaliating with sustained violence against the O.A.S., whose open resistance crumpled up in a matter of days before the assault of the regulars.

The days of trial of the Moslems is by no means over, but so far they have borne their heavy burden with dignity and fortitude.

The other disturbed area, in last month's picture is in that part of Asia that was formerly known as French Indo-China. Here too the French waged a long and ruthless campaign of denial of liberties to subjects of French Colonialism, which in this area had a false facade of benevolent indirect suzereignty maintained by puppet regimes. When the peoples of these areas rebelled, the mask of benevolence came off. But unfortunately for France, Red China took a hand in the wars and World opinion also became outraged by the conduct of the French campaign by professional militarists. France had to pull out after a series of disasters and out of the wreckage of the French Colonial empire in that area four small states emerged, namely North Viet-nam, South Viet-nam, Laos and Cambodia. The war cost France 5,000 million dollars of which 2,000 millions were misused U.S. aid money.

The advent of Red China in the campaigns of liberation has left a tangled mass of complications stemming from the Chinese bid for expansion South-wards to the China Sea, gulf of Siam and, eventually the Indian Ocean. The most complicated situation is in Laos where the Communist led Pathet Lao forces have again become active, pushing back the Royalist forces—almost in a rout—almost to the Thailand border. Thailand had called on her SEATO allies for aid when it seemed that the Pathet Lao forces had occupied the bank of the river Mekong, which forms the Laos-Thailand boundary line in that area on the Laos side. U.S. Marines were landed and squadrons of British and U.S. fighter planes and mechanized artillery were flown with the marines to the Thailand border.

The situation in these areas is complicated beyond measure by the attitude of the Rightist leaders, particularly by the intransigence of the Premier of Laos. Prince Boun Oum and his Defence Minister General Phoumi Nasavan—whose soldiers will not fight—and by the inflexible authoritarian attitude of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dien Diem. The **New York Times** of May 13, summed up the situation after the rout of the Royalist troops at Nam Tha and the approach of the Pathet Lao forces to the Thailand border by taking the strategic port of Hovei Sai on the Laos side of the Mekong river, in the following editorial:

"At the White House yesterday, President Kennedy conferred with his top military and diplomatic advisers. The agenda—South-east Asia. Grave problems are now posed there for the West.

The stakes are huge. The South-east Asia area is the last Western foothold on the great land mass of east Asia. The loss of one or more of the South-east Asian countries might produce what has been called the "falling domino" effect. The result would be a grave threat to the security of India and to the United States' allies and strongholds in the Western Pacific.

Last week attention was focused on the two South-east Asian countries under critical Communist pressure—Laos and South Vietnam.

As for Laos, the United States moved fleet

units towards the area in the hope of discouraging Communist military pressures. But there was evidence that the United States might be preparing to write off the country. Washington seemed to believe that the rightist forces it had been supporting neither could stem the Communist tide, nor would accept a workable compromise.

As for South Vietnam, the picture was brighter. A U.S. advisory force has been helping the government troops wage a more effective campaign against Communist guerrillas. But a disturbing question hangs over Vietnam: Will the U.S. intervention possibly produce stepped-up Chinese Communist and Soviet intervention?

The outlook in Laos appeared precarious from the U.S. point of view. The chances seemed to have narrowed for achieving the genuinely neutralist, buffer regime that Washington, with the supposed support of Moscow, had been hoping to establish. One of the consequences might be a serious blow to the South-east Asia Treaty Organization—mainstay of the Western defenses in the area. In South Vietnam, even with the improved picture, the outlook was for a long, hard struggle.

A Buddhist mountain kingdom of three million inhabitants, Laos was thrust into the maelstrom of the cold war because of its strategic geographic position. It is landlocked, has common borders with Communist China, North and South Vietnam, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia, and is thus a corridor for the Communist push into South-east Asia. Its fall would endanger Western defenses throughout the region.

The scene of confused struggle between rightist, pro-Communist and neutralist forces since the end of French rule in 1949, Laos was under intense Communist pressure when President Kennedy entered the White House. Given the unfavorable military situation prevailing in Laos, the President decided to try for political compromise.

The groundwork for a compromise in Laos was laid by President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev at their meeting in Vienna in June, 1961. The two leaders agreed to establish "a neutral and independent Laos" as a buffer zone between the Communist and Western power blocs. Out of that basic agreement there evolved, in negotiations in Geneva, a plan for a coalition government in Laos that would unite the rightist U.S.-backed regime of Prince Boun Oum, the pro-Communist Pathet Lao forces of Prince Souphanouvong, and a neutralist faction headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma.

The Boun Oum government, however, has refused to enter into a coalition unless it is given the ministries of the Interior (police) and Defence (army), which under the Geneva plan were to go, along with the Premiership, to Prince Souvanna Phouma. Negotiations between the three Princes have broken down, and the cease-fire reached in May, 1961, has become increasingly shaky.

Fears of a resumption of civil war were heightened recently when the rightists began strengthening Nam Tha, a besieged outpost twenty miles from the Chinese border, despite U.S. warnings that the build-up was putting a dangerous strain on the cease-fire. The U.S. has provided the Boun Oum Government with substantial military assistance and has military advisers in Laos, but no troops. Last February the U.S. suspended its aid of $3,000,000 per month to Boun Oum because of his resistance to negotiating a compromise.

Last Monday the Pathet Lao struck at Nam Tha and the Government forces withdrew, putting up little if any resistance. The Communists drove on to capture two more outpost towns the next day. Whether or not the attack had been provoked by the Nam Tha build-up, it was a clear violation of the cease-fire, and the U.S. and Britain at once requested Moscow to prevail upon the Pathet Lao forces to pull back to their original positions. The same request was reported to have been sent to Prince Souphanouvong, the Pathet Lao leader, by Prince Souvanna Phouma, in Paris for medical treatment."

The latest reports indicate that the Pathet Lao forces are not in evidence at the Mekong river outpost. It is as yet uncertain, however, whether the three Princes will come to any accord.

Conflicting ideas were being held on the method of resolving the complexities caused by Communist attempts at taking over this part of South-East Asia. Reporting by particularly biased newspaper and agency personnel who were totally ignorant about the attitude of the peoples of those areas, further led to blunders by the West.

India and Her Neighbours

We have been living with the "enemy at our doors" cry ringing in our ears for some years now. Pakistan came into existence with the avowal that it was no friend of India nor kith or kin with the Indian peoples, and despite all occasional aberrations on the part of our great men, it has continued to be an implacable foe of India, though occasionally a mask of friendship has been put on in order to fool those in authority here.

Red China came into close touch with us in the garb of a friend. And in the guise of a friendly neighbour she committed acts of treachery and despite all protests from us has continued with her aggressive moves in a truly brazen fashion. It is evident to all the world, inclusive of even Pandit Nehru, that China can be stopped only if her aggressive forces are met with force. We have been promised and assured that the preparations for the final show-down—which is bound to come despite fond hopes of Mr. Krishna Menon—are proceeding apace, but so far we find only "Protest Notes" and "Strong Protest Notes", while the Chinese carry on with their aggression.

The latest notes were placed on the table of the Lok Sabha by Mrs. Lakshmi Menon on the 29th of May, in reply to questions put by some members. They contained the following bits of information:

The Government of India in its note described the Chinese allegations as "totally unjustified and baseless" and lodged an emphatic protest with the Government of China "for continuing their aggressive activities and establishing fresh posts on Indian territory and accusing the Government of India of sending troops to intrude into what is indisputably Indian territory".

The Indian note said that the setting up of the new Chinese military post about 8|10 miles south-east of Spanggur constituted a further serious violation of Indian territory and an act of grave provocation.

The Chinese note of May 11 alleged that on May 2. twenty Indian troops intruded into a place about four kilometres from a new Chinese military post set up at Jechitung; that intruding Indian troops had set up a military outpost in the area; and that on May 5, two Indian soldiers advanced 600 metres deeper into the area and fired three rounds at a Chinese post.

Repudiating these allegations the Indian note said that Indian troops did not enter the area on May 2, and 5, as alleged in the Chinese note, nor had they established any fresh post. On the contrary, Chinese troops moved down south from their post at Spanggur and established a new post at approximately 8|10 miles south-east of Spanggur on Indian territory. This had been fortuitously admitted in the Chinese note.

"Furthermore", the Indian note said, "as the Government of China are aware, Chinese troops are digging in at this new post and are constructing fortifications.

As to the allegation that intruding Indian troops resorted to firing on Chinese troops on May 5, this again in untrue. A similar allegation about firing by Indian troops made in the Chinese note of August 12, 1961, was categorically repudiated in the Government of India's reply dated October 31, 1961".

The Indian note said that in the face of the aggressive activities being systematically pursued by Chinese forces on Indian territory, it was incongruous for the Government of China to bring up charges against India of "aggravating tension' and 'creating incidents of bloodshed'.

"There can be no doubt in any quarter", the note said, "that the Government of China are resorting to these allegations as they had done in the past in order to cover up their fresh sets of aggression on Indian territory."

The note added, "As the Government of China are aware, the international boundary in this sector of the border cuts across the eastern part of Spanggur Lake and follows the northern and eastern water-shed of the Indus. The setting up of the new Chinese military post about 8|10 miles south-east of Spanggur constitutes a further serious violation of Indian territory and an act of grave provocation.

"The Government of India lodged an emphatic protest with the Government of China for thus continuing their aggressive activities and establishing fresh posts on Indian territory and accusing the Government of India of sending troops to intrude into what is indisputably Indian territory. If the Government of China are at all interested in maintaining the *status quo* and the peace on the border, they would be well-advised to restrain

their forces and desist from constantly pushing forward and setting up new military posts on Indian territory. If any breach of the peace results from the unabated pursuit of aggressive ends by China, the responsibility rests solely with the Government of the Peoples' Republic of China. Allegations against the Government of India, totally devoid of any substance whatever, only add to the mischief of aggression, which China conduct continually."

The situation has been further complicated by the moves of these two inimical neighbours to join hands and to proceed against India on a preconceived plan, masked under the pretence of settlement of boundaries. The U. S. Government further complicated matters by presenting Pakistan with two squadrons of supersonic jet fighter planes, which India is now obliged to match with equal or better planes, purchased by cash since she has not pledged her fealty, either to the West or to the Soviets, who in their turn are willing to supply India with suitable fighter planes at prices much more reasonable than asked for elsewhere. The deal is as yet not closed.

King Mahendra of Nepal in his wisdom has opened his northern gates to the Chinese. Of course, he is fully at liberty to do so. But we wonder whether the consequences of such friendly overtures by the Chinese have been fully considered by His Majesty. In any case, we have to be prepared for eventualities ensuing out of such a reckless act.

The position is not quite clear as yet to persons outside the charmed circle surrounding the Ministries of External Affairs and of Defence, and we can only hope that the powers-that-be are now viewing affairs with more vigilant and wide-open eyes and that their perceptions are no longer as inhibited as it has been in that last few years.

Calcutta and India

There has been an idea in the minds of the people of West Bengal that the Central Cabinet gets strangely inhibited when affairs of their home state come up for discussion or action before that august, omnipotent (where internal affairs of India are concerned) and intensely parochially bent body. The Hooghly river, through which flows the life-blood of West Bengal—and of North-east India—has been dying over a period of four or five decades. Things went from bad to worse during the last stages of British rule, when incompetence and prejudice held high office at New Delhi. The experts who were called in casually to examine the fast-deteriorating navigable channels and to suggest and devise means for prevention and regeneration, put forward various schemes which were pigeon-holed as soon as they were received. The river went on dying slowly.

After freedom, the State Government took up the matter with the powers that be at the centre. The usual long-drawn process of battledore and shuttlecock with files and memos followed and finally it was decided that an expert body be asked to examine the conditions and also the proposed remedies, the main attention to be centred on the port of Calcutta and long-term remedies, such as the Ganga Barrage at Farakka being put off for consideration in the Five-Year Plans which were then in the offing.

No remedial measures followed. Only a few half-hearted steps were taken to prevent the total collapse of the Port of Calcutta through the complete silting up of the channels, a few dredgers being pitted against the forces of the sand and silt bearing waters of the Ganga and of the mighty tidal bores. The First Five-Year Plan practically skiffed the question of the Hooghly river and the Calcutta Port. But then the people were told that Food and Agriculture were being stressed upon and our finances being strictly limited little else could be done beyond the dot-and-carry-one procedure being adopted for other problems. This seemed reasonable particularly as assurances were given that an expert committee would soon be commissioned to go into the matter fully.

The Second Plan was formulated—and there was virtually nothing in there for the problem of the Hooghly river and the Port of Calcutta. Experts came, examined the situation and the Farakka Barrage proposal from different angles, gave their considered opinion on the subjects—and departed. The people of West Bengal began to get agitated as it became evident that the whole

question was being shelved by the wise-acres of New Delhi, who were even oblivious of the fact that about 50% of the foreign-exchange earning exports of the Indian Union and all the imported food-stuffs that were essential for meeting the food shortages in North-east India, came through this main artery of shipping traffic. New Delhi cast a bilious-eyed glance at the files and questions and the matter was put on the table for the Third Five-Year Plan. Meanwhile the Hooghly went on dying.

The Third Five-Year Plan was made public after a lot of usual "hot air" exchanges. The Hooghly and the Port of Calcutta found mention in it and it was seen that at last the Farakka Barrage Scheme was being taken in hand—but only with the lesser three fingers of the left hand, if one is to judge by the importance attached to the problem. The scheme was spread over the Third and the Fourth Five-Year Plans, and judging by the speed and progress of the work, it will spread over to the umpteenth Plan, if it is not shelved before that. Meanwhile the Hooghly is slowly dying.

The situation is bad enough as it is and the navigable channels of the river leading up to the Port of Calcutta are so tortuous and treacherous that it needs the highest degree of skill and attention on the part of the pilots to bring in and take out ocean-going ships at the best of times. The famed Hooghly "bore" is becoming more frequent and more and more powerful; as a result the sands and shallows are being shifted all over the main-stream. And to aggravate matters still further came the news on May 2 that forty of the forty-six Hooghly pilots had decided to implement their resignations as from the midnight of May 1, that is, the night between the 1st and the 2nd of May.

What followed was not only confusing but in many respects deplorable. On the one side we had a group of highly trained and responsible technical men who evidently felt that not only had their grievances been brushed aside but their honour was impugned in addition. And further they took the ordinance, issued to deter them from stopping work, as being an unjustifiable and coercive measure—it was ill-considered in any case—promulgated in order to deny them justice. On the other hand, we had the ministry trotting out statements which were bewildering even to the more discriminating and balanced sections of the public. Further, the ministry took recourse to "emergency" measures, in order to relieve the congestion of shipping in the port and in order to bring in ships with essential cargoes, which did not work to any appreciable extent. But what the minister did not do was to come down to Calcutta and to study and discuss matters with the aggrieved body of technical men.

It is no use now, going into the merits of the case, from either of the differing view-points. But there is no doubt that this stoppage of work by the pilots has caused considerable loss to the country and that the responsibility for the losses cannot be solely ascribed to the action of the pilots. The Ministry has not, to our judgement, displayed either the aptitude to tackle problems of the magnitude posed by this port traffic jam or the spirit of negotiation that one expects from a minister when dealing with a group of technical men who were undoubtedly suffering under a sense of denial of justice, whatever be the other aspects of the case. The Minister-in-Charge has not shone in this affair, and but for Mr. Jagjivan Ram intervenig the impasse may have continued for some time more. To many who have followed the affair closely, it appears that the impasse could have been resolved at least a fortnight earlier on the same lines if the ministry had displayed a less inflexible and more tactful attitude. However, the trouble is over for the time being.

We shall conclude this note with a quotation from **The Statesman** of May 29th which carried the following piece of news:

The Union Commerce Ministry is understood to have agreed to allow Calcutta Corporation to import 18 electrical pumping machinery to increase the city's water supply and improve the drainage system under a long-delayed project. Altogether the Corporation requires 22 such pumps—13 for water supply and nine for drain-

age—entailing foreign exchange expenditure of about Rs. 43,00,000.

The Centre had so far refused to sanction import of these machinery because of the foreign restrictions and had asked the municipality to secure the pumps from indigenous sources. The schemes have already been delayed by about five years.

The present sanction is the result of a representation made to the Union Government by the Corporation. The municipality's officiating Chief Engineer, Mr. S. Mitra, went to Delhi a few days ago and finalized the sanction with an official of the Commerce Ministry. The 18 pumps to be imported will cost a little over Rs. 36,00,000. It has been agreed that efforts should be made to secure the other four pumps, all for drainage, from indigenous sources. If this is not possible the Government should be approached again.

The necessary release of foreign exchange for the 18 pumps, it is understood, its expected to be made directly by the Union Finance Ministry as an "ad hoc" allotment and not from the quota of any other Ministry. While in Delhi, Mr. Mitra also appealed to Dr. Roy to get the foreign exchange released quickly through his good offices, it is learnt.

The five million peoples living in the greatest city in the Union have been suffering from the shortages in water supply and drainage facilities for many years now. So far the blame has been placed—with full justification be it said—on the "City Fathers" of Calcutta. Now it comes out that the Central Minisrty has aided and abetted in this criminal neglect. We would not have used such a strong term if we thought that the Centre had wasted less than **43 crores** of public funds within the same five years!

THE EDITOR

Gold Smugglers

There has been quite a lot of sensation over the death of an Indian diplomat in Vienna, who, it is now found out and officially confirmed by Shri Morarji Desai, had something to do with the Government of India's efforts at putting a stop to the tremendous racket of smuggling gold into India. Shri Morarji Desai quite unnecessarily tried to give the case a plain and common colouring. For those who knew the diplomat personally have not believed the story of taking an overdose of sleeping tablets. No one, for example, undresses in his bedroom and takes an overdose of sleeping tablets in his drawing room; sitting on a sofa. Also the diplomat had mentioned to one of his friends that he was expecting a visit from some troublesome persons the same evening. The diplomat moreover was not the type, at all to take an overdose of sleeping tablets. The fact that a Delhi newspaper reporter in Vienna began sending colourful reports about the diplomat's death, made it quite clear that there were people who wanted a particular version of the incident to be broadcast widely in order to establish a reason for his death. Why there should be such eagerness to prove that he had taken an overdose of sleeping tablets is something that requires investigation. Also, who were the people who stimulated the newspaper reporter in Vienna to send his specially prepared reports. Also, were there any relations of any highly placed person in Delhi involved in the gold racket? For the deceased had been to India only a few weeks before he went back to Vienna and he gave some very valuable infromation to the Government of India about gold smuggling. He was a youngman, very happily married and attached to his wife and children, who had a wide awake and extremely courageous nature. He could face any situation boldly and was not the type to seek a cowardly way out of anything. It is, therefore, not believed by his friends and relations that he took an overdose of sleeping tablets. Rather it is accepted by all who knew him that he was finding out too much about the great men who made their millions by having gold smuggled into India. And that certain international crooks were employed by persons at the Indian end to put a stop to his enquiries by any means, fair or foul.

There are quite a number of extremely rich people in India whose immense wealth cannot be accounted for. Tax evasion, black market and profiteering also cannot account for the great wealth they have amassed. That several hundred crores worth of gold

has been smuggled into India is very well-known. Also other gems and valuable articles like watches, fountain pens and other precious metals. These yield a profit which is very large even after writing off all detections by the Customs people. In the circumstances, the smugglers are the spearheads of a great bunch of financiers and organisers, who would stop at nothing to carry on their illicit activities. The youngman who gave his life for stopping the exploitation of his motherland by low crooks, surely deserves honour and protection (of his good name) from the Government of India. If instead of doing their duty to their loyal and trusted workers the Government of India try to protect the crooks, it would be a very condemnable act indeed. We hope Pandit Nehru will personally look into this case and see that justice is done. There are limits even to corruption and we have very nearly reached the extreme end of managing the affairs of the State without reference to ethics. Let Pandit Nehru take some action now and make his speeches afterwards.

A. C.

Supply of War Material

There is some difference of opinion and strong feelings about the supply of war material that India requires. It is reported that India has been negotiating with Russia for the supply of two squadrons of M I G Jet planes. But America has feelings about this negotiation. They think that Russia will stop supply of spares in case of India's war with China. We think that America may stop supplies in case India had to fight Pakistan, so that it remains equally safe or unsafe for India to buy Jet planes from Russia or the U.S.A. We still remember vaguely what happened to the Egyptian air force when it fought Israel some 10-12 years ago. The planes were supplied to Egypt by Britain. The best thing always is to build one's own planes. And one may expect that India, having spent thousands of crores of rupees, obtained by terribly heavy taxation, and borrowings, should be in a position to get all her war material from internal sources. If the public sector has failed to achieve that degree of efficiency, foreign firms may be allowed to do the job in collaboration with Indians who may belong to either sector. We think this should be quite easy to do as there are many big foreign firms who may wish to collaborate. Then there are Japanese and West German technicians who are competent to carry out the plans.

A. C.

Education and Progress

Education is commensurate with human existence. The earliest man must have received education from his mother and thus managed to live in spite of the Presence of Mammoths, Sabre tooth Tigers and other wild creatures. He also learnt various other things from older men and women and built up his store of knowledge in order to be stronger, craftier and more capable. The progress of humanity depended much on education and, slowly, as communities developed and organised themselves in larger and more complex shapes, education began to be institutionalised. The ancient *ashramas*, *gurus* and the great temples of Egypt with their priests and trainees and the great philosophers of the Greeks are all examples of man's effort to educate the young. The modern universities, colleges, schools and training centres are more specialised and have clear cut purposes of a thousand kinds which have a definite significance in the management of human affairs. These affairs, however, are not *always* clearly defined. There are some problems which are vague and half-known. Some difficulties that are felt, but cannot be stated in precise terms. Progress requires exploration, experiments, probes into the dark and obscure regions of knowledge and plunges into the unknown in search of light. The development of the ability to know and to discover is something that is a fundamental for progress and growth. Modern education, however, does not develop this ability to the extent that ancient education achieved this objective. Our boys and girls go to school and then to colleges and universities ; but they do not learn to think and to investigate. They master the arts and the crafts and build up stockpiles of knowledge ; but their minds do not develop that quality which enables one to cut through the darkness of ignorance by independent thinking and free enquiry. Our education produces mechanical thinking and application of

knowledge through known channels of approach. The main reason for this intellectual short-coming is neglect of the classics in our educational programme. Classical languages, philosophy and history were the steps by which great thinkers of the past climbed the heights that they reached. The great books of the past which people studied in order to attune their mental outlook with that of the *rishis* and great philosophers of history, are no longer studied by the modern aspirants to knowledge. They are guided into the precincts of learning by persons who have their programme charted out by committees and ministries which have no intellectual outlook worth talking about. The result is dead adherence to curricula and the production of minds which can carry out orders but not think.

A. C.

The Olympic Ideal

The Olympic ideal has no politics in it. There are no secret plans in it to win over the youth of all nations to the cause of the Russian or Chinese variety of liberty, equality and fraternity; nor to the ideal of prosperity through mutual exploitation, known as the American type of democracy. The Olympic ideal is one of physical fitness and of friendly competition in games, sports and atheletics. All nations of the world join the Olympic Games in order to display the prowess of their men and women in the playground, the sports arena, the gymnasium, the boxing ring, the wrestling mat and the swimming pool. This meeting of the best of all nations naturally stimulates the spirit of physical improvement and we believe the present-day tendency among the youth of all nations to be strong, well built, graceful and healthy is largely due to the propagation of the Olympic ideal. The joy of existence is intensified by being healthy and strong and there is no doubt that men and women work better, live better and feel better, if they adopted an open air life of physical activities. And they learn to respect others and to live in a friendly and amicable manner. Peaceful Co-existence becomes a living reality if the peoples of the world lived a life of joy born of good health. Jealousies and the mean reactions which cause disputes and wars are largely the products of physical-mental ill health and a diseased outlook which have their roots in the vicious soil of the so-called places of amusement like drinking booths, night clubs and other dungeons of pleasure. If people learned to live in the open and had an occasional glimpse of the green fields, the blue sky, the shining lakes and the flowing rivers, they would learn to revise their outlook. The liverish and bilious way of looking at other people will yield place to a healthier vision and the desire to live happily will take a priority over greed, the desire to deprive others and similar predatory emotions.

The Olympic ideal, therefore, is an international stimulus for the improvement of human outlook. It has no propaganda of an insidious kind hidden in it's apparent appeal for cleaner and healthier living. It helps all nations equally to improve their standards of health and physical fitness. This, naturally, helps to make the world a better place to live in and, also, improves the economy of all nations in many a direct and indirect manner. For example, the medical bill of the nations become smaller by reason of better health and all attendance in schools, colleges, offices, workshops, etc., improve for the same reason. Productivity and the work quanta increase on account of better attendance and greater ability to put in work. We very often talk about the larger number of men and women that we have to employ in India, compared to what happens in other countries. This is largely a matter of tradition, ability and organisation; but not a little of it is caused by the ill health of workers. If the Olympic ideal were spread in all cities, towns and villages of India, we should surely be able to get our work done by about 20 to 30 per cent less number of persons. This will mean a great national gain and the individuals concerned will be able to earn about double of what they earn now in our offices and workshops. A nation's ability to defend itself also depends on the health and strength of its nationals. The spread of the Olympic ideal will greatly increase our man-power without increasing our population. Lesser number of better men and women should be our national objective and the spread of games and sports would help us to achieve this without much delay.

The Indian Olympic Association is as yet a national body which organises those games and sports in India which have a place in the Olym-

pic meet. But this body has not yet tried to open out new clubs and playgrounds everywhere in India. There are also the States Olympic Associations. They take their cue from the Central body and do not engage in any programme of expansion. It is, however, desirable that India should have about half-a-million more playgrounds and clubs which will enable our boys and girls to be stronger and healthier. No attempts have as yet been made to achieve this. The Government of India and the States consider physical culture as a decorative item in the social structure of the Nation. That it is a thing of vital importance has not been realised by most of our V.I.P.s in their public or private life. They have a weak outlook (with some honourable exceptions), which is the direct product of their physical unfitness. It would not be a bad thing if all candidates for the elections as well as for jobs had to qualify physically too in a clear cut and significant manner. It is high time that our leaders talked a little less and did a few things to make us a healthy and strong nation. That would automatically solve our bread problem and the various other problems too which make us a C-3 nation.

A. C.

Priorities For Power

Inability of the existing installed power capacity in the country to meet the minimal requirements of the progressively expanding demand in this behalf over the past several years, especially during the last two/three years, appears to have brought in its wake a realization of the wrong priorities that must have been given precedence by the framers of national development plans while formulating the priorities and physical targets of both the First and the Second Five Year Plans. The position as it has been gradually emerging would appear to be quite dismal and may conceivably slow down, apart from all other causes, the programme of burgeoning industrialization which is claimed to be one of the especial features of the Third Five Year Plan which is now on.

In fact, looking at the matter chronologically from the very outset of the launching of our Five Year Plan programmes, it would seem that no proper investigation could presumably have preceded the framing of priorities so far as the power potentials of the Plan were concerned, nor was there, apparently, any very accurate assessment of the part that may be assigned to hydro-power in providing basic supplies which were, even before the First Plan was actually formulated, being organized as part of multi-purpose river valley projects. It would appear that a great deal of reliance was placed on these hydro projects which would undertake manufacture of high-tension power as a sort of a by-product of the flood-control and irrigation projects in such bulk as would deluge the whole country with abundant and cheap power and which would, it was claimed, provide the basic incentive necessary for the growth of a spate of medium and small industries. If one were to look back into the initial spate of very attractively produced literature by the D.V.C. Organization at its earlier stages of evolution, it would appear that as if the only hurdle which has been holding up the growth of industries in this country was the non-availability of cheap and abundant power in large bulk and which was being arranged to be provided by the D.V.C. under its hydro projects at Tilaiya, Maithon and Panchet. In fact, it would be apparent that the realization that dealing as the Organization was with a seasonal river, its grandiosely conceived hydro project could never undertake supplies to cover perennial basic loads but only provide for supplemental peak loads, came much later, when arrangements were made, at great cost, to add to the original power projects of the Organization by setting up thermal power projects. The anticipated growth of medium and small scale industries by the Corporation, however, did not materialize, nor was the power it was able to provide from its thermal plants cheap, with the result that at one stage, even when the power projects of the Corporation had a long way to reach its projected capacity, there was not enough demand for its offtake by existing industries in the Damodar Valley area. To enable, therefore, the Corporation to be able to sell the power it had arranged to produce it became necessary to undertake legislation preventing private corporations, including industries and supply companies to obtain licences for fresh generating units either for supplementing their existing power capacity or even for essential replacements of old and obsolete plant.

With the emphasis given to industrialization

in the Second Plan, it was soon discovered that the D.V.C's installed capacity would fall far short of minimum anticipated demand, a realization which came only very slowly and gradually, so that the ban on power generation by others in the D.V.C. area had to be haltingly lifted. Looking at the whole thing from an all-India point of view, it would appear that the total installed capacity in the country at the end of 1956 was only 3.5 million kilowatts, and it was planned to raise this to 7 million kilowatts by 1961 and to 12 to 15 million kilowatts by the end of 1966. The actual installed capacity in the country by the end of 1961, however, rose to only 5.7 million kilowatts (1.3 million kilowatts less than was originally projected) and, in keeping with this lower actual capacity, the original Draft Third Five-Year Plan projected for a total capacity of 11.8 kilowatts, which was later enhanced to 13.4 million kilowatts by the end of 1966. It is still problematic as to whether even this capacity would be reached as it would have to absorb some ten to twenty per cent of the total industrial cost of the Plan and will, moreover, have to depend on a number of factors for its fulfilment, not the least of which would be adequate supplies of coal for the purpose. Of the 13.4 million kilowatts, only 5.43 million kW is allotted to hydro-power, 7.67 million kW being allocated to thermal power and an experimental 300,000 kW to nuclear power. The hydro projects in the country being of the storage type mostly, the generating capacity is generally determined by the maximum rate of discharge of water during the monsoon periods and experience demonstrates that the maximum storage is not usually adequate to work the plants at more than 60 to 80 per cent load factor throughout the year. The cost per kilo-unit (1000 kilowatt hours) of hydro-power at a 100 per cent load factor as worked out by Mr. M. K. Gopaliengar, Director, Power, Natural Resources Division of the Planning Commission, appears to be Rs. 403 per kilo-unit of power supplied per annum, which is not inconsiderable. Thermal power, therefore, would appear to be the only reliable source which could be depended upon to supply basic load requirement of power in the country at a reasonable cost.

A certain emphasis was, therefore, laid upon the production of coal in the Second Plan which was projected to be raised from 38 million tons to 61 million tons by 1960-61, the actual achievement being of the order of 54.6 million tons. In the Third Plan, the target for coal was originally placed at 97 million tons, but according to latest indications given by the Union Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel, this is now likely to be further raised to 120 million tons, nearly double, in fact, of the target fixed for the Second Plan and actually 125 per cent of the achievements of the Second Plan in this behalf. Coal production, however, is dependent upon so many factors, not the least of which are, variously, additional capital formation in the industry, transport, necessary foreign exchange for machinery both for replacements as well as for new installations, etc., that the prospects of being able to achieve the projected targets in this behalf would seem to be comparatively remote. Apart from the actual consumption of coal directly by industries such as steel (the capacity in which behalf has been projected to be further raised very substantially during the Third Plan), foundries and a host of other industries, a great part of our total production of coal will have to be directed to thermal power plants which, as we have endeavoured to demonstrate, must remain for as long as one can foresee, the mainstay of power manufacture in the country in the future years. The success of the burgeoning programme of industrialization of the country as envisaged in the Third Plan will, however, have to depend very substantially upon the availability of abundant power for the purpose and although there has been a certain measure of rethinking on the matter during recent months, we doubt if ample realization of its importance has yet been fully borne in upon the authorities concerned and we are not quite sure yet, on that account, as to whether priorities have been reassessed in this behalf to give power manufacture the precedence that it would seem to overwhelmingly call for.

Indeed, the situation as regards power has been so dismal, in fact, over the last several years now, and there does not seem to be any very substantial early relief in sight, that a large number of industries in the industrially important Calcutta and Greater Calcutta areas have had to work at considerably lower pressure

than capacity on account of the inadequacies of power supplies. In some other nationally vital industrial areas in the country also measures have had to be adopted by industry to stagger working hours mutually, to have weekly closing days and other means, to spread over the effects of the inadequacies of power supply. What may appear to be even worse is that in the Bengal and Bihar coalfields collieries have had, generally, to be obliged to have staggered and weekly closed days simply on account of shortage of power. Even in Western India, especially in the Maharashtra region, where power resources have been considerably larger than elsewhere in the country, according to surveys conducted by competent authority, it is disclosed that over the past years large numbers of industries were able to work at considerably reduced and, consequently, uneconomic capacity, and some had even to completely shut down on account of the inadequacies of power supply. How all this may equate with the projects and targets of the Third Plan may easily be conceived.

It appears to us that in the rush and hurry of planning for spectacular and, we are afraid, largely wishful results, the Plans had not taken care to adequately programme for developing servicing industries like coal, transport, power, etc., to the extent they would be called upon to meet take-off needs with the result that inevitable bottle-necks have appeared holding up the dynamics of planned development all along the line. The realization that development of adequate servicing resources in this behalf must be an essential condition-precedent to successful and economical development of the other more heavily boosted projects of the Plans appears to have been dawning only very slowly, not until, in fact, their inadequacies have been actually holding up progress and attention, therefore, has been pinpointing to this vital aspect of Planning only very recently. Even then development of servicing potentials to the requisitly adequate extent do not appear to have been rceiving the consideration they would seem to have deserved, at least not, apparently, to the requisite extent. Thus, it has been frankly stated that the development of transport resources projected for the Third Plan period would be bound to fall short of requirements. One of the obvious reasons must be the heavy foreign exchange commitments that would be required to be covered to raise these potentials to the extent necessary. Power is only one of the essential constituents of these servicing needs of development and the time has arrived, as we have already observed, to pay adequate attention to ways and means of developing resources in this behalf to the requisite extent.

Rethinking on power, it seems necesary, to arrive at definite lines of policy as regards its immediate future courses of development. As already analysed, hydro-power potentials in the country, based as they necessarily must be on storage, can be depended upon to suuply not basic loads but only supplemental peak-load requirements. Thermal power would, therefore, seem to be the inevitable answer and the potentials of energy resources for developing thermal power must, obviously, be based on coal. As regards alternative energy resources, natural gas is yet a more or less unexplored field. Oil might, conceivably, have been another answer but for the fact that indigenous resources in this behalf are yet far too inadequately developed. It has been estimated that the production of indigenous crude oil during the Second Plan has aggregated only some .4 million tons against aggregate demands of some 7 million tons. Estimating that the total demand for oil would be bound to rise to some 12 million tons by 1965-66, Indian crude oil, provided projected developments in this behalf can be fully achieved, could not provide more than about fifty per cent of requirements which, in itself, would be a phenomenal achievement on the background of the present position. Development of power even to a substantial extent on oil-based thermal power would, therefore, call for such heavy foreign exchange bills as the country would be totally unable to meet, even when considerations of supplemental refining capacity for processing the oil is left out of calculation. Another alternative power-resource may be the development of adequate nuclear-energy based thermal power. Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Establishment of the Government of India, has worked out the economics of nuclear power which goes to demonstrate that when all factors have been taken into account, nuclear power

production may not be as heavily expensive as may be apprehended. Even then nuclear power to cover even a substantial bulk of the country's requirements is still largely in a speculative stage and not enough reliance can be placed upon its potentials at this stage.

Thermal power from coal would, therefore, seem to be, so far, the only possible answer for covering the country's power requirements in the immediate future. In the South arrangements have been going ahead for exploiting the large lignite deposits of the region for the purpose. But for the rest of the country coal must provide the thermal energy required for the purpose and, obviously, superior grades of coal which can be used for metallurgical purposes cannot be used on this account. It is only on comparatively lower grades of coal that our thermal power plants must be based, but when regard is had to the total cost of this coal delivered at plant site in various regions of the country, it would not seem to be very economical. If we recall rightly, the Government of India had formulated a scheme for the production of bulk power by low-temperature carbinization of our almost illimitable resources of the lowest grade coal abundantly present in the Bengal basin sometime around the year 1928 or thereabouts, coal which appatrently had no other industrial or even domestic use.

We do not know what may have happened to this scheme of long ago, but it would seem that it would be well worth a further thought and exploration of its industrial and economic possibilities should be undertaken without any loss of time. It is possible that this may already have been explored to the extent necessary and discarded as being economically and otherwise unworkable. If that is so, the people should be taken into the Planning Commission's confidence and frankly told why this particular field of our supposedly potential resource cannot be exploited. If, however, this old-time scheme may have been left alone on the shelves, it may, with profit, be given a further examination in the light of current conditions. In any case, the time would seem to have been long overdue when every line of possibility for developing the power resources of the country to the requisite extent should have been given a thorough and close examination and final lines of policy determined. Power is a basic need of a development economy without adequate supplies of which the very process of planning may peter out in horrible waste. We wish the Planning Commission would give just a little more attention to the problems of power in the comprehensive way required than they appear to have done so far.

K.N.

President In Retirement

After twelve years of filling the highest office in the country with dignity and purpose to which his people could call him, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has now retired to his old and restful haven at the Sadaquat Ashram in Patna. A Constitutional President, there was very little scope for the incumbent of this high office to exercise a great deal of influence upon the Policies and actions of his government. But there is one thing that can be said of Dr. Prasad without any fear of contradiction which is that even within the very severely circumscribed limits of personal discretion that this office left to him, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has always held the scales even and with rigid and unswerving impartiality between all parochial, communal and other interests in the country whenever they have been mutually in conflict with each other. Dr. Prasad's has, we feel, been the most outstandingly integrating force in an atmosphere of mounting parochial, communal and similar other disintegrating impacts which have been gathering accelerating momentum over the years since Independence and now that he is, once again, free from the limiting trammels of the office of the President, we feel we could look upto him to have his undoubted influence felt more widely and to even greater purpose in this behalf. A man of vision and irreproachable honesty, Dr. Prasad will, we have no doubt, realise the very real dangers of national disintegration, and will do everything possible, as only he can, to effectively combat its sinister forces with courage and determination.

K.N.

Our New President

The election of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan to the office of the President of India to succeed

Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the end of the latter's term of office, has rightly been universally welcomed. An intellectual of the very highest order, in fact a savant of world-wide repute, Dr. Radhakrishnan's has always been a scintillating personality. His successful debut, some year ago, into the world of diplomacy as India's Minister Plenipotentiary at the Kremlin, so different and so far away from the academic atmosphere to which he had been inured from early youth, demonstrated how easily he could adapt and fit himself into this otherwise alien climate. His subsequent election to the office of the Vice-President of India which he filled with such conspicuous ability for two successive terms made him the obvious choice for the office of the President when Dr. Rajendra Prasad retired. We have no doubt that Dr. Radhakrishnan will successfully fill this highest office in the gift of his people with as conspicuous dignity and success.

Never having had any previous association with active politics in his life, Dr. Radhakrishnan's election to the Presidential office has advantages. He has no party strings to beware of, nor past political affiliations to take heed. It were better so since this will enable him to be held truly up as the representative of all of his people, not just of particular political or other groups or parties. His outstanding personality, his universally acknowledged integrity and his scintillating intellect will all combine to make him, we have no doubt, an outstanding President of India.

K. N.

Aid-India Debacle

The Aid-India Club which was reported to have been meeting at the end of last month under the Chairmanship of Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank, had adjourned without being able to arrive at any final decision regarding the extent of assistance it would be able to provide to India in the second year of her Third Five-Year Plan. The non-American members of the Club, otherwise known as the Consortium, were reported to have found themselves short by $ 220 million required to match the U.S.A.'s $ 500 million in this behalf.

The news, disconcerting as it must be —for the very success of India's Third Plan would seem to vitally depend upon this aid —does not seem to have seriously disturbed the Union officials responsible for finding the foreign exchange resources of the Plan for, as reported in the daily press, they are looking forward to a number of other countries joining this Aid-India Consortium and, therefore, ultimately being able to provide the funds necessary in this behalf.

Nevertheless, this must be taken as having created a situation which, to say the least, would appear to be extremely unfortunate. The carry-over of the Second Plan has left India with much depleted reserves, a fairly large foreign debt and a continuing, even progressively widening deficit not merely on developmental account, but even on maintenance. The deficit, conceivably, would be bound to considerably further widen in the immediate future with the much larger foreign exchange contents of the Third Plan's outlays. Sterling balances have remained at the depressing level of hardly more than Rs. 108 crores and the scope for earning much more through exports, despite heroic official efforts, would seem to be dismally remote. Altogether the news would seem to be most depressing although what adequate reason there may have been for continued official optimism or, rather its refusal to be depressed, is unknown.

It would appear that foreign exchange, as estimated, would be bound to be regarded as fundamental to the Third Plan. The principal aims of the Third Plan are reflected in its projects for machine-building, heavy industry and mining, a process which would be bound to be severely circumscribed without corresponding resources in transport and power, for all of which the foreign exchange bill, situated in this country as we are so far, would be bound to be extremely heavy. The Third Plan had taken account of this although, perhaps, not to the fully adequate extent as would be necessary for building up our corresponding power and transport potentials. How fundamental the foreign exchange contents of the Third Plan is would appear obvious from the fact that while it

constituted only about 6% of total estimates in the public sector in the First Plan and as much as 13% of the Second (which, then, was considered heavier than available estimated resources, requiring the outlays of the Plan to be somewhat slashed), it constitutes as much as a fourth of the total investment in the current Plan. Almost the whole of these estimates were predicated upon the availability of foreign aid to the requisite extent which, in turn, it was hoped, would also help to stimulate indigenous capital formation for the Third Plan in both the public and the private sectors, and would be likely to provide resources for financing other potentially profitable enterprises beyond the immediate blue-prints of the Plan.

In a way this inability of the Consortium to arrive at an immediate final decision is also rather enigmatic. Viewed on the background of the communique issued by the Club during the middle of last year that it intended to provide India with the assistance necessary to "launch a Third Five-Year Plan of economic development with confidence in the ultimate achievement of its objectives," this indecision at this late stage would, indeed, seem to be strange. One could understand reasons for initial hesitancy on the part of the aiding countries in this what, at that stage might have been largely regarded as a somewhat speculative adventure in development economics. With the experiences gained during the last ten years in the use of development funds, such hesitancy at this stage would seem to be somewhat peculiar. Tightening of economic conditions in the consortium countries themselves may have been a conceivable excuse, but as far as is known there does not seem to have been any visible deterioration of economic conditions in these countries in the meanwhile. It is possible that the slashes made in her aid-programme by the U.S.A. by her Senate Foreign Relations Committee while considering the aid-appropriations to India, may have influenced decisions by the consortium countries to an extent. Even in the U.S.A., the action of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been regarded as regrettable by more progressive opinion and, as a national newspaper observed, the decisions of the Committee were based upon considerations involved which disclosed an impatience with policies "that really have little to do with the declared purpose of the aid-programme."

Whatever the reason for the postponement of a decision by the aid-consortium, the act itself must be regarded as extremely unfortunate. There may, however, be some reason for continued Indian official optimism in this regard or, as we have said, rather in its refusal to be depressed or deterred. Obviously the aid-India programme must have been catching the imagination of the more developed Western countries. There have been two recent additions,—Austria and Netherlands—to the membership of the Club and there is every prospect that Sweden and Belgium will also participate in the immediate future. With these additional backings to the consortium's pool, it is possible that aid-offers by member countries would soon rise to the level where they can fully match the U.S. $500 million. But it had better be sooner than later or current projects of the Third Plan may be likely to be severely affected. Not merely that. But as a part of the expected aid is estimated to cover India's obligations on current account, delay in the arrival of the aid appropriations might even compel the country, with her dismally depleted foreign exchange reserves, to seek a moratorium which would not be in her best interests.

It is necessary, in this context to remind India herself that she, on her part, would need to ensure that funds allotted are used not merely to the best advantage, but also in time. There have been spill-overs from Plan to Plan in the past which have visibly considerably cluttered up progress. Nor have funds been always used to the best advantage. If all the publicly voiced accusations may have even the least substance, it is quite conceivable that funds may have been diverted to comparatively wasteful channels in the past. It would be best if a careful investigation were made and the actual facts in this behalf were ascertained, so that necessary measures may be devised in advance to prevent repetition of wasteful diversions if any at all.

K. N.

A SURVEY OF SOUTH INDIAN INDUSTRIES

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The purpose of this article is not to make any exhaustive survey of the Industries in the South but only to bring together within the smallest possible campass the salient features in the economic development of certain important industries in the south which dominate the scene and to provide a basis for further studies in the field of 'Industry' so very important in a growing democracy under years of planning.

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Textile Industry

The textile industry in South India is decentralised in its set up, since the spinning units have to feed the requirements of the handlooms, the foremost cottage industry in India. Following the starting of a spinning mill in 1829 under the name and style of "Blin and Delbuck" at Nellitope, a village in Pondicherry, shortly put as the "Savana Mills," Messrs. Andrew Harvey and Frank Harvey founded the first spinning mill in South India in 1885 under the name of Tinnevelly Mills Company, Ambasamudram. The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills at Madras and the Bangalore Woollen Cotton and Silk Mills Ltd., at Bangalore, were started more or less about the same time. Later many mills have been established in different centres in South India, but a concentrated development has taken place in Coimbatore due to the favourable climatic conditions and its close proximity to cotton growing tracts. The first mill in Coimbatore, *viz.*, the Coimbatore Spinning and Weaving Company Limited, was established in 1888. This was followed by the Kaleeswar Mills in 1907 and by Sri Ranga Vilas Ginning, Spinning and Weaving Mills Ltd., and the Radhakrishna Mills Ltd., in 1922 and 1923, respectively. The advent of hydro-electric power supply in 1933 at cheap rates had a further impetus for the starting of more and more mills. From the statistics available, it is noticed that a substantial growth of the spinning industry has taken place in the post-war period, *viz.*, from 1947 to 1958 when the spinning units rose from 92 to 175 and the composite mills from 278 to 295. At present there are 135 spinning units in South India which account for 76 per cent of the spinning units in South India. whereas the composite mills which are 48 in number, account for 16.2 per cent of the composite mills in the whole of India. Roughly two-thirds of the yarn produced by the textile industry go to feed the handlooms and powerlooms.

The prosperity of the spinning industry is to a great extent determined by the performance of the handloom industry. On a conservative estimate, the handloom industry provides direct employment for 62.5 lakhs of people on a full-time basis. The indirect and ancillary employment provided by the handloom industry on dyeing, bleaching, finishing, marketing, production of looms healds, seeds, etc., may be estimated at a minimum of 20 per cent of the full-time employment, *i.e.*, 62.5 lakhs. Therefore the industry is capable of providing full-time employment to about 75 lakhs of people. From the latest statistics available, it is found that the 28 organised industries listed in the 9th Census of Indian Manufactures put together give employment to 17.14 lakhs of people. At present 9.05 lakhs of workers are employed in the cotton textile mill industry of which only about 2.75 lakhs are engaged in weaving.

While the handloom industry has undoubtedly an enviable record, it is an acknowledged fact that it is inherently weak in the matter of large-scale production vis-a-vis the mechanised sector. In view of its employment potentials, the Government have instituted various measures to preserve this industry—restrictions imposed on the export of cotton yarn to pervent, "Yarn famine" in India is an instance in point. India has lost its traditional markets due to these restrictions as will be seen from the figures given below since foreign countries which traditionally

imported yarn from India installed their own textile units :

Year	Yarn exported (Bales of 400 lbs)
1950	2,18,465
1951	40,385
1952	21,962
1953	39,268
1954	11,859
1955	53,034
1956	32,255
1957	44,000
1958	85,023

The regular performance of the spinning industry and its consumers, namely the powerlooms and handlooms is also beset with many other difficulties. There is at present a shortage in the production of India cotton with the result that prices are soaring high, raising the cost of production of yarn. Also with the change in the consumers' preference for better varieties, the present pattern of production of the industry demands a larger supply of long staple cotton, which is not freely available due to restrictions on Indian imports. In the present adverse conditions, it has become imperative that the productivity of labour in the spinning industry and the handloom industry are to be geared up so that they may be raised to the standards of advanced countries. Simultaneously, in the wake of industrialisation of our country, a progressive shift of the handloom weavers to other industries should necessarily be organised for the advancement of the textile industry for standing up to competition in the internal and external markets. This will mean that more powerlooms have to replace the present obsolete type of looms used by the weavers and more and more modern methods have to be adopted by the weavers.

The starting of gassing and mercerising plants in this region is essential for refining cloth and yarn produced here to cater to the changed requirements for finer cloth. Processes of bleaching and dyeing are also to be introduced under expert care. With the potentialities available in this region, in the textile field, a good number of bleaching and dyeing factories can be started.

With a view to promoting exports of the handloom industry, Government have decided to set up a Handloom Exports Organisation as a subsidiary to the State Trading Corporation. It will be, in the best interest of the industry, if besides promoting the sales of these products, this organisation will also take steps to supervise and co-ordinate the manufacture of the products so that export business may progress in an efficient manner.

Chemical Industry

Compared to progress in other parts in India, there is considerable scope for development of the chemical industry in South India. There are two plants in South India, engaged in the production of caustic soda, one at Mettur Dam and the other at Alwaye. The plant at Alwaye produces rayon grade quality caustic soda. The capacity of these two plants together with an addition of a plant in Tirunelveli, adds up to about 120 tons per day of caustic soda, against a total installed capacity of nearly 350 tons per day in the country. The development of caustic soda manufacture is satisfactory in the south, primarily because the State has a well-developed power generation potential and is offering power at a reasonably satisfactory rate to industrial consumers.

Caustic soda factories produce co-product chlorine. The industry is able to utilise only 70 to 80 per cent of its chlorine output. With plans of increased production of caustic soda, this problem will be more acute and the industry will have to develop newer uses of chlorine like organic solvents, plastics and other chemicals in the pattern of chlorine utilisation in Europe and the U.S.A.

In this connection, the South may take a reasonable pride in having set up the plant in the country to produce stable bleaching powder which is able to meet to a large extent the requirements of bleaching powder in the country and also save valuable foreign exchange.

Turning to acids, there are factories for manufacture of Sulphuric Acid in Madras, Ranipet, Aravangadu, Mysore and Alwaye, having a capacity of nearly 250 to 300 tons of acid per day. This is nearly 40 per cent of the total Indian capacity. With increasing demand for both nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers, there is further scope for expansion of acid production.

Among industrial chemicals of importance

may be mentioned, calcium carbide, potassium chlorate, bichromates, etc. There is a factory in Tirunelveli producing a small quantity of carbide. It has plans to expand its production. There is a small plant producing potassium chlorate at Kundara. Besides, there is also a plant at Mettur Dam, for manufacture of chlorate. Bichromate is produced by a factory in Madras.

Production of basic chemicals in the country has been fairly satisfactory in the Second Plan period but we have to do much to reach self-sufficiency. In the development of production of basic chemicals, the south sould also play an active role. The most important is development at Nieveli. Besides mining of lignite and briquetting of the same, Nieveli is to have a very big thermal plant and a big fertiliser plant. The scheme must be vigorously pursued and implemented so that Nieveli would be the nucleus for future development of an integrated chemical industry in the South.

As the demand for soda ash is continually increasing, steps should be taken to set up a soda ash unit of at least 200 tons per day capacity in South India. Madras or any other coastal town like Cuddalore,—where the main raw materials for manufacture of soda ash (salt and limestone) are available in abundance.

The salt factories in the South are not properly organised to produce salt of good quality and also, at the same time, recover other valuable by-products like gypsum, magnesium chloride, potassium chloride, etc. For every 1,000 tons of brine salt, it would be possible to produce 25 tons of gypsum, more than 250 tons of magnesium chloride and 25 tons of potassium chloride. The value of the by-products is much more than the value of the salt produced and yet unfortunately, due to the unorganised nature of the working of the salt-pans, proper steps have not so far been taken to recover these valuable by-products.

Another possible field of development is production and use of power and industrial alcohol. There is a fairly rapid expansion of the sugar industry and this will result in a considerable increase in the production of both power and industrial alcohol from the waste product of the industry, *viz.*, molasses.

Thus with the arrangement for (i) setting up a soda ash plant of 200 tons per day capacity, minimum (ii) recovery of marine by-products like gypsum, magnesia, magnesium chloride, potassium chloride, etc., (iii) development of use of power and industrial alcohol and (iv) development of newer organic chlorine products from co-product chlorine in caustic soda plants and (v) the production of synthetic fertilisers like urea at Nieveli and ammonium phosphate at Alwaye, there will be a balanced and integrated chemical industry in the South.

Fertilizer Industry

Production of synthetic ammonia and its conversion to ammonium sulphate was first started in South India in 1938, at Belagula in Mysore State and an ammonium sulphate plant with a production capacity of 6,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per annum at Alwaye. The Sindri plant with a capacity of 350,000 tons per annum started production in 1951. The Sindri plant is one of the largest nitrogen fixation plants in the world and has a capacity of 1,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per day. Sindri's capacity will ultimately be increased from 70,000 tons of nitrogen (3.5 lakhs of tons of ammonium sulphate) to 1,17,000 tons of nitrogen. The additional quantity of 47,000 tons of nitrogen is to be converted into 24,000 tons of urea and 1,48,000 tons of ammonium sulphate-nitrate.

The Kerala factory has an installed capacity of 150 tons of ammonium sulphate per day. Its capacity will be ultimately increased to 225 tons of ammonium sulphate per day. The present capacity of ammonia in the Kerala factory is 40 tons per day which will be doubled after expansion is complete.

New factory is also coming up for the production of nitrogenous fertilisers at Nieveli in Madras. About 4,00,000 tons of lignite will be used in the production of 70,000 tons of nitrogen. This nitrogen will be converted into urea which is a highly concentrated nitrogenous fertiliser containing 45 per cent nitrogen, as against 20 per cent nitrogen in ammonium sulphate, 30 per cent nitrogen in ammonium nitrate and 26 per cent in ammonium sulphate-nitrate.

The present production of ammonium sulphate and super phosphate in the country are 4 lakhs of tons and 2.5 lakhs of tons respectively.

Of the above consumption in South India consisting of States of Madras, Mysore, Andhra and Kerala, is over 50 per cent and the demand is increasing by leaps and bounds. The present demand in these states can be taken as follows : It should be kept in mind that this requirement is substantially increasing year by year.

State	Ammonium Sulphate	Super Phosphate
	Tons	Tons
Kerala	50,000	15,000
Madras	200,000	100,000
Andhra	100,000	70,000
Mysore	50,000	15,000
Total	400,000	200,000

The present production capacity in South India is as follows :—

Ammonium Sulphate :

	Tons
Mysore Unit	6,500
Kerala Unit	45,000

Super Phosphate :

Kerala Unit	50,000
Mysore Unit	6,000
Madras (2 units)	80,000

So, there is necessity to instal additional units in India and, of course, to meet the needs of South India itself.

There is scope for expansion of the Kerala factory by four to five times the present capacity so that it becomes a unit like Sindri. A unit capable of producing 80,000 tons of nitrogen for conversion to suitable nitrogenous fertilisers like ammonium nitrate or nitro-phosphate can be a feasible proposition for Andhra. The Mysore factory can be expanded by making available the necessary power. This is over and above the Nieveli Project.

At present there are 16 factories in India for the manufacture of super phosphate. There is scope for over a dozen factories in India and at least 6 units in South India having an annual capacity of 30,000 tons each. Super phosphate units can come up at centres like Coimbatore, Mysore and Tuticorin and two or three units in Andhra at Vizag, Bezwada, etc. It is also worthwhile considering manufacture of triple super in some of the units and ammoniation of products in two or three units. The ammonia required can be got from factories like F.A.C.T. Ltd., Nieveli, etc.

Another important industry in South India is manufacture of mixed fertiliser and there are at present 20 well-established mixed fertiliser manufacturing firms and there is scope for many more. In U.S.A., more than 80 per cent of the fertiliser is sold as mixed fertiliser and mixed fertiliser has many advantages over straight fertilizer. The mixed units should be mechanised and they should have a capacity of at least 100 tons per day.

The fertiliser industry has very vast scope in South India. For fertilising our fields with a fair dosage of plant food our country requires about 75 lakhs of tons of ammonium sulphate and 40 lakhs of tons of phosphatic fertilisers which only show the enormous scope for the fertiliser industry in India. Of the above tonnage more than 50 per cent are required in South India.

Plantation Industry

The relative importance of this industry from the point of view of employment can be judged from the fact that it employs nearly a million workers whereas even the textile industry which is one of the biggest well-established industries of India, employs only about 7,000,000. Neither mining industry nor the jute or other big industries employ as many as this industry. It makes a sizeable contribution to our public revenue. Approximately 27½ per cent of income derived from tea is devoted to Central, State and Local Government revenues. The Industry's Wage Bill in South India alone exceeds Rs. 21 crores per annum. It pays approximately Rs. 5 crores by way of export and excise duties and an estimated 10 crores of rupees as Central Income Tax to the Indian Government and agricultural Income Tax, Sales Tax and other levies to the States. The industry distributes another Rs. 17 crores by way of purchase of stores and supplies for the maintenance and upkeep of the estates.

Taking all the plantation crops, the share of export earnings in 1957 was nearly 30 per cent of the total. Tea alone, by way of exports, has earned about Rs. 125 crores per annum during the past few years. It spends very little by way of imports.

By the term "plantation crop", tea, coffee, rubber, pepper, cardamom, cashewnut and other minor spices are usually meant, but here I propose to discuss only tea and coffee which are the main and important crops which dominate the scene.

India contributed in 1958, 709 million lbs. of tea as against the world's production of 1,341 million lbs. Below is given the statistics of world tea production from which India's importance can be estimated.

World Tea Production
(In million Lbs.)

Country	1958	1957	1956
India	709	679	670
Ceylon	413	397	375
Indonesia	102	101	102
Pakistan	54	45	54
Africa	63	54	54
Total	1,341	1,277	1,355

A major portion of tea is grown in Northern India which accounts for 80 per cent of the cultivated area. An idea of the acreage in India can be gathered from the following statistics to show the various producing centres.

Tea Acreage in India
(As on 31st March, 1958)

	Acres
Assam	393,417
Bengal	201,612
Tripura	12,452
Other North Indian States ..	18,342
Mysore	4,467
Madras	76,401
Kerala	97,082
Total	793,773

The crop produced in 1958 was about 550 million lbs. The Southern States produced a crop of nearly 160,000 lbs. The South Indian Tea production is given below :—

South India Tea Production
(Figures in '000 Lbs.)

State	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952
Kerala	79,922	76,694	66,862	67,486	68,190	64,397	61,225
Madras	68,086	64,466	56,907	58,499	58,457	54,176	48,791
Mysore	3,660	3,531	3,175	2,963	2,480	2,291	2,239
Estimated production for estates without Factories	6,064	5,788	4,200	3,375	2,905	2,800	2,159
Total	157,732	150,480	131,144	132,323	132,032	123,664	114,4[illegible]4

Of South India's production of nearly about 160 million lbs., export is in the region of 100 million lbs. It is also reported that some States in South India raised an all-time record of 2,000 lbs. per acre as against an average of 900 lbs. for a South Indian acre of tea. Cochin has become a big marketing centre of tea and it is now nearly handling more than 100 million tons.

Coffee is exclusively confined to the South of India. The area under coffee is about 2½% of

the world's area but the production is very low namely 1 per cent of the world's production. The planted acreage of coffee is 250,000 acres in which is produced about 40,000 tons. The domestic consumption is about 24,000 tons and the balance of 16,000 tons alone can be exported. When production is stepped up, we can export more. The surprising thing about coffee is that the yield per acre is now yearly 2,000 lbs., compared to 400 lbs., some time ago. It is even expected that with advanced scientific cultivation, we could raise more than a ton per acre. The production of coffee for the last 8 years may be gauged from the following figures.

Year	Coffee picked.	Released for Export.	Value
	In tons.	In tons.	Rs.
1950-51	18,893	305	21,05,715
1951-52	21,576	2,235	2,71,66,033
1952-53	23,943	3,048	1,24,32,743
1953-54	30,029	9,767	6,10,59,212
1954-55	25,427	3,592	1,73,64,970
1955-56	35,028	8,082	5,53,21,541
1956-57	42,674	15,472	8,41,08,857
1957-58	44,400	14,281	6,24,05,658

This will show that the production is increasing from 18,000 to 44,000 and is going to increase further in the next few years. Therefore we must prepare ground for its being absorbed both internally and externally.

Tobacco Industry

Tobacco is the second largest excise revenue earning commodity in India. The excise revenue collected on tobacco during 1958-59 amounted to Rs. 50 crores. It is the ninth important item in India's export trade as it earned about Rs. 16 crores of foreign exchange in 1958.

As a world producer of tobacco, India is next only to the U.S.A. and China. India holds the fifth position in the matter of tobacco exports, the first four being the U.S.A. Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Turkey and Greece respectively.

The Southern region comprising the States of Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and Kerala, whose total geographical area amounting only to one-fifth of the total area of the country is, however, the important region in respect of tobacco cultivation and exports. About 61 per cent of all types of tobacco produced in India, is from this region only. The entire Virginia cigarette tobacco production in the country is concentrated in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore in South India. More than 90 per cent of the total exports from the country is also directed from this region.

Andhra Pradesh is by far the most important tobacco producing State in India contributing about 40 per cent of the country's total production. The production of tobacco in Andhra Pradesh is about 70 per cent of the production in South India. A table showing the acreage and production of tobacco in Andhra Pradesh during 1956 to 1958 is given below :

Season	Acreage 000 acres	Production Million Lbs.
1956	395	393
1957	390	289
1958	362	244

The famous Guntur area comprising the districts of Guntur, Krishna, East and West Godavari is by far the most important tobacco producing centre in the State. More than 95 per cent of the Indian Virginia tobacco used in cigarettes is produced in the State only.

The State of Madras is the third largest State in India in the matter of tobacco production and holds the second Place in South India. The following table gives the acreage and production of tobacco in the State during 1956-59 seasons.

Season	Acreage 000 acres	Production Million Lbs.
1956	67	80.6
1957	48	60.5
1958	49	60.5

Chewing tobacco is the most important type grown in the State of Madras. About 85 per cent of total tobacco crop in the State is utilised for chewing purpose only. Next in importance are cigar and cheroot varieties. Snuff occupies the third position. Coimbatore, Madurai, Salem, Tiruchirapalli, Tanjore, South Arcot and North

Arcot are the important districts for tobacco cultivation in the State. Coimbatore district alone accounts for more than 75 per cent of the State's total production.

Mysore State ranks fourth in India in the matter of tobacco yield contributing about 7 per cent of the country's total production. A statement on tobacco acreage and production in Mysore during 1956-58 is given below :

Season	Acreage 000 acres	Production Million Lbs.
1956	108	38.1
1957	135	47.0
1958	103	40.3

Bidi tobacco is the most important type grown in the State. Virginia tobacco is also grown here. Mysore, Bangalore, Belgaum, Tumkur, Mandya, Chitalrug, Kolar and Gulbarga are the important districts for tobacco.

Excepting in Cannanore district, tobacco is not grown to any appreciable extent in Kerala State. The total area under cultivation at present in the State is about 2,000 acres.

Four important tobacco marketing centres in the country, *viz.*, Guntur, Nipani, Coimbatore and Palghat are situated in South India only.

Tobacco produced in South India is consumed in various forms such as cigarettes, cigars, cheroots, hookah, chewing, snuff, etc. With the exception of cigarette manufacture which is mechanised, all other tobacco products are manufactured as cottage industries.

Out of the sixteen cigarette factories in India, four cigarette factories are located in South India—3 in Andhra Pradesh and one in Mysore. In the Southern region, cigar and cheroot industries are confined mainly to the States of Andhra Pradesh and Madras. Bidi is, however, manufactured in all the States mentioned above. Snuff is manufactured mostly in Madras and Andhra Pradesh, whereas chewing tobacco is manufactured in Madras, Mysore and Kerala.

Tobacco grown in South India is exported to about 60 countries and it accounts for about 90 per cent of the total exports from India.

The flue cured virgina tobacco grown in Andhra Pradesh forms about 82 per cent of the total Indian exports of tobacco. During the year 1958 about 90 million lbs. of flue cured virginia tobacco valued at Rs. 13.5 crores were exported to foreign countries as against 66 million lbs. worth Rs. 10.7 crores in 1957.

Flue cured virgina tobacco grown in Andhra Pradesh is exported to different countries. The United Kingdom is the largest buyer of top grades of flue cured virginia. She purchased about 14.3 million lbs. of tobacco valued at Rs. 10.4 crores in 1958. The second largest buyer is China whose off-take during 1958 was 21 million lbs.

Of late the U.S.S.R. is showing a greater interest in Indian Virgina tobacco. During 1958, she purchased about 7 million lbs. of virginia tobacco as against 6.4 million lbs. in 1957.

The continental countries which purchase flue cured virginia tobacco are Belgium, Sweden, the Nethrlands, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal and Denmark. Their imports consist mostly of the low and medium grades of flue cured virginia tobacco even though there is occasional demand for top grades also. In Asia, Aden of late is envincing an interest in low-grade flue cured virginia tobacco also. Ceylon also consumes flue cured virginia tobacco apart from bidi tobacco, chewing tobacco and bidis. Low grades of flue cured virginia tobacco find a market in Hong-Kong, Indo-China, and Japan.

Some varieties of high-class cigars manufactured in Madras State are exported to French Somaliland, the Maldives, Bahrein Islands, etc. A small quantity of bidi tobacco and bidi is also exported.

Imports of tobacco into these States are negligible. The Kerala State, however, imports annually a special type of the chewing tobacco from Ceylon known as *"Jaffna tobacco."*

JUTE INDUSTRY

In South India, Jute is grown only in the Visakhapatnam district. The four jute mills situated in South India are (i) the Chittivalsa Jute Mills, Chittivalsa in Visakhapatnam District, (ii) the Nellimarla Jute Mills, Nellimarla in Visakhapatnam District, (iii) The Krishna Jute Mills Ltd., Ellore in West Godavari District, and (iv) Shree Bajrang Jute Mills Ltd., Guntur, all in Andhra Pradesh. All these mills were established almost at the beginning of this century and are trying to cater to the needs of the markets in South India. These four mills amongst them-

selves, employ about 8,000 labourers per day and process about 25,000 tons of jute goods per year. The first two Mills Chittivalsa and Nellimarla being members of the Indian Jute Mills Association and also belonging to a group of Industries established in West Bengal—The Mcleod Group —are in an advantageous position as against other Mills in South India. They have an added advantage in being near Visakhapatnam port.

The two Jute Mills, one at Ellore and the other at Guntur, have been carrying on production facing rather heavy odds over many years. Both these mills have to import 90 per cent of their raw material, Jute, from West Bengal and Orissa. These two Mills are small in size (loom capacity 120 each) and manufacture sacking only, required by the South Indian Markets.

The Jute industry in South India has a vital role to play today. In a vast country like India with long distances to be covered from one end to the other, it will not only be advantageous but also essential to have the vital basic industries like the Jute Industry spread over the whole country. South India, which is the most important food growing area, offers good demand for gunny bags to pack foodgrains. The tobacco industry producing calcium carbide and the requisite also requires gunny cloth and Jute twine in large quantities. The textile industry in South India requires (Jute) Hessian cloth. The ever-growing cement industry requires jute bags. These industries cannot look with advantage to the mills in Calcutta for their supplies. The Jute Mills in the South can cater for them better. There is every need for the existing plants to expand and improve productivity so as to be able to play their allotted role in increasing national wealth and income.

Ferro-Manganese Industry

Ferro-Manganese, as its name implies, is an alloy of iron and manganese, its chief use being in the manufacture of special steels of desired properties. In South India, noteworthy deposits associated with the Kodurites occur in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, and in Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa. Lateroid deposits occur in Keonjhar and Bolangir Districts of Orissa and North Kanara, Bellary (Sandur), Chitaldrug, Tumkur districts of Mysore. The production in the various State is given below :

	1953		1954		1955		1956
	Tons.	Value in lakhs of Rupees.	Tons.	Value in lakhs of Rupees.	Tons.	Value in lakhs of Rupees.	Tons.
Andhra Pradesh	219,024	339	58,484	81	112,338	130	221,814
Mysore	117,563	183	87,225	111	122,839	143	220,181
Orissa	431,678	669	345,874	482	401,295	466	433,811

The Ferro Alloys Corporation Ltd., Tumsar, has its works at Shreeramnagar, Koduru (near Garividi), Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh. The Mysore Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., at Bhadravati, produces a small quantity of about 2,000 tons of Ferro-Manganese per year. Closely related to the production of Ferro-Manganese is that of Ferro-Chrome and of Ferro-Silicon by the same kinds of electrical furnances, for which licences have been issued by the Government of India. The Mysore Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., at Bhadravati in Mysore, which manufactures a small quantity of Ferro-Manganese is engaged in producing Ferro-Silicon in sufficient quantities to be exported. The same furnaces are also used for plants have been erected at various places in India, one being located at Talaiyuthur in Tinnevelly district (Industrial Chemicals Ltd.). The K.C.P., Ltd., has made arrangements with foreign firms for the fabrication of electric furnaces in their workshops at Tiruvottiyur, Madras.

The production of standard ferro-manganese from the raw materials available in India presents special problems, as they differ widely from those of other producing countries. The main difficulties arise from: (i) The manganese/iron ratio of most of the Indian manganese ores is low

compared with the other major manganese ore-producing countries as given below :

	Manganese/Iron ratio.
(i) U.S.S.R.	25 to 55
(ii) Gold Coast (Africa)	12 to 25
(iii) India	5.5 to 7.5

(ii) The phosphorus content, both of our ores as well as of the cokes which are charged into the furnaces is high compared with other countries.

India is, therefore, not advantageously placed with regard to the manufacture of ferro-manganese, and it will not be easy for her to compete with other countries, particularly the U.S.S.R. and Ghana.

Automobile Industry

South India's contribution to the general progress of the industry has been considerable and one notable feature is the growth of ancillary industries to serve the main industry. An important ancillary industry that was established outside Madras is the Motor Industries Co., of Bangalore, to manufacture, in collaboration with Messrs. Robert Bosch, West Germany, the famous Bosch spark plugs under the name "Mico" plug. One addition to the ancillary automobile industry in Madras, is the Dunlop Rubber Factory for the manufacture of tyres set up at Ambattur, 16 miles from the city.

There is no doubt that Madras has acquired a considerable stature in the automobile world and in the years to come there would not only be a tremendous progress in stepping up production of automobiles in South India but also in raising the indigenous proportion of components, thanks to the growth of ancillary industries.

Bicycle Industry

Though a major portion of the Bicycle Industry is concentrated in different areas of North India including Bengal, Bombay and the Punjab, T.I. Cycles of India, one of the four major manufacturing units, is situated at Ambattur, near Madras. Here I cannot do better than quote from a review of the Financial Editor of the "Manchester Guardian," after his visit to T.I. Cycles Factory:

"This is better laid out and equipped than any cycle factory in Britain.....I should not be surprised to hear that it was the most modern cycle factory in the world. . . . . The old idea that Indian businessmen are chiefly merchants and speculators is rapidly becoming obsolete."

The object of the First and Second Five-Year Plans is not only to achieve a rapid industrialisation of the country by starting as many heavy industries as possible but also in order to effect a balance of economy to start at all suitable urban and semi-urban centres in India, a number of small-scale industries capable of turning out consumer goods with the help of machine, power and modern technical methods and appliances. With this end in view, the Government have of late sanctioned licences to various small-scale industrial units engaged in turning out consumer goods. Among these are given below some of the small-scale bicycle assembing units which have already either come into existence or which expect to function in due course :

(i) *Madras State* :—Five Units at Pocnamallee, Guindy, Sivakasi, Tanjore and Vellore, each with a turnover capacity of 5,000 Bicycle units per annum.

(ii) *Andhra Pradesh* :—Two in Hyderabad and one each at Vijayawada, Secunderabad and Rajahmundry with a total capacity of 17,500 units per annum.

(iii) *Kerala* :—Four units for manufacturing 5,000 cycles a year per unit. Out of these three are allotted to the private sector.

(iv) *Mysore State* :—Two units with a capacity of 5,000 cycles each per annum.

Thus the total capacity of the South Indian small-scale units is roughly 72,000 bicycles. By the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period, one can confidently expect that both T.I. Cycles and the smaller assembly units of South India, will be capable of turning out more than four lakhs of bicycles per year, (*i.e.*, one-fifth of the anticipated, All-India output of two million cycles) by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan.

The Indian bicycle industry today occupies an important position in the national economy. The total block capital investment in large and small-scale units as also the ancillary industries may be estimated at about ten crores of rupees. The entire industry gives employment to roughly 25,000 people. The Indian bicycle industry has thus fully played its part in the industrial progress of Independent India. This is, indeed, a

source of inspiration and encouragement for the private sector.

Fruit and Vegetable Preservation Industry

In the southern zone, there are more than 300 factories manufacturing fruit products. Majority of them are organised on a cottage scale. These include syrups, pickles, etc. Actually manufacture of jams, jellies, marmalades, canned fruits and vegetables, squashes, cordials, chutneys, pickles, etc., is done by a few large units. Bangalore leads the rest of South India with a production of about Rs. 15 lakhs worth of fruit products. In Trichur in Kerala, is centred the Indian pineapple canning industry, for which there is ever increasing scope. In Madras is centred a good-sized industry of pickles and curry powder which is exported in large quantities.

South Indian pickles, *e.g.*, mango thokku, avakkai, are very delicious and find good scope at home and in foreign countries. There is good scope for increasing the export of these pickles to eastern countries, *e.g.*, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, etc., and U.K. There is about 10 lakhs worth of production of these pickles, and for poorer classes, the pickles are packed in banana fibre packets. These packets are sold for half an anna each at small beedawala shops all over South India. One factory at Bodinayakanur manufactures these packets for more than one lakh of rupees, and does it on modern hygienic lines.

Mango Tundra

Mango Tundra (Ampa-papad, or mango leather) is the industry of dried mango pulp. This industry is mostly centred around East Godavari and West Godavari Districts of Andhra. The product is sold by the producer to the wholesaler at less than Re. 1 per lb. Thus, there is about Rs. 8 lakhs worth of production.

There are several tracts in South India where mangoes are grown in plenty. These are Arcot and Salem Districts of Madras State, East Godavari, Chittoor, Cuddappah, Krishna and Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam Districts of Andhra Pradesh, Kolar and Bangalore Districts of Mysore State; Malabar and Kottayam Districts of Kerala. These tracts offer excellent scope for the development of this industry.

Banana is grown in abundance particularly in East and West Godavari Districts of Andhra, North and South Kanara in Mysore State, and Malabar in Kerala State; and in Tiruchirapalli, Tanjore, Tirunelveli and Madurai Districts of Madras State. These tracts offer excellent scope for the development of this industry.

Sugar Industry

In the Southern region comprising of Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Kerala, the *per capita* consumption of gur and sugar combined cannot be placed at more than 23 lbs., against the All-India figure of nearly 29 lbs. For the whole of India, consumption of factory sugar per head is around 11.5 lbs., while in the southern region it is not much more than 6.5 lbs. The figures relating to the number of factories and actual output in 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1958-59 are given below :—

	No. of Factories working.		Total sugar produced (000 tons)		
States	1957-58	1956-57	1957-58	1956-57	1958-59
Andhra Pradesh	12*	10	1,52	1,42	1,20
Madras	5	4	68	65	60
Mysore	6	4	73	42	84
Kerala	1	1	8	12	11
Total	24	19	3,01	2,61	2,75

*Nizam sugar I and II Plants taken as one unit.

On the basis of the present level of consumption, the southern region as a whole may be regarded as more or less self-sufficient. But there is yet a great need for pursuing a more vigorous policy of expansion in this region, to meet the rising trend in consumption which may in the course of the next few years exceed the All-India level. Therefore, there is a need for making determined effort for increasing the average recovery percentage of sugar. Madras has been able to achieve a recovery of only 9.77 per cent, Andhra Pradesh 9.42 per cent, Mysore 9.37 per cent and Kerala 9.46 per cent against the average for All-India of 10.01 per cent and the much higher figure of 11.18 per cent recorded in Bombay. With the attainment of the All-India average by the sugar mills in the south, there should be an increase in output by 20,000 tons, if not more, for the same quantity of cane now crushed. Some of the new factories have been able to achieve a recovery of only under 9 per cent. With a better working of the new machinery and the availability of better qualities of cane, there can be higher recovery in the future.

The *per capita* consumption which is very much lower in this zone, when compared with the All-India average, is now showing signs of a steady rise. Though the output of sugar is recording a gradual rise, this region taken as a whole, is likely to remain a deficit one for sometime to come, owing to the supply not keeping up with the demand, generated by rising standards of living. It is, therefore, necessary that the development of this industry in this region should receive much greater attention from one and all than before, not only to cope with the rising trend of consumption, but also in view of the definite advantages that the south zone enjoys in the shape of a tropical climate, higher production of cane, better recovery, and incidental advantages such as the saving on rail freight from distant producing centres. Further, the setting up of sugar machinery manufacturing plants in the South could contribute to the promotion of this industry in rural areas. There will be also a regular, larger markets for fertilisers if the sugar industry grows as anticipated.

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MAN-POWER INFORMATION FOR MANAGERIAL DECISIONS

Some Implications of Relocation Problems

By NARENDRA KUMAR SETHI

Introduction

Of all the assets available to management in its successful operation of the enterprise, the most valuable is its man-power organization. Management, in all is facets and perspectives, remains, after all, the management of the people. The growth of the business is directly to be equated with the growth in its man-power potential. In this way, then, it is only by a thorough examination of one's man-power needs, objectives, goals and requirements that an organization can develop fully.

An organization itself is an integrated concept emphasizing most on its man-power development. In other words, one can envisage an enterprise running with less attachment to materials, markets or money (though each of them is needed in the final analysis) but one can never visualize anything without its man-constituents. Man-power, therefore, remains the nucleus around which the outer growth takes place. It furnishes the currents of operation; the values of growth and the motivation for development.

A complete study of man-power assets requires a dynamic approach because of the obviously volatile nature of human power. It needs constant adjustments, revisions, structural changes and fresh view-points. A static method geared towards the material-management cannot provide the real

key to man-power analysis and human information. In this framework of analysis, we can indicate the following areas to be of utmost importance :

1. The complete run-down on organization.
2. The present incumbents there and future needs.
3. Long-range planning of goals of the individual as well as the company.
4. The employee structure.
5. The psychological factors namely, the needs, desires and attitudes of the people.
6. The historical factors namely, the development of the company personnel.
7. The socio-economic factors namely, the labour role, the availability, the wages and regulations.
8. The cultural factors namely, the community relations and the inter-action between the people.

These significant "critical areas" denote a new perspective on man-power attitudes. A study based on this framework can reveal the true picture both in its present standing as well as in its future drawbacks or short-comings. It gives us an integral analysis of the man-power situation in all its components. We shall have occasions to utilise this conceptual framework later on in the present study.

Since our analysis here is geared more to the need arising from relocating decisions. we can at this initial stage study some of the major areas of this phase. Relocation is indeed a problem of great magnitude. It directly involves human relations and adjustment. It brings into focus the public relations and community relations of the company, the past area, the future locale and so on. It poses severe problems of staffing, recruiting and employee morale. It initiates doubts and distrust and may also in some cases prove disastrous to the company's growth. In short, the problem of relocation is a multi-dimensional problem. It can be approached in a variety of measures namely, the purely geographical, the purely sociological, the purely personnel-centered or the purely labour-economics view. But, a full vision must take all these factors under one concept. Therefore, our study will try to integrate these various areas.

This section of our analysis has shown that man-power is central to managerial success; tha. man-power information is a thing of great significance in the decision-making process ; and that relocation problems require a conceptual framework to really understand its deep-seated duties and forces.

Man-power Information

A scientific decision about relocating depends on complete man-power information. We have already explained the concept of relocation earlier. Here, we shall point out the specific areas where information is needed to execute the decision about relocating.

1. The organization chart showing all the personnel.
2. The Executives and their role.
3. The people who are willing to relocate.
4. The people who will not relocate.
5. The methods of informing personnel about the problem.
6. The grievance procedure.
7. The company policy to compensate people who suffer on account of this relocation.
8. Employee morale on account of this policy.
9. How well does the union accept the situation?
10. Are there any arrangements with the previous union?
11. What about the future place and the union there?
12. Any new changes or substantial alterations in hiring?
13. Where will the new labour force come?
14. Its productivity and the difference between the previous and the future growth, if any?
15. What about the new community ?
16. The place, its people, the situation and locale.
17. Policies for promotion to new place.
18. The move. The moving expenses of the people.
19. Policy for transfer.
20. Policy for seniority.
21. New recruitment and selection procedure.
22. The new competition in the future locale

and the personnel policies adopted by other companies there.

23. What about the training in the new place? Will the company have to train people again from the start? Does it incur any additional expenses?
24. Policies for employee evaluation and also for executive evaluation.
25. Policies for merit-rating, promotions, etc.
26. Information about labour mobility in the area.
27. Information about labour organizations and allied administrative areas.
28. The changing shape of industrial relations in the area of relocation.
29. How well does the company's man-power planning policy suit its long range growth plans?
30. Policies for management development.
31. Specific problems like social security, compensation, employee-pension plans, unemployment insurance plans, fringe benefits, incentives and other areas which may have an impact on the displaced or laid off person on account of the relocation.

These major policy areas require concentrated research and objective thinking on the part of management. Relocation is a situation which may generate both internal as well as external forces or problems. As such, it should be fully studied in the suggested framework of man-power information. The concept of relocation introduces a *change* in all the sectors of the company administration. Economically, it may affect the wage and salary earners; psychologically, it may affect the industrial equilibrium of the plant; historically, it may sever the community ties of the personnel and sociologically, it may disrupt the smooth flow of communication, organizational relationships and so on. Therefore, an understanding, both wide and comprehensive, based on the suggested conceptual framework, will help in minimising the adverse effects of such decisions of the top management regarding change of locale and relocation.

This section of our analysis has shown the major information areas which should be fully explored before a decision to relocate is implemented.

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Sources of this Information

As we explained in an earlier section of thi study, the implications raised by relocation ar of both internal and the external nature. As such, the sources for gathering manageria intelligence on this score must, by necessity, b both internal and external. By internal, we mea the information generating inside the organization Everything else is considered here as being o external origin.

Following are the main sources for interna information on man-power:

1. The Organizational Chart of th company.
2. The Manning charts prepared by th personnel.
3. Employee files containing full informatior
4. Employee test scores, merit-ratin details, etc.
5. Interview results.
6. Job-evalution reports.
7. Position descriptions.
8. Man-power and executive developmen plans.
9. Employee surveys, figures on morale absenteism; etc.
10. Supervisory reports.
11. Policy descriptions, employee handbook and company directories.
12. Records developed by company magazine and House organs.
13. Training manuals.
14. Employee grievances records.
15. Long range acts prepared by th company.

Some other possible sources for the externa information can be enumerated here as follows

1. Union records, union and managemen contracts.
2. Labour mobility and allied figures of th area.
3. Statistics on occupational breakdown, etc
4. Community wage surveys.
5. Community findings on attitudes, climate etc.
6. Other companies' operations there an their statistics.

7. Going wage rates and other executive compensations.
8. Availability scores for possible trainee employees.
9. Facilities to attract qualified personnel.
10. Regional newspapers, magazines and other media.
11. County, district, township and state statistics on employment figures and man-power.

We have presented the major sources which should be tapped in developing proper information about man-power needed in relocation situations. Since relocation is a process requiring transition and re-orientation, these sources can be of great use in the initial stages. Later on, the success of the man-power evaluation plans and man-power development, etc., will depend on how well the goals and objectives of the company suit those of the employees. But, it cannot be denied that these sources have proven validity in starting the relocation process at least in its administrative and man-power personnel phase.

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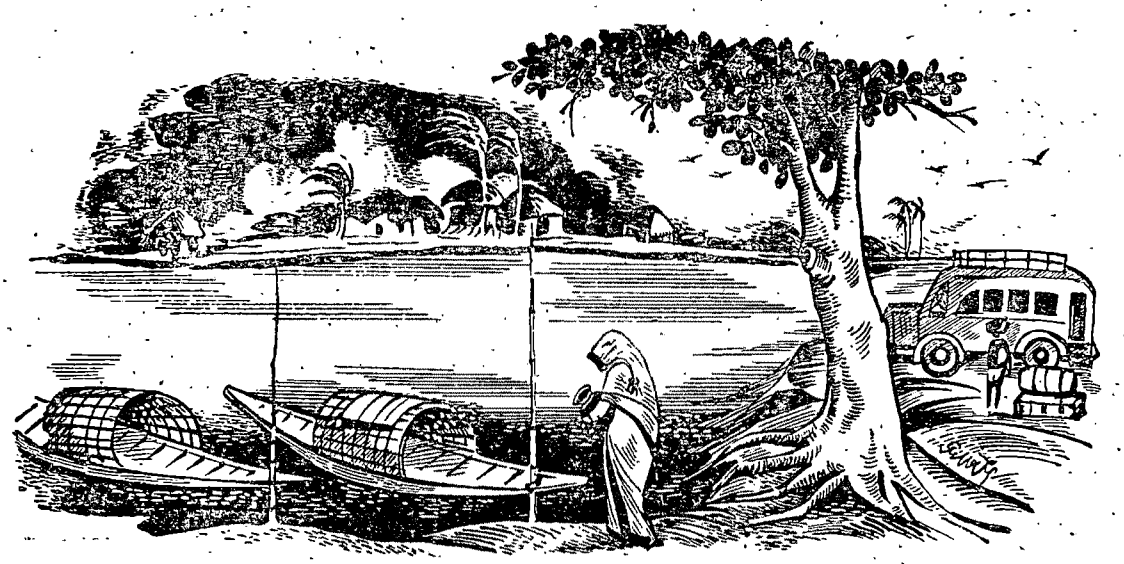

TAGORE'S SURVEY AND STUDY OF RURAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIETY, AND ITS BACKGROUND

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY

THE social responses of a man depends on the sub-culture in which he is brought up. If he is a man of genius, by which term, I understand a person with a very sensitive brain, which is less easily conditioned by stereotyped responses made by those surrounding him, the response made is more original, *i.e.*, deviant from the stereotype, not within limits of ordinary variance, but in a qualitative fashion. It is also likely to have a stronger emotional tinge, either explicit, or implicit in the feeling of the individual. It is, therefore, necessary to get a clear idea of the sub-culture in which Tagore was brought up, to obtain a correct assessment of his response to the rural surroundings that he met in adult life. I have used the phrase "adult life" deliberately, as Tagore was a member of a family, which like my own, had been in Calcutta, for a number of generations. On the rare occasions on which the Poet had gone to rural areas outside Bengal with his father, he had lived too sheltered a life to have contact with villagers. Further, his father, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, to judge from the Poet's account of early years, had rarely spoken to him, if at all about rural life. Devendranath was very much interested in social and religious reform among the educated people of Calcutta and does not seem to have paid such attention to the life of the poor peasants of his zamindari. Unlike Rammohan Roy from whom he drew his inspiration in these matters, Devendranath's probings into life did not extend also to the political and economic field. But the feeling of oneness with the Divine that he seems to have experienced on occasions, led him to emphasise this ancient attitude to life in his youngest son whom he often took with him on his journeys in search of peace and contentment. As the Poet grew up, he was sent like other older brothers to look after his father's zamindari. The Poet has stated how he felt uncertain of his ability to manage the vast landed property. But he wanted to know the actual conditions, and refused to be bound by the trammels of the age-old practices that prevailed with the Naibs and Gomastas of the cutchery. His avid mind sought to absorb the nuances of life of the peasantry and he tried, successfully, to some extent, to introduce changes. But he met with serious disappointments and setbacks in his attempts to ameliorate the lot of these rural folk. He has noted some examples in his addresses. He did not realise at this stage that social conditioning had imprinted deeply in the mind of the peasantry the distinction between the *bhadralog* and the common folk. They resented being called *chotolok*, but had grown accustomed to it. The resentment cumbered in their unconscious and made them look askance at any thing, even a beneficial act that a *bradralog*, especially a zamindar asked. In addition, the sense of seggregation that had grown up earlier with the caste system among Hindus, had found expression in lack of unity even in rural areas in certain respects. In Silaidah Pargana where Muslims were a majority community, there was additional ground for a feeling of separateness in the villages. In actual practice, the Muslim hamlet was at a noticeable distance from that of the Hindus, near the cutchery house of the Tagore's.

Tagore was not alone in carrying out such experiments in Bengal. Also, elsewhere, especially in Midnapore, things were not so bad as at Silaidah at that early period. There was some kind of village unity in celebrating religious festivals. But economic unity was absent. Political authority had rested earlier with the zamindar and in the village with the headman and his council. But it was merely a relic of bygone authority; only social matters were discussed and settled by them. Economic and social integration was lacking. There was economic give and take, as in the grain payment by peasants to the village servants and artisans like the potter, the oil presser, the blacksmith, the weaver (for a group of villages) and the washerman, drummer and scavenger.

Tagore has stated that he asked, in the early days of management the local villagers to dig a well where it was needed promising to supply burnt earth circular pottery frames to keep the interior from collapsing. He met with refusal. I can give an example of similar treatment in the eighties of the last century from elsewhere. My mother's father, Pandit Narayan Chandra Vidyaratna, son of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, sought to build a kutcha road from the small market town of Kharar to Birsingha. Only a narrow strip of land was needed from the people whose fields lay between Kristopur on the outskirts of Kharar, and Birsingha a mile and half away. There was a school for boys and a school for girls organised by Vidyasagar in Birsingha, and the road way if built, would have helped in rainy season the children coming from Udayganj and other areas to these schools. But people demurred saying, "It is their affair; why should we give up any land". At the end, Narayan Babu purchased these strips of land and made a kutcha road. But due to illness of his father, he was away for a decade in Calcutta. On his return, he found that the original owners had pared away these strips, so much that only wide ridges were left, and nothing of the road. In 1903, I went as a small boy to Birsingha with my parents, and my mother's father. It was raining and the ridges were slippery. No cart could reach from Kharar to Bidyasagarbati at Birsingha, and no palanquin was available. My grandfather then fifty-five years of age, carried me on his shoulder the whole of that mile and half along ridges. I have a vivid memory of the journey, riding uncomfortably on high while my parents waded through the mud of the rice fields as the ridges proved too slippery to move along them. Grandfather told me about the vanished road way next day as I asked him why there was no road. But he spoke of one successful endeavour of his earlier attempt. The poor peasants united under his leadership against undue exactions of zamindars and against wrongful occupation of good land by rich jotedars. Although the peasants with much land could not work for roads and the poorer folk among them did not bother about road for school children, they could realise the value of united work for standing up against what directly touched them. The memory of such work persisted and became apparent in the days of non-cooperation. On the religious side, Swami Vivekananda spread the message of selfless work for the neglected masses, through missionary work, as a symptom of the general feeling in this respect among our men of genius.

Tagore has stated in his article on Samabaya that what poor people in our rural areas needed was self-confidence to work together to attain their objective of enough means to live. Each of them he noted, went his little way, scratching at his tiny plot of land. But if they had cooperated and had in this way a large plot of land, and pooled their resources of cattle and labour power, they would have had to spend less and gain a larger surplus from the harvest produced. In the early days of the national movement for freedom the Tagore family had been drawn into it. Tagore himself at the time of Curzon's partition of Bengal had suggested Rakhibandhan as a symbol of our unity. But after being in the movement for sometime he felt that it was a movement of the educated upper classes of the urban areas. From his talk with leaders he felt that most of them did not think about betterment of the rural peasantry and common folk of the country side. With the deep-seated idea of our ancient thinkers imprinted in him early in life by his father and fostered by his own genius that the divine finds expression in all beings, and that true Sadhana of any kind should be to look to all with an equal eye, behave to them in such fashion and make them one with you in your active life, Tagore sought for a different way of approach to the problem. Dissatisfied with the earlier poor response in his zamindari area, he broke new ground later in Birbhum, close to Shantiniketan although he did not abandon his earlier work. In the area around the ancestral house of the Sinha landlords that he had purchased, he started a welfare centre for rural folk. He had with him a band of devoted workers here and later secured the active participation of an Englishman, Mr. Elmhirst, who had trained himself for this type of work and who contributed also financially to such work in Sriniketan. Tagore had much earlier sent abroad in 1906, Sri Santosh Majumdar and also his own son Rathindranath for training in this kind of agriculture-*cum*-rural welfare. On their return

he sent his son for rural welfare work in his zamindari area. In the meantime, things had changed a good deal. The vigorous agitation for national freedom carried out by the Extremists as the Congress wing of Arabinda Ghosh, Bipin Pal and others were called, and the slow spreading out of the leaven of rural welfare by Aswini Dutta among Congress stalwarts and by others who were not so important in politics, as in the instance noted earlier, had made it clear that attention had to be paid to rural welfare and rural economics. All these movements had affected the men of our own generation for regeneration of our country. In a note which I prepared in 1921, and made over to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das through my friend Subhas Chandra Bose, I discussed how work should be taken up in rural areas through welfare by villagers by stimulating their mind and suggested the formation of a camp to train workers from among men devoted to welfare of the nation. Prior to it, I read out the note in London before the Bengali students there and pointed out how the non-cooperation movement would be helpful in giving courage to rural folk but would fail to bring independence unless the villagers were made to think about problems and were properly organised on a militant basis. Further, I suggested lines of such work in the note. When I came back to India early in 1923, Tagore asked me to take charge of the institution in Shantiniketan and to help in other work. I expressed my willingness to do so, and drew up a scheme with estimates of cost for laboratory, hostels and library to run Viswabharati as a residential University. I had by this time acquired a reputation as a very determined person and I am afraid this stood in the way of approval of Tagore's suggestion by the Karmi Parishad of those days. However, I went to Shantiniketan and saw something of the work at Sriniketan that had just then been well begun. Some twelve years later I went there again, as an Acharya to preside over the annual function at Sriniketan and saw its later developments. On that occasion Tagore himself spoke as the supreme head and inspirer of the institution. His health was then frail and he mentioned that he might not meet them many years more, perhaps, even the next year. The line of work followed here as I understood it, has been two-fold, (a) to encourage cooperation among villagers and (b) to furnish technical knowledge and training to villagers, to improve the economic condition of the participants in such work through development of cottage industry. Each craft in turn has been thus sought to be so improved. Tagore realised the value of education and literacy for village folk and emphasised its spread in the area adjoining Sriniketan. The spoken word cannot be repeated too often. Written words can be reread. He laid emphasis also on genuine mixing of his workers with villagers, to remove the barriers about which he had complained earlier

I have mentioned in an earlier part of the talk that Tagore felt that villagers had no confidence in their ability to get things done. They felt disunited in economic matters. He mentions elsewhere how he found the Chinese immigrants in Malay, who worked there helping each other all thereby attaining a prosperous condition. But our Indian labourers had failed to work together and remained poor men there.

There is a reference to Denmark in one of Tagore's speeches about co-operative activity there. It is in Tagore's article on "The Speciality of co-operation in India" from an address delivered in 1927. I may note here the actual steps that led to co-operative work in Denmark as it has a bearing on Tagore's experience in doing welfare work. In that country, attempts were made early in the nineteenth century to improve the mode of agriculture among the peasantry, who lived almost the life of a serf and were steeped in ignorance. But these attempts by the Government of Denmark failed; the peasants did not realise the import of the improvements suggested. But primary education was extended at the same time and spread rapidly. It was, however, felt by the leaders of thought in that country, that something else was lacking. What was needed was a stimulus, to make the peasants think, to churn up their minds and to look at their age-old practices from a fresh point of view. The institutions for this were started mainly through the efforts of Bishop Grundtvig and were known as Folk High Schools. The amount of information absorbed in them was not much; but it stimulated the adult students there to think anew on their problems. A generation later, the peasants had a share in the Government of the country. Also as American wheat made it difficult to make a profit from the grain

they grew, they changed over to co-operative dairy work and pigbreeding and curing. This was done smoothly by the new type of peasants who had his mind alret. The change-over took place without economic loss and brought more money to Denmark. Also the peasants and dairy workers now came to power as the major ruling party. In 1934, I went to Denmark and visited apart from schools and co-operative centres the Folk High School at Elsinore, under Dr. Peter Manniche. I found there a large framed photo of Tagore and learnt that he had been there for a few days as a guest.

I have mentioned earlier about the need I felt for a camp of workers to promote welfare work in villages and who were to live in villages as one with the rural folk. 1926, such an arrangement was made and I organised a camp. Scouting with commands and signals in Bengali, and also details of work for rural welfare were taught to a score of enthusiastic workers. But the prime mover of it, Deshbandhu died a few weeks later. Others who led the Bengal congress in his absence did not like that rural peasants should be so stimulated and organised. Some work was done on their own by the individuals trained in the camp. Others felt frustrated at the lack of support from the political organisation of which we were all members and drifted into the path of revolutionary activity. This failure of other leaders to help in followup of the work of the camp was due to a lag of the earlier indifference of the congress leaders to welfare of rural folk about which Tagore had complained in his different addresses. The idea of uplift work in rural economics and co-operation by villagers was, however, gaining ground. In Silaidah itself, which I visited early in 1926 with my father-in-law Sri Surendranath Tagore who had inherited this part of the Tagore zamindari from his father, I learnt of wells dug by village labour with the zamindar furnishing the binding material to keep it intact. The village welfare units and village board of health were also active. In Birsingha, about this time, a storm blew down the room for a post office, built by my grandfather for the village thirty years earlier. He was then dead and my cousin Sri Profulla Ghoshal who owned Vidyasagar's house in Birsingha had no money to build the room on his own. But at his request the poor villagers gave free labour to erect the walls and to thatch it, while he paid for the cost of materials. I may add that through his contribution, and later of mine we had a tube-well fitted in the poorer quarter of the village, on the same basis. Still later, when engaged in rehabilitation work after the terrible man-made famine (of black marketeers) of 1943, I found embankments built by local people in Nadia in co-operation to prevent undue flooding of crop land, saw dykes repaired by co-operative labour in the Sunderban area of Khulna and learnt of a silted canal re-excavated in Mymensing and in Bankura to irrigate land. The money needed to feed poor workers who gave free-labour went from the Relief Committee of which I was treasurer. What is unfortunate, is that such co-operation of villagers has not been looked upon with favour by those in authority before as well as to some extent also after Independence. I may add that in 1926 when I was Education Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, I appointed a graduate of the fisherman community as an Inspector in my Department. He had worked earlier for six months in another Department with great ability. I learnt, however, that he was believed to have helped to organise the Fishermen in a part of the Padma river so that they might withstand undue exactions about which Tagore has written in his address at Pabna in 1908 and elsewhere. I was asked to dismiss him as the zamindar of that area was very powerful in the Bengal Congress, and believed him to be responsible for loss in his jalkar. I was then a member of the Congress Executive and I flatly refused to carry out this order, as the youngman did his work exceptionally well. There were other examples of congressmen professing to fight for freedom but repressing the downtrodden. I had drawn up a scheme for training cobblers in Calcutta and settled preliminaries for their cutting uppers with modern tools, and for teaching carpenters to use modern brace and bits. But this was rejected as unnecessary.

I have pointed out in an article based on data of people at different levels of culture entitled "Social Co-operation, Freedom and Progress" how these triads together can only lead men forward to better understanding of each other and to general happiness. It is in line with what our older culture preaches. It is this urge to see all men with an equal eye that led Tagore

to instil in his educated countrymen the massage of goodwill and welfare work for the rural folk in a series of speeches and to back it up by actual implementation of this feeling of oneness with them in practice. The work that he did at first at Silaidah and Patisar, and later on in Sriniketan serve as examples of it showing how attempts might be made, even though on a limited scale, to implement these plans the blue print of which was made by the force of logic based on the facts of the economy of rural areas.

On the occasion of his Centenary, men from all lands, referred to variously as Democratic or as Capitalist, as Communist or Totalitarian have come forward to pay their homage to this great man who held aloft the beacon light of true humanism, and showed how the noble message of our ancient thinkers can be implemented in a modern age using modern technology and educational methods as the proper tools of the time. The different major political parties in our country have also in their own way, made genuine contributions to organise the proverty-stricken folk of our rural and industrial areas and to improve their lot. May we hope that the people in power in our country and those opposed to them will co-operate in the interest of our own poverty-stricken people? Such co-operation is essential if the dream about which the Kavi, the Seer, dreamt and of which he spoke in his inimitable verse and prose and for implementing which he acted as a pathfinder, is to come true and help us to find thereby the happiness of our people.

*Talk given at a Seminar of Viswabharati University, "On Human factor in the growth of Rural Economy", on 11th March, 1962, as part of Rabindranath Tagore Birthday Centenary Celebrations.

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SHAHJAHAN'S JUSTICE AND PUNISHMENTS

Some Interesting Anecdotes

By Professor A. SEN

Emperor Shahjahan was always anxious to govern his Empire most perfectly. With a view to doing this he acted on the maxim of his father, Emperor Jehangir, that true justice must be enforced rewarding the meritorious, and punishing the guilty. All the Moghul Emperors from Babar down to Aurangazeb meted out impartial and even-handed justice to all except in those cases in which their own interests were concerned.

Shahjahans Strict and Stern Justice

Shahjahan kept a strict eye on his officials, punishing them rigorously when they did not administer justice properly. This was the reason why he kept at his Court an official with several baskets full of poisonous snakes. He would order that in his presence the snakes should be made to bite any official who had not administered justice impartially, leaving the guilty official lying in his presence until he died. This terrible punishment frightened his officials, and made them render proper and impartial justice.

The Emperor punished the Kotwal, Muhammad Said, who did not decide uprightly and took bribes by ordering that he should be bitten in one hand by a Cobra in his presence, and he remained seated until the Kotwal expired. Others who had deserved death were ordered to be thrown to mad elephants, who tore them to pieces.

These punishments, though barbarous and frightful according to modern standards; but were not deemed so during the age of Shahjahan, had salutary effect on officials who had to try cases.

Fear of this kind of terrible punishment made a Quazi to whom a young man had made a complaint that his relation was not returning to him

the wealth entrusted to him by his father at the time of his death during his infancy, report to the Emperor that the other party to the suit (the relation of the plaintiff) had paid him thirty thousand rupees to give an unjust decree. The Emperor ordered the relation to pay the whole sum claimed by the young man, and the Quazi to put the Bribe money into the Royal Treasury.

Shahjahan severely punished high officials like Governors, Generals, and others, if they did not discharge their duties properly and conscientiously. If a Commander fled from battle or did not do his duty the Emperor not only severely punished him, but disgraced his wives and daughters by directing rats to be placed in their trousers. This was done as a warning to other officials to do their duty with care.

Anecdotes

The Governor of Gujarat, Nasir Khan, predecessor of Prince Murad, oppressed the people, and treated them very rudely, and used to collect extraordinary contributions from them. As the merchants of Gujarat, who were the worst sufferers, could not have access to the Emperor's audience to make their complaints against him, they bribed some Court actors to represent their grievances in the form of a play before the Emperor. They told him that some strange actors had come, who wished to enact a play of a novel kind. Amongst the actors were mingled also some of the merchants, who had come to represent their grievances. Shahjahan, who was a lover of such amusements, permitted them entry and the enacting of their play. They then played a piece, which showed the misgovernment existing in the Province of Gujarat. The Emperor was surprised and shocked at the wrong represented. The actors then told him that they were the aggrieved persons, and that they had adopted that method to lay their grievances before him, because they failed to achieve their objective by trying other means. The Emperor made enquiries, and finding that everything was true, ordered the arrest of the Governor Nasir Khan, and his imprisonment in the State Prison of Rohtasgarh to end his life on insufficient food. All the goods and property of the Governor were confiscated. This shows how stern were his justice and punishment from which even high ranking persons were not spared when found guilty, and also his determination to remove the grievances of his people.

Shahjahan severely punished forgers and perjurers. In 1656, he inflicted a terrible punishment on two forgers. A young man wanted to marry a certain woman, and on her refusal he brought a complaint against her before the judge. His case was that after she had promised to marry him, and he had spent all his money with her, she refused to keep her word. The Judge ordered an enquiry to be made from the woman. She said that the whole story was false, as she had neither promised to marry him nor was she willing to do so. The judge asked the complainant if he had any witnesses to testify to her promise. He described the marks the woman bore on her body, and requested the judge to verify them. The young man got this information from an old woman, who used to braid her hair, and bathe her body. Eunuchs and women were sent to examine her body, and they reported that the detailed description of the marks on the body of the woman was accurate. The Judge ordered her to marry the young man. But she asked for some time before doing so, which was granted. Shortly afterwards the woman accompanied by two sturdy slave girls went to the house of the young man, who was on his sick bed, and forcibly seized him and took him to the Judge, and complained to him that on the night before when sleeping with her he had stolen a valuable bracelet like the one she had on her arm. The young man denied the charge saying that he had never known the woman, and demanded justice for the false accusation. The woman appeared before the Emperor and asked for justice to be done to her in respect of the false statement made by the young man sometime ago before the judge that she had promised to marry him, and that he had lived with her for a long time which enabled him to describe the marks on her body. The eunuchs and women, who had examined the marks on her body were sent for. They said that she was the woman whose marks on her body they had examined. The young man on being asked how could he know the marks told the name of the old woman, who had given him the information. The Emperor praised the cleverness of the complainant, and gave orders for the old woman and the youth to

be buried in the ground upto the waist after which they were shot to death by arrows.

Shahjahan severely punished cheats and deceitful persons. The following interesting case will prove this. There was a rich woman named Darya Khatoon, who lived in the City of Kabul. She had slave women who requested the travelling merchants to marry their mistress. Seeing that the woman was very rich, and had much goods they agreed to marry her. In this way she married nineteen persons one after another. Sometime after their marriage she would take her new husband to her village to collect rents, and then sell him to her acquaintances. Thus, she sold all her nineteen husbands as slaves. The Muscles near their heel were severed, so that they might not run away, and then the woman returned to the City. When they reported the matter to the Governor of Kabul, Mahabat Khan, the woman was arrested. On hearing the facts of the case the Governor, considering it to be an extraordinary case, submitted it to the Emperor for decision. He ordered the woman to be torn to pieces by savage and blood-thirsty dogs.

To make still more clear how Shahjahan was anxious that justice should be properly administered in his realm, there are some interesting cases. The first is that of a soldier who took wrongfully the slave girl of a Hindu clerk. The soldier said that the girl was his, and she also said that she belonged to him, as she wanted to live with him. The case was transferred to the Emperor. He ordered the slave-girl to put some water into his ink vessel. She did it very neatly and dexterously. This convinced him that the slave girl belonged to the Hindu clerk, and not to the soldier. The Emperor ordered her to be sent back to the scribe from whom she had learnt how to pour water neatly and skilfully into an inkpot. The soldier was dismissed from service, and banished from the country.

Another interesting case occurred in Delhi. There were four merchants at Delhi, who owned equal shares in the goods kept in a shop. The agreement was that each of them should be in charge for one day in turn, and should provide the lamp kept in the shop with oil, and a cat with food, which also should be kept in it, on the day of his duty, and also buy a cat, if it happened to die. One day the cat broke its leg. The man in charge of the goods that day spent some money for curing the cat, and asked his partners to pay their share of the cost incurred by him for curing it. They refused on the ground that it was on his day that the cat had broken its leg. While the cat was still under treatment with a piece of cloth tied round its broken leg, it scratched itself near the lighted lamp which caught fire. The cat in fear took shelter beneath the goods, which led to the burning and destruction of the total contents of the shop. The three other merchants threw the blame on the man who was doctoring the cat, and asked him to pay them for the whole of the losses sustained by them. On his refusal to do so, the three other partners brought the case before a judge. His decision was that the man who was responsible for the cure of the cat must pay for the losses of the others. The dispute was brought to the notice of the Emperor. He reversed the decree of the Judge, deciding that the three merchants should pay him who was responsible for the cure of the cat. The Emperor said that the broken leg could not walk and that the three legs of the cat belonging to the other three traders were those that caused the fire, which destroyed all the goods in the shop, and, therefore, they must pay the partner, who was in charge of the cat. This shows how impartial and thorough Shahjahan's justice was even in small matters. His eagerness to do justice to all, irrespective of their rank or status, earned him the affection, and esteem of his subjects.

Not only did the Emperor do justice against those guilty of great crimes, he also dealt with the nobles severely to put an end to the wrongs done by them to their subordinates and dependants. The following incident will bear this out. One day when the Emperor was out ahunting, a servant came before him with a complaint that his master had not paid him for months, and so he was in great distress. The Emperor ordered his master, who was in the hunting party, to be brought before him, and he admitted the truth of the complaint. He ordered him (the man's master) to dismount, and the servant to get upon his master's horse. He also ordered him to keep running in front, in the servant's place, where the Emperor could see him. After running for sometime the master fell to the ground unable to run any longer. The Emperor then said to him "I do not fail to pay you because you serve me, it is equally just that you

should pay those who serve you". This anecdote bespeaks the Emperor's high sense of justice, and his anxiety to remove the grievances of all, great or small.

Severe Treatment of a Guilty Favourite

The Emperor did not spare even his favourites, and inflicted terrifying punishments upon them whenever he found them going wrong, and guilty of dishonesty.

The Emperor had a favourite slave, named Saadat Khan, whom he had made very rich and important. He had given him the command over two thousand horses. He was placed in charge of the betel consumed by the Emperor. Shahjahan saw several times that Saadat Khan gave away his betel to the nobles at Court. He had enjoined him not to give his betel to anyone, and to remember the order. Saadat Khan paying no heed to the order, and relying on the love the Emperor bore him distributed the betel secretly. One day Shahjahan saw him giving betel to a noble in the Court. At the end of the darbar he went to the garden, and Saadat Khan brought before him, and ordered him to be beaten to death in his own presence. This frightful punishment was meted out to Saadat Khan to serve as a lesson to the nobles, and to intimidate them into obeying and serving the Emperor honestly and loyally. Shahjahan handed over the whole of Saadat Khan's wealth to his wife in spite of the rule made by Emperor Akbar that the Emperor should take possession of the riches and property left by anyone in his service. He departed from this practice in order to prevent people, specially the nobles, from saying that he had killed Saadat Khan to get possession of his wealth.

Punishment of Thieves and Robbers

Shahjahan dealt with thieves and robbers in a very severe and rigorous manner in order to enable his subjects to live in secure possession of their belongings, and never pardoned them. Thefts and robberies were punished with death. If the offence was a small one, the thief was banished from the realm. But if it was great, the thief was sentenced to death. If it chanced that the thieves could not be caught, he forced the officials to pay for the losses sustained by the persons in whose houses thefts had been committed. This order of the Emperor made the officials try their utmost to prevent thefts, and catch the thieves when any thefts occurred. In 1645, thieves robbed the Dutch factory at Surat at night. They complained to the Governor. As he paid no heed to their complaint, the Dutch demanded from the Governor a heavy sum of money as compensation for having allowed them to be robbed within his jurisdiction. When Shahjahan got information of the affair, he issued an order to the Governor that the Dutch should be indemnified from his own treasury. Thus, the Emperor did justice to the Dutch, who had been robbed by thieves, and punished the Governor for taking no action on their complaint, by making him pay for the loss sustained by them.

Forms of Punishment

Shahjahan always inflicted deterrent punishments, which were mostly capital, to reduce the number of crimes, to make people law-abiding, and to maintain law and order in the Country. There were diversities in capital punishments, *viz.*, Hanging, Beheading, Impaling, Tearing to pieces by wild and ferocious dogs, killing by elephants, shooting to death by arrows, snake bites, and burying alive. Other forms of punishments were banishment, public disgrace and humiliation, heavy fines, confiscation of property lowering of ranks, imprisonment, and selling into slavery. There were no laws to regulate justice but what were written in the breasts of the Emperor and his Viceroys. Generally speaking the Emperor and his Viceroys adjudicated all cases of life and death. But the Emperor heard and decided all cases that were referred to him by the Judges or Governors, and those that could be brought to his notice, which was a difficult thing, by the aggrieved party. Shahjahan's justice was quick, stern, and impartial, and his decisions satisfied his people.

These anecdotes are not only interesting, but they throw a flood of light on Shahjahan's solicitude for doing justice to all alike, irrespective of their rank or position, and the manner in which he administered it.

Thus, on account of his impartial, upright, and speedy decisions he won the goodwill, affection, and esteem of his subjects. He was a popular ruler.

In view of his good and beneficent administration there was no internal trouble, and peace and tranquility prevailed throughout his reign until the year 1657, when the war of succession broke out among his sons due to Shahjahan's sudden and serious illness, which ultimately led to his dethronement, and imprisonment by his son, Aurangazeb.

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ARYABHATTA, BRAHMAGUPTA, BHASKARA AND THE RENAISSANCE OF HINDU MATHEMATICS

By ASHIM CHAUDHURI

To see in the past the pattern of the future, we should remember those ancient Indians who showed the world the way in mathematics and astronomy. We know still very little about them—but antiquarian researches have yielded sufficient material, which may help us in drawing brief sketches of their lives and works.

The period of renaissance of Indian Mathematics extending from the beginning till the twelfth or thirteenth century of the Cristian era saw a galaxy of intellectual giants in the realms of mathematics and astronomy. If we arrange them in the chronological order, they were; Aryabhatta, Brahmagupta, Varahamihira, Mahavira, Sridhara and Bhaskaracarya. Among them the most prominent were: Aryabhata, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara.

Aryabhatta has carved a niche in the history of Indian science. But unfortunately very little is known about him except from occasional references to his works in later mathematical treatises. Orientalists like Colebrooke, Dr. H. Karn and Dr. Bhau Daji made attempts to sketch the profile of this great mathematician and astronomer from numerous fragments of his writings quoted in later works, namely, in Bhatta Utpala's commentary on Varahamihira's Varahi Samhita. Aryabhatta's date has been more or less definitely fixed by the early orientalists. Colebrooke whose views on this point have been favoured by the learned observed—"We shall, however, take the fifth (century) of Christ, as the latest period to which Aryabhatta can, on most moderate assumption, be referred." (Colebrook's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II, p. 477). In a way, Aryabhatta laid Indian mathematics and astronomy on twin pillars of rigour and elegance. Apart from astronomy—the source of delight of the Indian mathematicians—he made significant contributions to arithmetic and algebra. To refer to Prof. Lassen's observation—"Of Aryabhatta's writings we have the following. He has written a short outline of his system in ten strophes, which composition he, therefore, called Dasagitaka. It is still extant. A more extensive work is the Aryashtasata, which as the title informs us, contains eight hundred Distiches. but has not yet been rediscovered. The mean between these works is held by the Aryabhattiya, which consists of four chapters, in which the author treats of mathematics in one hundred and twenty three strophes. In it he teaches the method of designating numbers by means of letters.... Besides he has left a commentary on Suryasiddhanta, which has been elucidated by a much later astronomer and is probably the work Tantra by Al-biruni"—(Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. II, p. 1136. Doji quoted by Dr. Bhau Daji in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society N.S.I, p. 394).

A host of scholars believed that Aryabhatta had the knowledge of the place-value system. This conclusion is based on Aryabhatta's system of expressing numbers—that is the alphabetical notation. Aryabhatta used the vowels to signify denomination and the pure consonants the numerals. Rodet adduced evidence in favour of the fact that Aryabhatta's method of extracting the square root, implied a knowledge of the

place-value notation (mentioned by S. R. Das in Indian Historical Quarterly, iii, 1927, p. 105). J. F. Fleet who made a study of Aryabhatta's system of expressing numerous, illustrations of which are found copiously in Dasagitaka Sutra, believed that this system postulates the use of some form of abacus and if not the abacus, the Cipher (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1911, Pp. 109-126).

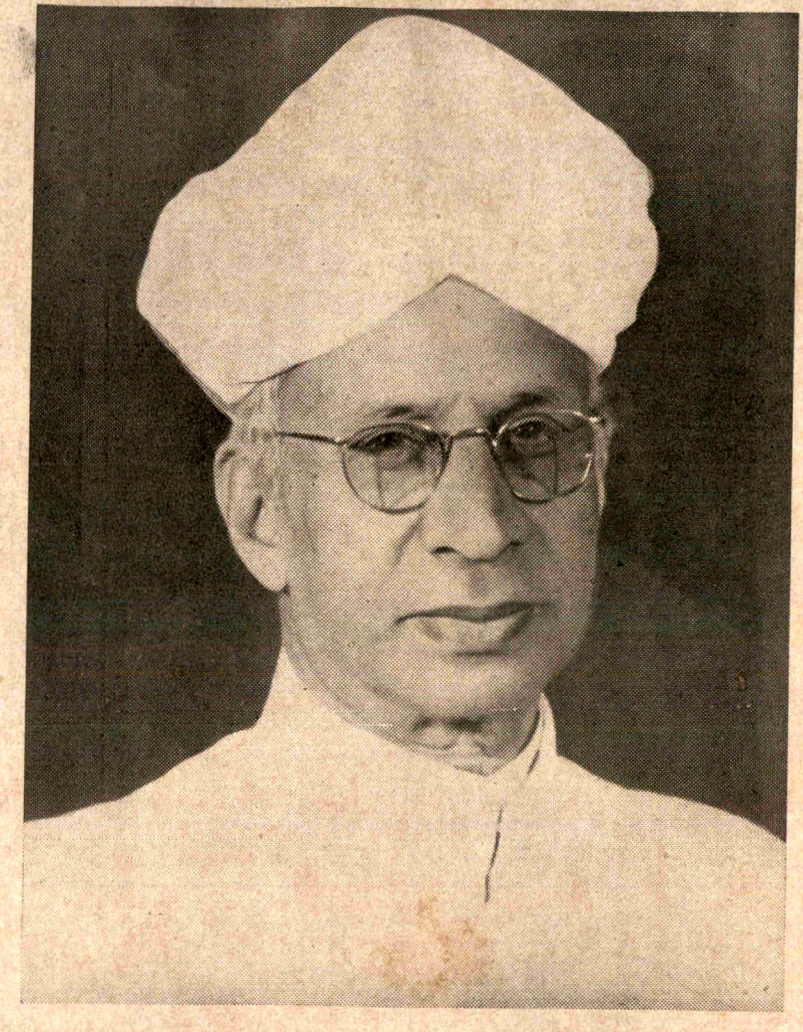
Dr. Bhau Daji's eulogy runs thus—"Aryabhatta calls himself a native of Kusumpur or Pataliputra....His work is written with great attention and conciseness. His system of notation is quite original....In the invention of the new system of notation, the Indian Aryabhatta may be compared to the Grecian Archimedes. The ratio of the diameter to the circumference, was given by Archimedes in his book: 'De dimensione circuli,' as seven to twenty-two, while that of Aryabhatta is one to 3.1416" (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S.I., p. 406). Aryabhatta also made a proper use of this ratio (written II). Dr. Bibhutibhusan Datta observed—"Aryabhatta has utilised his important discovery about the value of II in putting the table of Sines in a rational and scientific form and show he was followed in this respect by the Sidhanta writers excepting Brahmagupta. We have also learned that Aryabhatta applied this value of II in valulating the dimensions of the earth and its atmosphere. ...." (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S.XXII, 1926, p. 39).

The striking correctness of the value of II has been ascribed to Greek influence by many Western authors. But Dr. Bibhutibhusan Dutta has been able to show that such allegations are unsound and baseless (**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,** N.S. xxii, pp. 25-42). Aryabhatta showed excellence in Algebra. Colebrooke wrote: "The earliest author known to have treated of Algebra among the Hindus and likely to be, if not the inventor, the improver of that analysis, by whom too, it was pushed nearly to the whole degree of excellence, which it is found to have attained among them." (**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,** xx, 1863, p. 371, quoted by Dr. H. Kern). He was the first to tackle the indeterminate problems of the first order, called Kuttaka. He also derived the sum of the Series of Cubes, which was never known to the Greeks (mentioned by Dr. B. B. Datta in **Indian Historical Quarterly,** V, 1929, p. 504).

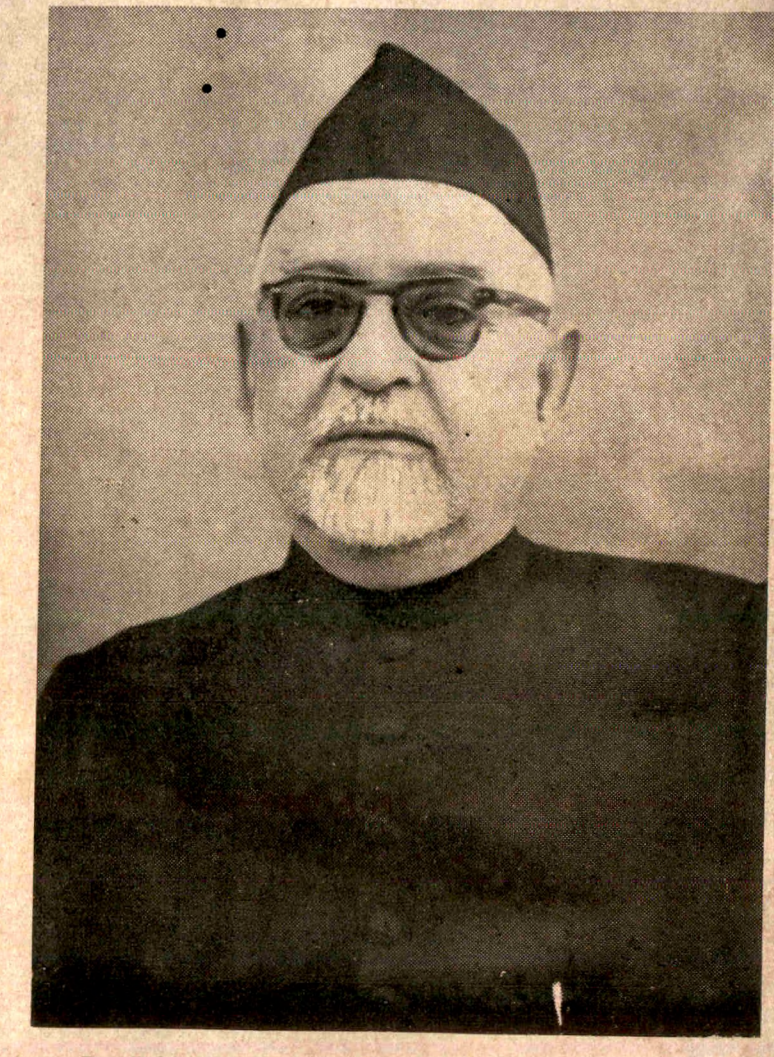
Aryabhatta's astronomical writings are more numerous than his other mathematical writings. As an astronomer he conceived many original ideas which made a far-reaching impact on Hindu astronomy. Aryabhatta had the knowledge that the earth is round. His explanation of the apparent flatness of the earth to men on earth is clear and pointed. Aryabhatta said: "As the earth is a large body, and a man is exceedingly small, the whole visible portion of the earth consequently appears to a man on its surface to be perfectly plane"—(quoted by Sukumar Ranjan Das in **Indian Historical Quarterly,** IV, 1928, p. 72). In those days when knowledge was circumscribed superstition, such clarity of thought strikes one with wonder. Aryabhatta was the first among the Hindu astronomers who believed in the diurnal motion of the earth round its axis. His idea ran thus: "The Starry Sphere is stationary and the earth making a revolution produces the daily rising and setting of stars and planets"—(quoted by S. R. Das in **Indian Historical Quarterly,** IV, p. 71).

The idea of heliacal rising and setting of stars and planets was promulgated by Aryabhatta in the 6th century A.D. while it was first fully developed in Europe in the 15th century by Copernicus, though Pythogoras had some rudimentary knowledge in the 5th century B.C. Aryabhatta was inclined to give an elliptical form to the epicycle by which the motion of a planet was represented. P. C. Sengupta aptly described him as the father of Indian epicyclic astronomy. (**Journal of the Department of Letters,** Calcutta University).

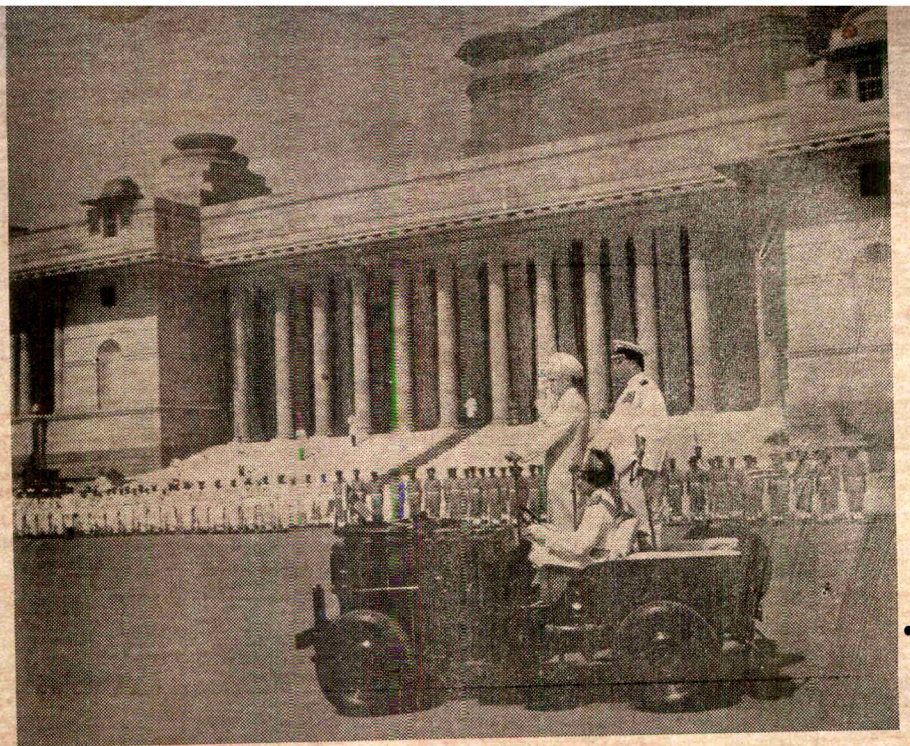
Dr. H. Kern in particular made an attempt to draw a profile of Aryabhatta as an astronomer from numerous fragments of his writings compiled mainly from the commentary of Bhatta Utpala on the Varahi Samhita. We quote here some fragments translated by Dr. H. Kern:



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the President of India



Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Vice-President of India



The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan inspecting an Inter-services Guard of Honour at Rashtrapati Bhavan

His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand is seen boating on the Dal Lake, Srinagar

On the relative distance of the planets, including the Sun and Moon, from the earth, the supposed centre of the celestial sphere and dimensions of the planetary orbits, Aryabhatta says: "Below the fixed stars are successively Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, the Venus, Mercury and the Moon; below all those is the earth being in the midst of other." Again, on the relative dimension of the planetary orbits, he says: "The Moon being undermost completes a small circle in a short time, and the Saturn being uppermost, a large circle in a long time. For upon a small circle the signs are small, whereas they are great upon a large circle, so too the degrees and minutes are divided proportionally to the respective orbits." (**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society**, XX, pp. 371-387).

These fragments are quite sufficient to show that though Aryabhatta lived in the age of naked-eye astronomy, his observations were marked by accuracy and conciseness. The two conditions for the success of the naked-eye astronomy, that is, freedom from prejudice, and accurate perception were fulfiled in his case. He had done what can by done by a genius under enervating circumstances.

Aryabhatta was followed by a host of mathematicians and astronomers. The most prominent among them were Brahmagupta and Bhaskara. They were great not only as astronomers, but also as excellent mathematicians who laid "Algebra" on a firm foundation.

Brahmagupta is said to have flourished in the 6th century A.D. His magnum opus —'The Brahmasphuta Siddhanta' is an astronomical treatise. In those days arithmetic and algebra formed an appendage to astronomical works. So 'Brahmasphuta Siddhanta' contained chapters on: Arithmetic and Geometry (Pati-Ganita) and Indeterminate problems (Kuttaka)—a special problem in Algebra.

As an astronomer he showed considerable originality. His following observations bring out his excellence as an astronomer—he observed, "The earth stands firm by its own power without any other support in space. If there be a material support to the earth and another upholder of that and another again of this and so on without any limit and if finally self-support must be assumed, why not assume it in the first instance? Why not recognise it in this multiform earth? The earth possessing an attractive force draws towards itself any heavy substance situated in the surrounding atmosphere, and that substance appears as if it fell (like a stone). But wither can the earth fall in the ethereal space which is equal and alike on every side?.....If the earth were falling an arrow shot into space would not return to it, when the projectile force was expended, since both would descend, nor can it be said that the earth moves slower and is overtaken by the arrow, for heaviest bodies fall quickest, and the earth is the heaviest." (quoted by S. K. Das, **Indian Historical Quarterly**, IV, 1938, p. 72).

Brahmagupta made notable contributions to the solution of indeterminate problems. Bhaskaracharya about whom I shall speak later on also made fruitful contributions to the solution of this problem. Professor Playfair who was all admiration for the genius of the Hindu Mathematicians and astronomers observed: "All these observation are exemplified in the Cuttaca, or as it is here translated the **Pulveriser**, a process which makes a great figure both in Algebra and Arithmetic of the Hindu Astronomers. It is a general rule for the solution of the inderterminate problems of the first degree, and by its universal application and the simple calculations to which it leads, very well merits all the eulogies which the Indian algebraists are inclined to bestow on it. It will be regarded as no small confirmation of the eulogies to observe that a method to the same extent and import was not known in Europe till it was published by **Bachet de Mebiriac** about the year 1624, and the process for resolving the problems given by Bhaskara and Brahmagupta are virtually the same." (Edinburgh Review, XXIX, Nov. 1817).

The solution of the indeterminate problems of the first order was a most engrossing pastime of Indian Mathematicians

and Astronomers. Indeed as Prof. Playfair observed: "The method of solving indeterminate problems that constitute the highest merit of their analytical science, were known to Brahmagupta hardly less accurate than to Bhaskara, and they appear to have been understood even by Aryabhatta, the more ancient by several centuries, than either" (Edinburgh Review, XXIX, Nov. 1817, P. 153). The most remarkable fact in this connection is that the Indian mathematicians and astronomers made use of the method of indeterminate analysis to solve numerous astronomical problems, e.g., for finding cycles or periodic revolutions by which motions of heavenly bodies were represented. These Indian mathematicians had not only theoretical ability but also practical ingenuity. But the interest in the indeterminate problem was not restricted to the first degree alone, it was extended to the second-degree also. Prof. Playfair observed: "On the subject of Indeterminate problems we must remark that the Indian algebraists had gone further than this and had resolved those of the second degree or such as are properly called—'Diophantine,' the problem is to render a certain quantity rational, either in fractions or in integers." (**Edinburgh Review**, XXIX, Nov., 1817, p. 153).

In the same paper Prof. Playfair paid the following tribute to Indian mathematicians-"Now a solution that appears quite general is given in the most ancient of the Hindu treatises under consideration, that of Brahmagupta.....The solution then of a very difficult problem given by Indian algebraist more than 1200 hundred years ago is such as can vie with those of the two mathematicians (Lagrange, Euler), the most distinguished for genius and invention which Europe can boast of ever having seen at the end of 18th Century...." (Ibid p. 153).

Brahmagupta and Bhaskara also showed considerable skill and ingenuity in the arithmetic of surds. In the solution of quadratic equation of the second order, they showed skill in the completing of squares and extraction of square roots. They had also the idea that a square has two roots and that the square root of a negative quantity is imaginary. Thus it appears from all accounts that Brahmagupta was great not only as an astronomer but also an algebraist. In fact the credit of modernising algebra must be ascribed to him. Brahmagupta also made his mark as a "Geometer" of remarkable talent. He also attempted algebraic solutions of many geometrical questions. To Brahmagupta and Bhaskara may be ascribed many well-known geometrical theorems.

(i) "Given the hypotenuse of a right-angle triangle and the sum of the sides, to determine the sides."

(ii) "The property of the triangles that the product of the sum and difference of sides is equal to the product of the sum and difference of the segments into which the base is divided by the perpendicular" (Lilavati).

(iii) The area of a triangle in terms of its sides has also been proposed by Brahmagupta: "From the half of the sides of a triangle subtract each side severally, multiply these remainders into one another and into the half sum, extract the square root of the product."

This proposition was also extended by Brahmagupta to quadrilaterals."

(iv) "The product of the two sides of a triangle, divided by twice the perpendicular (on the third side), is equal to the radius of the circule described about the triangle." (Ibid, Pp. 158-159).

Many other theorems were known to Brahmagupta and Bhaskara. In this respect Brahmagupta's skill and talent can vie with those of his Greek counterparts.

Bhaskaracharya who followed Brahmagupta was more commonly known as 'Bhaskara'. In the words of Pandit Bapu Deva Sastri-"Bhaskara was born in 1036 of the Sal-vahana era—or in the year 1114 A.D. Some writers mention that he was an inhabitant of Bira a Maratha village, but

he himself states at the end of Goladhyaya that his native place was near the Sahyadri or Western Ghats and it appears to me that he was an inhabitant of Vijapura, the ancient metropolis of Karnatak .... His father Mahesvara, was a great Pandit and astronomer and a virtuous man. He had acquired the title Acharya (Doctor) in the assembly of Pandits" (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LXII, Part I, 1893). Bhaskara was the author of Siddhanta Siromani, comprising two parts: Ganitadhyaya and Goladhyaya. This great work of his is preceded by two introductory works: Lilavati (a treatise on airthmatic) and Vijaganita (a treatise on Algebra).

Bhaskara's works are aglow with brilliant discoveries. He discovered that the earth has the inherent property of attracting things around it and that portion of the equation of time is due to the inclination of the ecliptic to the equinoctial. Pandit Bapu Deva Sastri adduced evidence from "Siddhanta Siromani" that Bhaskara had the knowledge of the Differential Calculus. Bhaskara derived the Tatkalika or instanttaneous motion of a planet, that is, the motion which it would have in a day, had its velocity at any given instant of time remained uniform. From that it appears that Tatkalika motion can be no other than the differential of the longitude of a planet, as understood in modern astronomy. (**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,** XXVII, 1858, Pp. 213-216).

Mr. Spottiswoode in a letter to Mr. Wilson agreed that Bhaskaracharya's penetrating method bore a strong analogy to that employed in modern mathematical astronomy (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVII, 1860, 221-222). Bhaskara also ascertained that when they are corresponding to a given Sine or Cosine is found from the table of Sines, this will not be far from its exact value; when it is not equal to 90° or 0° respectively. He also discovered the method of finding the attitude of the Sun, when its declination and azimuth and the latitude of the place are given—a problem of Spherical Trigonometry, solved by two rules in Ganitadhyaya. Bhaskara used the right Sine and Cosine of declination for finding the valana or variation of the ecliptic in place of the versed Sine and radius, wrongly used by Lalla, Spripati and others. He boldly refuted the statement in Suryasiddhanta that the end of the gnomonical shadow revolves in the circumference of a circle (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXII, 1893).

As has been mentioned earlier, the problem of indeterminate equations was developed a great deal by Bhaskara and Brahmagupta. Prof. Playfair observed in this connection: "Mr. Colebrooke observed that one of the solutions of this problem given by Bhaskara (Vija Ganita, 380,81) is exactly the same that Lord Brouncker devised to answer a question proposed as a kind of challenge by Fermat in 1657." (**Edinburgh Review,** XXIX, Nov. 1817, p. 153).

This simply confirms Mr. Edward Strachey's assertion that the solution of the indeterminate problems were originated by the Hindus themselves and not borrowed from the Greeks or the Arabians. The accusation that the rules for the indeterminate equations of the first degree were a copy of Bachet's method is untenable, for these rules were inserted in Bhaskara's Bija Ganita which was written four centuries before Bachet. The most striking fact in this connection is that the ancient Hindus instead of keeping their science within narrow bounds, devleoped it in different directions—namely, they applied algebra to astronomy. This in itself is a sound proof of the originality and antiquity of mathematical learning among the Hindus. (Bija Ganita or the Algebra of the Hindus.—Edward Strachey).

Another remarkable thing about Bhaskara is that he considered the general solution in rational integers of the "Pellian equation." Even G. R. Kaye who was not favourably inclined towards Indian Mathematics, had to say "Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the Classical Texts is their treatment of indeterminate equations of the first degree, while their greatest achievement is the full solution of the so-called Pellian equation" (G. R. Kaye:

Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial series, Vol. XLIII, Parts I and II, p. 117).

The attempts made by Bhaskara, Brahmagupta and Aryabhatta resulted in the complete solution of the quadratic equation. The Hindu mathematicians never extended their probe beyond the quadratic equation—they did not consider cubic and higher equations. Only Bhaskara suggested a method for solving such problems. Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Datta observed in this connection :—"In those cases, Bhaskara suggested the same method as is available for the quadratic, that is, to reduce the cubic equation to simple equation by taking the cube root of the side containing the unknown after necessary manipulations and to reduce the bi-quadratic in the same manner to a quadratic. Bhaskara observes that if such a reduction is not possible, the solution must be obtained by calculator's own ingenuity." (B. B. Datta, Indian Historical Quarterly, V, 1929, p. 511. This observation has been based on Colebrooke's Hindu Algebra, p. 245).

The history of renaissance of the Hindu mathematics is the history of Aryabhatta. Brahmagupta and Bhaskara who added lustre to Indian mathematics and astronomy. A host of Orientalists like J. Bentley, G. R. Kaye, Weber, Biot and others sought to demonstrate that the Hindu mathematics shone in the reflected glory of the Greek mathematics. But in their zeal to multiply arguments they have overlooked many revealing facts which have been put forward by Hoernle, Thibaut, Winternitz, Hermann Henkel Robins, Karpinski and others. These scholars believed in the indigenous origin of the Hindu mathematics. In this connection, we can mention what Hermann Henkel, a famous authority of the history of mathematics observed "Indeed if one understands by algebra the application of arithmetical operations to complex magnitudes of all sorts, whether rational or irrational numbers or space magnitudes, then the learned Brahmins of Hindusthan are the real inventors of Algebra." (This is quoted by Prof. Cayori in his **History of Mathematics**, p. 94).

This observation is not only true of algebra, but also of arithmetic and geometry. Only in the field of astronomy there was some interchange of ideas between India and Greece; but from that it does not follow that the Hindus borrowed from the Greeks. Indeed, Aryabhatta and other astronomers were much ahead of their Greek counterparts, Hipparchus and Ptolemy, in astronomical conception.

Aryabhatta, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara did not base their astronomical findings only on the eye-observations. It is believed they even devised simple astronomical instruments to make their observations more accurate. These instruments were no doubt crude, but they only epitomize the innate urge among the ancient astronomers to improve the limitations of vision—to devise instruments. This merely showed that the dawn of a scientific outlook was so early in India. In his treatise on astronomy Aryabhatta mentioned "Gola" (sphere) and "Cakra" (the circle). Sukumar Ranjan Das observed in this connection :—"Golayantra or Armilliary sphere is described at a considerable length by all the ancient astronomers beginning from Aryabhatta, Varhamihira, Lalla, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara, paid much attention to this instrument." (Indian Historical Quarterly, IV, 1928, 265).

This is not a mere history of the golden days India once witnessed. It has something positive to impart, confidence, energy and devotion to live up to the exalted traditions. Let us hope to see the efflorescence of literature, philosophy and mathematics—that once formed the core of Indian genius.

GORWALA ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION : A CRITIQUE

By BISHWANATH PRASAD,* M.A., M.D.P.A.

I

A. D. Gorwala[1] is well-known as a prolific writer and an independent columnist. He writes on a variety of subjects, commenting and reflecting on contemporary problems—political, administrative, social, and economic. To quote his own words, being 'disinterested and free can at least say what he thinks about some of the policies and actions of Government, make suggestions, give advice, urge warnings, point out wrongs, call for redress, help in a sense, though by no means fully or effectively, to perform a few of the functions of the Indian Republic's loyal opposition'.[2]

Gorwala writes with force, vigour, and often with sarcasm. On administrative matters he is specially entitled to speak with authority and be treated with respect. His criticism of the Government's action and the underlying policy is not necessarily destructive; constructive suggestions are invariably made, and it is these which make his words truly valuable. This is, however, not to say that one accepts all that Gorwala has to say; indeed, there is very little that is not controversial. He knows that he is putting questions which, though exceedingly interesting and important, do not admit of exact discussion. Nevertheless, for the sake of provoking speculation and inquiry he says something about them.

II

He presents in his writings an attempt to propound a philosophy of administration directed towards growth and institutional vitality. A philosophy is, in fact, an integrated body of concepts, values and principles for guiding human actions in all fields. Philosophy, though generally taken as a dry subject, leads to human development when applied to problems of practical life. A philosophy of administration, Gorwala feels, is essential today as administrators as a class largely determine the quality of human institutions upon which depends the kind of life our society is going to have. In other words, administration needs a rationale which should take into account all constituent elements of administration, institutional and functional. If this is what Gorwala tries to convey, his approach to modern administration seems to be correct.

The central theme of Gorwala's philosophy is that administration is susceptible to growth and decline. Its continual growth depends upon integrated and balanced developments, which is interdependent, both of individual administrators and administrative institutions, their relationship to the surrounding cultural settings, and enterprising and imaginative administrative leadership. Growth is viewed both as qualitative and quantitative. His is essentially an integral or organismic view of administration. Good organisation is important but even more essential is honest and competent personnel. The history of public administration is littered with the wreckage of well-planned organisation structures which failed because of inefficient or inadequately trained personnel. "No amount of progress in technique or machinery can be of much benefit if the moral standard of those in charge of government is deplorable or the people as a whole are dishonest and self-seeking."[3] This is how Gorwala enunciates the two basic essentials for good government.

One of the major problems of a democratic government is the proper adjustment between the 'political wing' and the 'civil service wing' of the administrative machinery. "The former provides the democratic element in administration, the latter the bureaucratic. Both are essential: one of them to make a government popular, the other to make it efficient and the test of a good government is its successful combination of these two qualities".[4] The relationship between the two

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1. Mr. A. D. Gorwala resigned from the Indian Civil Service after serving for twenty-three years.

2. A. D. Gorwala, Not in Our Stars, (Bombay, 1958), p. 9.

3. A. D. Gorwala, *Of matters administrative* (Bombay, 1958), p. 1.

4. A. D. Gorwala, *Report on Public Administration* (New Delhi, 1951), p. 40.

should be that of "colleagues working together in a team, co-operative partners seeking to advance the public interest and the efficiency of the Department. The Minister should not be an isolated autocrat, giving orders without hearing or considering arguments for alternative courses; nor, on the other hand, should the civil servants be able to treat him as a mere cipher."[5] The partnership should be alive and virile, rival ideas and opinions should be fairly considered, and the relationship of all should be one of mutual respect. In Prof. Robson's words, "mutual understanding, respect and confidence between a Minister and his officials should be based on a firm foundation of knowledge; and time occupied in ensuring this is well spent."[6] In India, however, there are a number of obstacles which hamper such a harmonious collaboration of the service and ministerial wings in the Government. These are found more in the states than in the centre. This is exemplified in the political instability in the states when compared to the political stability at the centre. Among the various factors, those of frequent changes in the top leadership of several states, although the same party is continuing to stay in power in most of them and the flight of senior and experienced personnel from the states to the centre for positions of greater importance, have hindered the growth of desirable relationship between the two organs of the State Governments. To quote Gorwala again, "while a great deal of the responsibility for this rests upon the Ministers, yet the general administrators too must bear their share of the blame."[7]

The main factors responsible for the lack of harmony between the two wings of the Government, in the opinion of Gorwala, are firstly, the lack of understanding, both on the part of the minister and the civil servants, of their respective roles causing friction and misunderstanding between them, secondly, a dictatorial attitude adopted by some ministers in their dealings with the civil servants, thirdly, the intellectual arrogance of some of the civil servants along with the habit to criticise the policies of government with which they happen to disagree and lastly, the unresponsiveness of some of the government servants. The point emphasized here is that the problem of maladjustment is one of misunderstanding rather than of any real difference of opinion as to aims and objectives. The two by coming closer together should spread *esprit de corps* among the staff and that desirable feeling of pride in working for the department. While the theoretical soundness of such a stand is undoubted, its implementation is uncertain in India where democracy is still having its teething trouble. Gorwala could be more convincing on this point if he had suggested some build in devices to improve relations between the two wings of the government.

III

Throughout his writings, Gorwala's main concern is efficiency and economy in administration and integrity of government officials. He expects the authorities to handle public money with the greatest caution. He is pained to find that "a great gulf clearly yawns between declaration and practice".[8] The age-old formula "For you, that; but for me, ..." is the one in which administration seeks satisfaction. While the increasing cost of administration in India can be easily attributed to the qualitative and quantitative changes in the governmental activities, it cannot be denied that the changes are taking place without their being preceded or followed by adequate examination and study. Of late, students of public administration have felt the necessity of a code of simplicity for administrators. A code of efficiency should also be accepted by all at all levels of administration. The government must themselves realise the need for such a change. Gorwala voices the general demand when he pleads for an administration which is within the easy reach of the citizens at large.

In Gorwala's opinion, the present governmental machinery, being defective, requires many changes for efficiency in its working. He regrets the official delay in the despatch of business. Procrastination or delay, he holds, is the most obvious form of administrative inefficiency, and widely regarded as the archetype of

5. Herbert Morrison, Government and Parliament, (London, 1954), p. 311.

6. W. A. Robson, 'Bureaucracy and Democracy' in *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, (London, 1956), p. 9.

7. A. D. Gorwala, Role of the Administrator, Past, Present, and Future, (Poona, 1952), p. 38.

8. Of matters administrative, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

bureaucratic incompetence. There can be any number of reasons for delay in particular instances, namely, faulty organisation, unnecessary duplication, lack of delegation, error in distribution of work, insufficiently trained staff, etc. One of "the reasons for the passing up of files which should be dealt with at the lower stage is because of not knowing how to handle a matter."[9] Gorwala's counsel to senior officials to explain to their juniors how to handle problems is, indeed, valuable but he needs to be reminded that "delay in the settlement of 'policy issues' is due in many instances to the limited authority of the individual official who must refer certain matters to his superior. However, much this may be criticized by justly impatient outside interests, it is inevitable that such issues should occur from time to time."[10] Furthermore, Gorwala pleads for a total replacement of the present officials by persons who, perhaps, will possess the wisdom, capacity and zeal of Plato's 'Philosopher Kings'. What he says sounds very high but the real difficulty in this matter is the availability of such persons who could replace the existing ones. It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction for all including Gorwala that the government is occupied with the problem of qualitative and quantitative changes in administration together with that of an increase in speed and efficiency. A system of intensive in-service-training for the officials and the adoption of devices like those of simplification, operation research, time and motion study, sampling, forms design, filing, office machines, etc., are definite pointers to a far more competent and better organised administration in our country.

One feels like asking Gorwala a few questions concerning administrative deficiencies. One is whether defects like delay in the transaction of business are not inherent in all bureaucracies. Is not Paul Appleby's "Big Democracy" an answer to the critics of modern bureaucracy? In Gorwala's own words, "While it is true that delay in the despatch of work can be reduced and it is desirable that the public service should work as expeditiously as possible, it must always be remembered that the fundamental cause of delay lies in the very nature of public administration, *i.e.*, in its responsibility to Parliament."[11] "What is criticized as 'red tape' or 'procrastination' may, therefore, simply be the legitimate time needed by the organization for doing its work."[12] The other question to be asked is : whether after independence the evils have become more serious? Gorwala's answer to the above question is unscientific and therefore unsatisfactory.

He errs in not making a distinction, to the extent to which it should have been made, between the two questions : first, the opinion that public administration in India has undergone deterioration and second, whether administration has actually undergone deterioration. He realises the need of this distinction but does not bear it in mind while commenting on administration in India. An impression is created that his finding is based on the mere assumption that there has definitely been administrative deterioration. He draws the attention of his critics towards the time-element which, according to him, was a great limiting factor. The report, submitted to the Planning Commission, had to be prepared within two months. Moreover, a comparative study of the post-independence and pre-independence periods could not be made as the latter was already long past. Yet another argument of Gorwala is that the non-availability of the confidential materials prevented him from making a foolproof estimate of the situation. It is felt that Gorwala did commit a mistake in not asking for some more time for preparing his report if it could help him to assert that his finding resulted from research and was not based merely on his personal experience.

Even assuming for a while that there has been a lowering of political morale and administrative efficiency in the post-independence period, no hasty conclusions can be drawn from this present deterioration. It is only reasonable to assume that there should be a difficult period of transition from a rule in which all ultimate authority and most of the top posts were in the hands of aliens and the taking over of power by nationals, inexperienced in political management at

9. Report on Public Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

10. E. Strauss, *The Ruling Servants*, (London, 1961), pp. 49-50.

11. Report on Public Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

12. Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

the level of decision and command. Nor could the inevitable basic change in political values and orientation be carried through without fumbling or loss of motion. Nor can it be ignored that in the eyes of the people, the lowering of standards and the loss in administrative efficiency may be far more than compensated for by the gain in national self-esteem and in the ability to determine the course the government should pursue. Like the usual critics, Gorwala does not remember this while comparing the present with the past. "Older people, among whom writers are mainly to be found, almost invariably suffer under the delusion that things spiritual and intellectual have declined since the days of their youth."[13] Edmund Burke, has also said that to complain of the age we live in, to murmur at the present possessors of powers, to lament the past, to conceive extravagant hopes of the future, are the common dispositions of the great part of mankind."[14]

Gorwala, while discussing the lapses of the present administration, fails to distinguish clearly between matters for which ministers are to be held responsible and matters for which civil servants are to be held accountable. Obviously, therefore, he has not made full use of such a distinction while analysing situations and proposing reform and reorganisation.

It is further pointed out that Gorwala is obsessed with the past whenever he talks about efficiency, honesty and economy of the administration. He does not clearly explain what exactly he means by the term 'efficiency'; whether it means economy (*i.e.*, reducing expenditures), or it is simply used as an epithet of approval. "In fact, the term 'efficiency' is one of the most-used, and almost certainly one of the most-abused, words in the dictionary of administration."[15] 'Efficiency' or 'inefficiency' is often said when agreement or disagreement with particular values is really meant. In Growala's writings on administration, the term 'efficiency' has acquired ethical connotations along with its use as a political symbol. The students of public administration have often felt that Gorwala should have been consistent in the use of the term 'efficiency' to denote "the maximization of the attainment of our ends by the use of scarce, neutral means. It is this meaning of the term that has the greatest relevance to traditional administrative theory."[16]

Again, the method employed by Gorwala to prove the administrative deterioration in the past few years appears to be unscientific. It proceeds from another assumption—which has not been as yet really subjected to scientific examination that public administration in the days of the Britishers was highly efficient, that members of public services too were immune from all vices and that they were known for the integrity of their character. It is held by many and not without justification, that corruption in some form or other did exist even during the British regime. In the absence of an accepted method of ascertaining facts, it is rather difficult to agree with Gorwala even when he is correct in his statements. His conclusions are hardly anything more than his own impressions. At best, they are suggestive hypotheses intuitively arrived at.

On corruption, nothing will express better than Gorwala's own words. It is thus: "The cost of corruption, however, cannot be counted merely in cash. In addition to that, it begets numberless injustices and frustrations. These accumulated over a period evolve such tremendous explosive power that neither government, nor societies, can resist it. There could, in fact, be no greater contribution to the cause of ordered progress in this country than a determined effort to reduce corruption considerably throughout the governmental apparatus and to eliminate it altogether in the higher political and official ranks."[17] While his suggestions to wipe out corruption deserve our conscious attention, he may be charged with the non-adoption of objective tests of measuring corruption in administration. A comparative study of the income of a particular class of civil servants over a fixed period both in pre-independence and post-independence times could have

13. E. N. Gladden, *Civil Service Or Bureaucracy?* (London, 1956), p. 81.
14. Quoted in Robert Luce, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* (*1770*) in 'Legislative Problems', p. 699, 1935.
15. Herbert A. Simon, Smithburg and Thompson, *Public Administration*, (New York, 1950), p. 490.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 511.
17. Of matters administrative, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

been a better method of knowing the extent of corruption in the services. Such a factual survey in terms of statistics must have put Gorwala on unassailable grounds.

Talking about the determination of priorities, he complains that first things have not been placed first and that this has resulted in widespread discontent. Here again, he does not clarify whether that has been the outcome of the ignorance or obstinacy of ministers or the want of judgment on the part of administrators. Thus, his writings manifest a great deal of exaggeration, *i.e.*, making a mountain out of the molehill. Is there any doubt about the priorities mentioned in the three successive plans of India? In fact, the priorities, mentioned therein, have served the purpose of the preamble to a Constitution. It remains to be admitted, however, that Gorwala highlighted the importance of priorities in the plans by making a specific mention of it in his Report to the Planning Commission.

IV

There is no use denying the fact that the absence of a clear policy of government has been responsible for making the administrators less effective and useful to the community. Policies must always be clearly spelled out to the administrators to make them know where they are and what is expected of them. From the point of view of greater responsiveness by the administration to the citizen's needs and desires, it is of utmost importance that wrong objectives are not laid down. Gorwala has pointed out that "there would scarcely be a better example of this particular fault than the combined objective of self-sufficiency within a stated period in foodgrains, cotton, and jute."[18] The point emphasized here is that an over-ambitious target leaves behind a feeling of grievance against and distrust in the administration in the people's mind with its evil consequences. Therefore, 'better a live dog than a dead lion'.

Among the various measures of reform that Gorwala suggests, one is for O & M Unit both at the Centre and the States. For this purpose, at the Centre, there should be a minister without portfolio and a secretary, without a department. "This Board of two", he says, "would generate the drive and direction needed for constant adaptation of Central and State Governments to such structural forms, administrative methods, etc., as have been designed for bringing about greater administrative efficiency. It would also ensure realistic correlation between personnel and policies".[19] At the State level, he suggests, a counterpart of the Board composed of Chief Minister and Chief Secretary. Mr. Paul Appleby, too, in his first report had favoured the establishment of a 'Public Administration Division.'[20] That Gorwala has done a singular service to the nation by this suggestion is apparent from the useful role of the O & M Units in the streamlining of our administrative set up.

V

According to Gorwala, the principles guiding administrative reform should be to delegate greater and greater authority to the lower units of administration, consistent with the necessity for centralisation in matters of broad policy, to associate the elected elements at every level of administration, to ensure coordination of the activities of officials at all levels, to improve the morale and social purposiveness of the services, to effect proper adjustment of relationship between officials and non-officials, and to provide, in general, for the canalisation of democratic spirit for constructive work. In his opinion, delegation of authority not only helps decentralisation of power at various levels but also increases the responsibility of those to whom authority is delegated. In his own words, "there are few better tests of political maturity for a government than the capacity to delegate. This involves not only willingness to part with a portion of power and ability to select the right people to trust with it, but also a continuing willingness to let the people to whom it is entrusted exercise it without interference."[21] Prof. Appleby also advocates the delegation of authority in his second

18. Report on Public Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Paul Appleby, Public Administration in India, Report of A Survey, (New Delhi, 1953), p. 63.

21. Of matters administrative, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

report on the Indian administration.[22] Everyone familiar with the principles of organisation and management will admit the acceptability of the suggestions mentioned above.

Gorwala stands for revolutionary changes but not by revolutionary methods. He favours democratisation of the organs of government at various levels for effective participation through local self-governing institutions or other representative bodies in the administration. Modernisation of Indian local self-government is considered by him to be the most important piece of unfinished business in the area of government reorganisation. In an article dealing with 'Local Self-Government', he has something very penetrating and worthwhile to say: "Sympathetic foreigners . . . . . often have one serious complaint. They find Indians by and large not at all interested in local government. . . . . How then can men really anxious for the democratic management of public affairs afford to neglect this sphere as completely as they find it neglected in India."[23] It appears as if Gorwala is hinting at Prof. W. A. Robson who often wonders how people in India become ministers without undergoing a training in local self-government. It is heartening to note, however, that the importance of local self-government has grown enormously during the past decade. The introduction of the three-tier scheme of local government in the name of 'democratic decentralisation' is the effective democratic antidote to the forces of regimentation that are seen around us. It is rightly hailed as one of the most vital and effective changes in the organisational pattern of local self-government. Minor tinkering with the local bodies would hardly be noticeable and hence a major change is calculated to provide that fresh start with tonic effect.

VI

Gorwala's views on State Enterprises can hardly be glossed over by any student of public administration. He says that "where the nature of work of an authority is substantially commercial a joint stock company is more suitable"[24] than a public corporation and 'the company form is of course more flexible'.[25] The corporation, in his opinion, should be used only "where the undertaking is discharging what is in effect an extension of the functions of government, *e.g.*, an irrigation and hydro-electric project,"[26] or a broadcasting or transportation service. In holding this view, he is reflecting what is usually the practice of the Indian Government. Many of the industrial enterprises owned and controlled by the government are, in fact, companies.

A thick fog of confusion seems to have settled down on India's debates about this issue, and extensive field investigation would be necessary to discover the truth that it effectively conceals. There is, however, a point which seems hardly open to doubt. This is that Gorwala is mistaken when he ascribes 'flexibility' to the Indian state-owned company. It cannot be too often emphasised that this is not primarily a function of a particular form of public enterprise, but of the operating conventions which are established within it. Flexibility, whether of the companies or of the corporations in the public sector in this country is a matter of the attitude of the ministers and also of Parliament. If both are distrustful of the Managing Boards very little independence and flexibility is discerned in the conduct of the companies or corporations. It would be wrong, therefore, to say that government companies are more flexible than public corporations. In point of fact, the Indian companies are, as the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha has said, "more or less extensions of departments—and are run almost on the same pattern, with minor changes here and there."[27] It would appear that, apart from Gorwala, those who want greater flexibility favour the public corporation, while those who fear that public enterprises may take excessive liberties, prefer the company form of management. In fact, there is precious little evidence at present that the company is either cons-

22. Paul Appleby, Re-Examination of India's Administrative System with Special Reference to Administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises, (Delhi, 1959), p. 5.

23. Of matters administrative, p. 69.

24. A. D. Gorwala, Report on The Efficient Conduct of State Enterprises, Planning Commission, 1951, p. 18.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

27. Estimates Committee: Ninth Report, 1953-54, Administrative, Financial, and other Reforms, Lok Sabha Sectt., New Delhi, p. 16.

picuously better or conspicuously worse than the public corporation. "Both have certain theoretical advantages, which may or may not be realised in practice; and both suffer from certain diseases, which in underdeveloped countries often assume pathological proportions."[28] In the present state of our experience of the two devices, it is hardly justifiable to say more than that.

Gorwala's observation on the autonomy of state enterprises is again controversial. It is worthwhile to compare his views with those of Prof. J. K. Galbraith and Paul Appleby. Gorwala stands in between the two American authorities. He advocates restricted autonomy of state enterprises under parliamentary control. Prof. Galbraith has pushed the case for autonomy almost to the extreme and is generally against parliamentary control. Prof. Appleby differs both from Gorwala and Prof. Galbraith. "It should go without saying that true autonomy is out of the question and not seriously proposed by any informed person. . . . . ."[29] The Krishna Menon Committee on State Undertakings advocates greater restrictions on public corporations than what is advocated by Gorwala. 'Parliament' would desire its control to be 'real and gainful'.[30]

Gorwala has further put forth a proposal for the creation of an autonomous board consisting of eminent persons for the control of state enterprises. Such a board should not be subordinate to the control of either Parliament or any ministry but should be autonomous in all respects. This suggestion is, again, open to searching criticisms. The 'one big board' idea is not likely to be accepted for the numerous state enterprises of different dimensions and with diverse problems. Viewed in the context of the accountability of state enterprises, the constitution of a completely autonomous board does not appear to be a feasible proposition.

VII

The purity of administration is of supreme interest to Gorwala. Whenever he speaks of int grity and efficiency of administration, he spea in terms of ethical integrity. "The problem government is the ethical problem of the indi dual projected into the field of the State."[31] not Gorwala talking like a moralist? What for does his advocacy carry in a materialistic socie where the principle of 'scarcity ethics' is t order of the day? In such circumstances, whe 'self-interest' appears to be the enchanting go dess who backons many of us in her direction, would be absurd to set too high expectations f representative government. Gorwala fails to a preciate the fast changing character of people life. There is hardly any doubt that despite su awareness, he fails to assign due importance the changing role of social and political facto in his analysis of the problems. To quote Go wala, "I am sorry if part of what I said tod sounded rather like a sermon."[32] Similarly h counsel to the political parties not to accept co tributions from business houses is devoid of reality so long as politics continues to be an e pensive proposition in India. Of course, this do not mean that his writing is of no importance us. A happy marriage between idealism and rea ism should have been the basis of Gorwala observations on the issues of public adminitr tion in India.

While accepting that the guiding motive sound administration must be the public interes he poses a question: What is public interest in democracy? He himself answers by saying th policies, democratically accepted, must be r garded as the public interest. In case there is divergence of opinion as to what constitutes pu lic interest, the "civil servant should be guide ultimately by dictates of his good conscienc The reward which a good conscience bestow upon its owner is unequalled. Edmund Burk termed it the sunshine of the soul and he thoug no other distinction, no other reward could co pare with it. This is the gift Reason bestows upo the administrator for it shows him what is rig and leads him to do it."[33] Obviously, such a argument will be unconvincing unless there some way of demonstrating what are the objec

28. A. H. Hanson, Public Enterprises and Economic Development, London, 1959, p. 356.

29. Paul Appleby, Second Report, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

30. V. K. Krishna Menon (Chairman), Parliamentary Supervision over State Undertakings, Report of the Sub-Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament, (New Delhi, 1959), p. 39.

31. A. D. Gorwala, The Administrativ Jungle, (Patna, 1957), p. 40.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

tive 'needs' of the community at a given time, and what are the policies "demanded" by economic, social, and other conditions. In a country like India where a real democratic tradition remains yet to develop, it is doubtful that Gorwala's counsel will be heeded to by the administrators for decision-making purposes.

A notable feature of Gorwal's writings is the large variety of subjects he deals with. It ranges from the dress for officials to the Republic Day Titles and Honours. There is hardly a problem which he has not tackled or tickled. Had he confined himself to an examination of the vital administrative matters, he would have been a very—very effective reviewer and analyst. "What purpose do these honours serve? None at all. They only arouse a kind of competition and a spirit of rivalry among those who are mean-minded."[34] Biased and unfair as the remark appears to be, it loses the force of legitimate criticism. It creates an impression that Gorwala, as a critic of governmental institutions, so often approaches them from the wrong side. All institutions, whatever they may be, should be approached with the presumption that there is a reason for them. An institution, like a man, is to be deemed innocent till proved guilty. Yet Gorwala approaches every institution as if it were necessarily bad, and always assumes that it needs to be scrapped and replaced by something much more rational, more reliable and more civilized.

One can safely remark that Gorwala has the unusual knack of being unnecessarily bitter even when he can afford to be otherwise without loss of effectiveness. One of his publications goes under the caption 'Lies of T.T.K.', when 'Lies' could be substituted by 'mistakes' or 'faults'. There is a passage which justifies quotation at some length: "But a Jungle? That conveys the sense of mysterious tracks, hidden from the eye, of wild and unfamiliar beasts springing up suddenly. From these implications, I take the title of this first lecture which I call 'Impenetrable Lairs and Fierce Animals.' At one time I thought I would make it wild beasts, but many of the animals referred to are undoubtedly estimable and the term Beast carries, as you know, sometimes a certain undesirable connotation."[35] Again, "For at that moment was sworn in as Minister of Defence in the Indian Government, the gaunt, hating, Machiavellian, histrionic Krishna Menon."[36] This sort of contemptuous and explosive style is bound to offend many of his admirers, not to speak of his critics.

Gorwala's writings are full of strictures. They are mostly directed against the politician as such, although at times, they are directed against none. He is described as an administrator turned a journalist or one who has adopted the style and manner of a politician. However, he is always frank and fearless in his opinions. His regard for public interest, perhaps, provides a justification for severest criticisms of the law-makers in India. This is a factor which merits much closer examination by his readers. "You cannot show greater reverence to a Philosopher," T.H. Green used to say, "than by pulling his system to pieces." This appears to be literally true in the case of Gorwala. What astonishes many of us is that Gorwala's views have not met the approval of those in position to apply them. Here again his egoism works the most harm.

CONCLUSION

Any assessment of Gorwala must conclude with the remark that he has succeeded in throwing some fresh light on the theory and practice of public administration in India. His reports, particularly, are valuable surveys of governmental machinery. Even those who disagree with his criticisms and suggestions, may find much useful information contained in them. Indeed, the present problems of public administration are, largely, moral in character. He is, therefore, justified in his emphasis on the personal integrity of the administrators. One may find gaps in Gorwala's logic, and can blame him for making bald assertions, but his subtle critisism, penetrating analysis and effective communication truly deserve appreciation. The shape of things to come may not be the same as envisaged by Gorwala, but if the effect is to stir others to correction and constructive action, he will not have sinned in vain.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 29, Shri Gorwala is referring to the Republic Day Titles.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

36. *Not In Our Stars, op. cit.*, p. 273.

GOPAL K. GOKHALE—AT A GLANCE

By JOGES C. BOSE

One other great Indian who, like Pundit Isvarchandra Vidyasagar,* besought the street lamp to help prepare his lessons for school is Gopal K. Gokhale. On the 9th May, 1866, he was born in the self-same district, Ratnagiri (Maharastra) which has given India Ranade and Tilak. He obtained a second class Mathematics in B.A. and started life as a teacher. Until now politics was no bother for him, but the living contact of men like Tilak, Apte and Agarkar, who had dedicated themselves to the service of India, made him give up his study of Law and join the Deccan Education Society. It functioned on the self-denial of its members, and he soon became a professor in the Ferguson College, which the Society had founded erelong, and served it on Rs. 75/- a month for twenty years.

Gokhale was steadily coming into the limelight by his contributions to the *Maharatta*, and came in touch with Justice Madhav Govind Ranade, the maker of modern Poona. Ranade accepted him as his assistant in matters of public work, and inspired him to devote himself to the study of Indian finance and economics and to probe deep into the Government Blue Books. Gokhale took up this theme, to the exclusion of all other interests. In fact, within a short time, Ranade openly eulogized Gokhale as a 'a worthy collaborator,' who could be relied upon to give his best.

At the age of twenty-five, Gokhale became the Secretary of the Deccan Education Society. At the age of twenty-nine, he was the Jt. Secretary of the Indian National Congress and a Fellow of the Bombay University. At the age of thirty-one he was deputed to tender evidence before the Royal Commission in England, appointed to examine the various financial aspects of the Administration of India. At the age of thirty-three, he was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council; and, at the age of thirty-five, to the Supreme Legislative Council. To crown all these honours, at the age of thirty-nine, he was elected President of the Indian National Congress at Benaras, in 1905. No less glorious, as it was decisive, earlier that year he had founded The Servants of India Society, which took to training workers, pledged to the service of the Country with undivided attention and that at a pittance.

The political creed of Gokhale was, in a manner, finalised by Ranade. One day, during the initial period of his apprenticeship, Gokhale got restive and gave vent to his sense of chagrin that all the memorials they were so laboriously drawing up were almost invariably met with the curt official reply that the contents were being noted and then nothing more was heard of them. For many a long year, Ranade assuaged the ruffled youth, they would have to continue like this because they needed to bring home to the people what they were out for. Gokhale took heart and resolved that he was not to be deterred even by any amount of 'noes.' Chiplunkar, Tilak and others of their way of thinking challenged Ranade for his shibboleth that British rule was a 'divine dispensation.' They held that to indoctrinate people in the line would, in the remorseless psychology of the position, rob them of any urge and capacity to array themselves against the Government, at a time when the exigencies of the moment called for it. Gokhale, however, stood loyally by his Master with all the fervour of a religious faith. In fact, he proved a bastion of the political school it sponsored.

As the President of the 1905 Benaras Congress, he said, "For better or worse our destinies are linked with those of England, and the Congress fully recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire." Just a few months back, Bengal had launched the Swadeshi movement in answer to Lord Curzon dividing her on the basis of religion. The dramatic developments in Bengal posed the question that can best be summed up in the words of Sir Valentine Chirol that for

her people it was no longer a matter whether she would remain two partitioned provinces under British rule, but how long was that rule to endure. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was all along warning Bengal never to seek to cut adrift from British moorings, struck a belligerent note. He said, as the President of the 1906 Calcutta Congress, "Instead of going into any further divisions, or details of our right, the whole matter may be comprised in one word, Swaraj. And, by Swaraj, he said, he explicity meant 'Self-Government as in the United Kingdom.' Gokhale was being eyed askance. He now made a statement that he set no limits to the aspirations of his countrymen, and that he as much wanted an Indian to be in India what an Englishman was in England. But then he did not forget to add the rider that it was realizable within the Empire. Loyalty to the Empire was, in fact, a credal enforcement for a member of the Servants of India Society.

Gokhale's first debut of arresting significance was his evidence before the Welby Commission. His main charges against the India Government or, rather, the policy England was pursuing in governing India were—

1. that the fundamental principle of public expenditure being solely in the interest of the taxpayers was violated more often than not :
2. that the Indian Exchequer was at the disposal of Britain in extending her dominion or influence in other parts of Asia :
3. that India maintained a standing British Army on a war-footing, even in times of peace, and thus was shifted to her shoulders a huge portion of Britain's expenditure in the military training of her lads :
4. that all the high offices in the Army and practically all the high offices in the civil services of India were filled by very costly Europeans.

Gokhale said pointblank, that it was obvious to the smallest intelligence that the military expenditure conducted in the manner would not ever make India strong; and he protested against the denial to her of the right of citizen-soldiership; and that, by reserving top appointments for the Europeans the entire people were stunted and demoralised. He also made out how the policy of Free Trade had strangulated indigenous industry and led to a galloping ruralisation of India's economy.

While Gokhale was in England he received from Poona a good many letters alleging very harsh treatment of the people by the military, engaged in plague operations. He was completely upset when there were complaints that two women had been outraged and one of them committed suicide to escape the resulting stigma. He spoke out to some members of the Parliament and followed it up with a letter to *The Manchester Guardian.* The Bombay Government challenged the letter as a 'malevolent invention.' They also strengthened their position by producing 500 citizens, of some note and standing, who, in reply-paid telegrams, negatived the charge. It was a very intriguing situation that Gokhale now faced. At Aden, on his way back, he was overwhelmed by letters from many of his correspondents imploring him not to disclose their names. When he came back, he found it next to impossible to sustain the charge in the 'frightened atmosphere,' as he called it, then prevailing. There was, however, one man who was collecting, undismayed, materials in support, but he was arrested under the charge of sedition and denied bail just 3 days before Gokhale landed at Bombay—he was Tilak. Gokhale refused to give out the names of his informants and tendered an unqualified apology.

There is such a thing as the Law of Relativity in human affairs. Even some of the persons who chose to conceal their indentity lest they were called upon to substantiate their charge joined the hue and cry against Gokhale. What reads like a sad reflection on the conduct of the Congress leaders of the then Central Province is that, at the Amroti Congress, a few months later—December, 1897,—Gokhale was not entrusted with either the moving or seconding of any resolution which he had been doing with credit for the last eight years. Nay, there were even audible whispers that he should not have been allowed a seat on the dais. The same Congress leadership, by the way, did not allow any portrait of Tilak in the pandal or any resolution on his imprisonment. Surendranth Banerjea, however,

did make some amends by his manly observation —"Though I am here, my soul is attuned with Tilak's in gaol." The whole audience rose in one spontaneous hallelujah, 'Tilak maharaj-ki-jai!'

Gokhale was cut to the quick. But he had not, for nothing, learnt the lessons of patience, forbearance and steadfast devotion in disregard of what others mights say. He made a statement, concluding with: "I have no doubt about the ultimate vardict on my conduct." In the ensuing General Election the verdict was there; he was elected to the Bombay legislative Council and, two years after, to the Supreme Legislatve Council.

II

It was at the Supreme Legislative Council that Gokhale left an abiding name for constructive statesmanship. He concentrated his attention on:

1. High level taxation,
2. Army expenditure,
3. Salt duty,
4. Indianization of the public services, and
5. The Elementary Education Bill which he introduced.

He assured the Government, all right, that he would unhesitatingly vote for additional taxation if, after due economy, adequate money was not forthcoming for all-round improvements in Education, Sanitation and Agricultural Indebtedness.

There can be no sense of demur at the consensus of opinion about Gokhale that he raised the level of the proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council to a higher plane by a rare mastery of economics and finance and such a climate of reasonableness that the Government members did not feel happy to have to say 'No' to him. James Meston, (later on, Lord) as Finance Minister, recalled Gladstone. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, another Finance Minister, said, as he visited The Servants of India Society, 'One Gokhale makes us shake in our shoes, what would be the position, when scores of them are in the making!' Lord Minto, as he first heard Gokhale delivering the budget speech, said that there were very few men in the front benches of the British Parliament who would equal him. Mr. Bodrick, the Secretary of State for India, suggested to the Governor-General-in-Council that they should better give effect, if it was not impossible, to the suggestions made by Gokhale in drawing up future budgets. To Lord Curzon, however, it was like water on a duck's back. He conceded that Gokhale was a man of high gifts, but he was 'repeating hypothetical figures and calculations that have been exposed until exposure has become tedious.' Gokhale was, to him, like 'an amiable eccentric who always put up his umbrella and insisted that it was raining even as the sun shone.'

Gokhale, as the President of the 1905 Congress, charged Curzon, who had resigned a short while previously, with having 'engaged himself in a Herculean effort to strengthen the Englishman's monopoly of power in India'; and that, 'having failed to amuse them (the people of India) by an empty show of taking them into confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them.' Six months after the Benaras Congress Gokhale wrote a letter to Lord Curzon, as he lay, in the words of his biographer Lord Ronaldshay —later on Marquis of Zetland, 'stricken with the pain of a great affliction,' calling him 'one of those rare spirits who live for lofty ends and make a religion of all their work.' As one reads this 'lofty ends' letter, he cannot help scanning Gokhale hard. Nobody would begrudge Curzon being credited with making a religion of all his work. What Indian, however, would speak of his 'lofty ends,' when he recalls in one breath that Curzon made no secret that 'One of his ambitions, while in India, is to assist the Congress to a peaceful demise'; that he whittled down Queen Victoria's Proclamation by an uncanny emphasis on such saving clauses as 'if', 'so far' etcetera; that he spoke of the Indians that they were 'by their heritage and upbringing unequal to the high offices under the Crown;' that he attacked the ethics of the East and said that 'the highest ideal of Truth is to a large extent a Western conception'! And yet, in exemplification of her fine ethical mould, India has, to a man given Curzon the highest possible praise for his Famine Policy, The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, the Imperial (now the National) Library of Calcutta, and for vindicating the

honour of even humble Indian women by inflicting collective punishment on an entire British regiment in one case, and, on the other, by relieving high British military officers of their commands and banishing the regiment (also British) to Aden with leave and other indulgences suspended for two years. In fact, despite Curzon's blatant national arrogance, India has endorsed what he claimed that he 'loved righteousness and hated inequity, much above his fellows.'

Ronaldshay in commenting on Gokhale's aforesaid letter writes that nobody could have thought that, in view of the deep affronts Curzon had given to Nationalist India, there was any possibility of such an 'early reconciliation.' Years after, when Lord Curzon said in his *Place of India within the Empire*, "The contented incorporation of India within the Empire depends upon her feeling that she too profits by this bargain. Give her a sense of pride in Imperial partnership," one felt, as of instinct, that it was a triumph for Gokhale. It is no use wasting any breath on the question as to what extent such goodwill of the notables of the Ruling Race helped us to win our freedom; what, however, deserves to be considered, in its true perspective, is how the old-school leaders ungrudgingly and assiduously cultivated it. Things, however, do not assume a pleasant look when matters glide to a convivial excess.

"How would you like," Lord Hardinge once asked Gokhale, "if I were to tell you that all the British officials and troops would leave India within a month?" Gokhale replied, "I would be very pleased to hear the news but, before you had all reached Aden, we would be telegraphing to you to come back." It was an insulting corroboration of what the die-hards used to trot out, in season and out of season, that if they left our shores, not a virgin, not a rupee would be safe. It is interesting to recall, by the way, what Dr. Rashbehari Ghose said, in almost an identical situation. During the appalling stresses of the First World War, an English Judge of the Calcutta High Court asked Dr. Ghose in open Court, "What would you do, Dr. Ghose, if the Germans were to land at Calcutta one of these days?" "My Lord," Dr. Ghose replied without a moment's pause, "I would hastily arrange a deputation to welcome them." "What!" stared the judge, visibly stiffened. "What else, my Lord, we can do? This is the one thing you have taught us to a logical perfection," said Dr. Ghose with a disarming smile. In fact, in view of what Gokhale told Hardinge, round about 1913, India had no business to fret and fume at Sir S. P. Sinha (later on Lord) saying as the 1915 Congress President, "We are not yet fit for self-government." Again, nobody takes exception to Gokhale condemning, to any extent, the attempt made on Hardinge's life, but to assure Hardinge, as Gokhale did, that he would 'never' oppose any measure the Governor-General wished to have passed by the Legislature is tantamount to a breach of faith with the Country.

Gokhale genuinely felt that separate electorates for important minorities—and not the Moslems alone—would correct the 'inequalities and deficiencies' of general elections, in so far as they bore on them. He had the courage of his conviction but did not live to see the miserable caricature of his purpose. It is everybody's guess how he would have felt as Montagu, when he came to India in November, 1917, to discuss Reforms, straightway wrote Lloyd George, the British Premier, to beware of any extension of the 'Separate Electorate', which had worked the ruin of democracy in India: how he would have felt as the Joint Report of Montagu and Chelmford held, 'Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans, and not citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur': and as they not only maintained it, but eventually extended it to the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans, such as to justify Josiah Wedgewood to say in the House of Commons, 'The very idea of India has vanished from the Bill, to be replaced by disunited communities of Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the English': Gokhale did not either live to see what Lord Morley made public in his *Recollections* that he had written to Lord Minto, while approving of the Separate Electorate, "We are sowing the dragon's teeth"—the reference being to Cadmus having sown in Boeotia (Greece) dragon's teeth, from out of the two rows of which soldiers sprang

up and fought each other till the city was razed to the ground. During the Second Round Table Conference, when Lady Minto was introduced to Mahatma Gandhi at a social, she expressed the hope that India had not, possibly, forgotten them. Gandhi, harried and worried all the day over all conceivable differences between the Hindus and the Moslems, said that they would have to remember them too well, because it was for the Separate Electorate that the Hindus and Moslms were at loggerheads and failed to present a united front. Lady Minto was within her rights to put in a sharp rejoinder that it was their leader Gokhale, who proposed separate electorates. His Highness the Aga Khan was one of those who impressed Gokhale that only by special, supplementary treatment the political education of the Moslems could be speeded up, which was so urgntly needed in order to effect the national solidarity of India... Thank God, Gokhale did not live to hear the Aga Khan saying in his *Memoirs* with reference to the hectic days when he waited upon Minto for separate electorate, that 'these were the critical years in that vast complex process, which brought about, in little more than forty years, the Partition of the Indian subcontinent into two separate states, Bharat and Pakistan'. History is devastatingly jealous and chimes in with Percival Spear's, 'Behind the shadow of democracy had come the shadow of Pakistan'—*India, A Modern History.*

Gokhale once said that public life in India had few rewards, and many trials and discouragements. Some of the trials were peculiarly his own. S. P. Sinha's appointment, as a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, which was opposed, rather stoutly, by King Edward VII—Lord Ripon also opposed it—was hailed by Indian leaders as an earnest of greater things to come. It was their stock-in-trade to rally people to their hope and faith in British liberalism. When Sinha though of resigning, rather than move as Law Member the Press Bill, a repressive measure of great potency, Gokhale exerted himself to the utmost to dissuade him from such a course. On Gokhale consenting, at long last, not to oppose the Bill, Sinha dropped the idea of resignation. Things had gone so far that Minto kept Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee ready at hand to fill the probable gap. Gokhale ran the tremendous risk of incurring the massed anger of his countrymen, rather than administer the smallest jolt to Morley's scheme of things. Even Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta was against it.

Morley wrote to Minto, "I equally made no secret of my conviction (to Gokhale) that for many a long day to come, long beyond the short span of time that may be left to me, this idea (of India being on a footing of equality with the self-governing colonies) was a mere dream". The very following day Gokhale wrote to a friend of his in India seeking to justify publicity, in which he meticulously screened it, and wrote about Morley, "We never had so true a friend of our aspirations since Lord Ripon's day....He is the one friend, fighting night and day in our interest". What a strain!

Gokhale opposed some rules and regulations in connection with the operation of the Separate Electorate. Minto wrote Morley that Gokhale had disgusted him. . . . . "I hardly expected that he would play such a stupid game." "He won't be a level-headed adviser"—he again wrote Morley in connection with his possible appointment as a Member of the Secretary of State's Council. After the troubled years of Curzon, the first time Gokhale addressed Minto, he begged of him to initiate a rule 'foreign in personnel, but national in spirit.' It beats hollow the story of the legendary Greek boy who pressed Jupiter for sunshine and snow-flakes at the same time. But this is, how they plodded untiringly and fought the heavy odds zigzag—the hard-boned British interest on one side and on the other any unwary step that might have laid the Country open to a perilous set-back.

A weak constitution, relentlessly geared to the service of the Motherland, broke down rather prematurely—he was only fortyeight when he died on the 15th February, 1915. A saint and a soldier, he fully comprehended his trust, and honoured it to the last, unflinching in his high moral purpose. And this is precisely what makes Gopal K. Gokhale live as one of those immortal dead, who live in minds made better by their presence.

THE MEMORABLE TUSSLE FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP OF BENGAL

By BHASKAR DASGUPTA

Not long ago, there was, as many of the readers will probably remember, a tussle for the Mayorship of the Calcutta Corporation, when two rival gentlemen simultaneously tried to occupy the same throne chair. The public sense of amusement was considerably roused at this unusual situation. A similar episode occured in 1776 during the rule of the East India Company.

Governor's Council : Hasting' Adversaries

The Council of Governor[1] for the Presidency of Bengal, constituted just after the passing of the Regulating Act in 1774, consisted of four members, of which only Mr. Richard Barwell was on the side of the then Governor, Mr. Warren Hastings.

The attitude of the other three members, Sir John Clavering (the Commander-in-Chief of India), Hon'ble Colonel Monson, and (Sir) Phillip Francis,[2] was definetely hostile to Hastings, who obviously faced enormous difficuly in implementing his scheme for raising the efficiency of administration as also ensuring financial prosperity.

Hastings, who had a dictator's frame of mind, was very much cross at the frequent opposition from his Hon'ble colleagues, often felt humiliated and appealed to the Court of Directors for modification of the Council rules or else for a change in the membership, so that he might execute his plans, more conveniently.

Death of Monson : Subsequent Developments

Luckily for Hastings, one of the Councilors, Colonel Monson, suddenly died in September, 1776, and so he was cheered at the prospect of a change to his advantage, but this pleasing expectation suffered a sudden setback, owing to the hasty act of Colonel Macleane, the official agent of Mr. Hastings in England. Macleane too precipitately gave in Hasting's resignation whereby Sir John Clavering was elected for his successor and Mr. Edward Wheeler (Wheler) to fill the vacancy in the Council.

The Court of Directors was submissive to the British Ministry for obliging which, they did not even care to be deprived of the services of so competent an administrator as Hastings. The Court remained indifferent. They neither canvassed for Sir John nor disputed the ligality of Colonel Macleane's act but accepted the tender unconditionally, without fixing a date by which the proposed change was to be given effect to.

Behaviour of General Clavering : Hasting's Reaction

Hastings was a proud man and under the circumstances would have been prepared to abdicate, had not the rude behaviour of Sir Clavering driven him to fury. Under similar circumstances some one else would have sent a "conciliatorry note, trusting all their differences might be buried in oblivion" and assuring his co-operation and protection to those for whom Mr. Hastings cherished love and esteem.

But Sir John, "Just finishing the perusal of his despatches, peremptorily and bulntly summond Mr. Hastings to meet him at ten in the morning in Council and to deliver over to him the keys of

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1. The Government of Presidency of Bengal was vested in a Governor General and four members of the Council. The Governor General and Council were given superior authority over the other two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras in regard to making laws and concluding treatises, as might be necessary for the co-ordination of foreign policies.

2. (Sir Phillip Francis) : Francis later on became an inveterate enemy of Hastings and fought a duel with him (August 17, 1780) in which he himself was badly injured and this led him to make a premature retreat to England.

General Clavering and Mr. Barwell also met in a duel in April, 1775.

the Treasury and of Fort William." I am here quoting from Mr. George Francis Grand[3] (the first husband of Catherine Neel Werlee, who became famous later on, as La Princesse de Tallyrand). Grand writes, "I was then living at a graden house, a short distance from the town, with my recently acquired consort[4] and being in the habit of calling at Mr. Hasting' before I repaired to my office, I met as I was going up the back stairs, my friend, Major William Palmer, then the Governor's Millitary Secretary. He seemed agitated and in haste only whispered to me that he was going in the Fort to secure the obedience of the garrison. I continued assending the steps, and entering the room found Mr. Hastings busily writing with Mr. Begle[5] Mr. Sumner, and Captain Roberts, Sir John Claverings Aides-de-Camp, who was the bearer of the summons. Palmer soon returned, with the assurance of Colonel James Mergan, then commanding in the Fort, that he neither acknowledged nor should acknowledge, until Mr. Hastings gave him proper notification, any other authority as Governor than Mr. Hastings. The same injunction had been immediately transmitted to the late Colonoel Granger Mure, who commanded at Barrackpore five battalions of Native Sepoys and from whom the same success of implicit submission was equally expected. This was realised and Mr. Hastings confiding in the justice of his cause, and military support and indignant at Sir John's harsh proceedings, determined to resist the attempt to oust him from the chair and accordingly directed the Revenue Secretary Mr. Sumner, to summon the General and Mr. Francis, to meet the Governor and Mr. Barwell at an ordinary Revenue Council day. With this answer Captain Roberts retired, and at twelve O'clock the divided Government were assembled, the latter in Mr. Summer's Office and the former two gentlemen in Mr. Auriol's who was then the Chief Secretary of the Government"

The incident took place on June 20, 1777.

Reference to the Bench

The company's officers were divided into two camps, each growing as strong as the other. Another Board (Board of Revenue), was set-up by Sir John and both the Boards began fuctioning simultaneously. The Governor's body-guard was doubled and a Civil upsurge was very much apprehended.

At this stage, after some messages having been exchanged between conferences held by the two Boards, it was finally decided that the matter should be referred to—His Majesty's Judges to examine the entire situation from a constitutional and legal stand point. The Judges were to decide whether the resignation by the Governor was acceptable and the subseqhent nomination valid.

Both parties, *viz.*, the Governor Hastings and Mr. Barwell on one side and Sir John and Mr. Francis on the other, pledged themselves authentically and solemnly in the presence of the Judges to abide by the decision of the Court.

Judges' Conference: Decision Taken

Sir Elijah Impey (an old school companion of Hastings) was then the Chief Justice. The

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3. Grand was a civilian in the employ of the East India Company for nearly thirty years (he joined as a subaltern and subsequently became the Collector of a District) and then left India, disgraced. He ultimately became a servant of the Batavian Republic at the Cape of Good Hope, whereform he published his memoires in a book entitled "The narrative of the life of a gentleman long resident in India." The quotations here are all taken from that book.

4. Grand, Catherine, Francies: Soon after the wedding of Grand and Catherine which took place in Chandernagore (in July 10, 1777) Francis was involved a big scandal which created such a stir in those days among the European residents of Calcutta and its neighbourhood. Francis, attired in black, scaled the wall of Grand's compound by means of a ladder and got into the bedroom of Mrs. who was then a mere girl of sixteen, possessing exceptional beauty. This happened on the night of Derember 8, 1778. The tresspassers was secured by the Jamadar of Mr. Grand but with the aids of his friends ultimately managed to escape. That Francis had been an unsuccessful claimant to Mr. Grand's affections was borne out by lady Francis' statement. Francis' refusal to meet Grand in a duel also tends to corroborate this. The incident led to the famous Grand *Vs.* Francis case which was heard in the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The guilt of tresspass was proved and Francis was accordingly condemned by the Bench of Judges in damages of 50000 sicca rupees with cost of suit.

5. Bogle—Tibetian explorer. His grave is in the South Park Street Cemetry.

Judges were convened to meet at his house in the evening. Sir John D'oily and Major Palmer were present for the Governor Hastings, Mr. Addison for Sir John Clavering, Mr. Cater for Mr. Barwell while (Sir) George Shee represented Mr. Francis. Mr. Grand also happened to be present at the house of Sir Impey on that occasion. While the Judges were colseted, intent on conferring, resolving and having their opinion transcribed, Mr. Grand and other getnlemen present "partook of a gay, pleasant supper with Lady Impey, who retired not from the table, till two in the morning".

When the clock struck four the conference broke, the doors opened and two packets were handed over to the two leader represntatives of the two parties. In words of Mr. Grand: "I accompanied my friends downstairs and had it whispered in my ear that the judges had pronounced unanimously in Hasting's favour, I went home and resigned myself comfortably to that rest, which the state of previous anxiety I had endured so necessarily required. . . . . In the unanimity which prevailed amongst the Judges, it was clearly manifested that no partial bias had swayed their minds, for Sir Robert Chamber was decidedly a partisan of Sir John Clavering. The Court of Directors had been too hasty in their judgment and determination. An act of this nature demanded a formal deed, notararially signed and executed, with a complete delegated power, made specially to this effect, to the person in whom the trust was reposed and required equally as having been recognised as a fully empowered agent, by those to whom he had been deputed. Instead of which a paragraph of a letter, simply observing, if such conditions could not be obtained, so as to render the Governor's situation efficient, an abdication would be preferable to a state of nullity.....

The Judges wisely argued that a resignation must be positive and not conditional, the time fixed for its taking place specific and not left to an indefinite period, that an appointment of this magnitude decreed by the legislature under the absolute sanction of an Act of Parliament, could not be disposed of, nor parted with, in so sloverily and indirect manner, etc., . . . etc., . . . etc. . ."

Hasting's Retaliation

With the decree of the Judges in his favour, Hastings tried to get Clavering off the Council and refused his entry in the Council house and when Sir John attempted to enter, a prohibitory notice was served upon him, through Hastings's Secretary. Hastings argued that the General, by the assumption of Governor-Generalship, had vaccated his seat in the Council and had equally vaccated his post as His Majesty's Commander-in-Chief. At this Sir John's co-adjutor, Mr. Francis was greatly perturbed. He appealed to the Judges and to the solemn pledges of the parties to conform implicity to their opinion and to patiently await the result of the appeal to England. The measure taken by Hastings was deprecated by the Judges who abjured the parties to remain *status quo* until the result of the reference would be known. This was obeyed and the prescription was forthwith withdrawn by Hastings.

Clavering's Death

Sir John's party-men held that the mock resignation by him was nothing but a *Ruse de Politique* while in order to gain time. Mr. Hastings and his supporters pursued the policy of *Ruse de Guerre.*

The disappointment at the victory of Warren Hastings of Sir John's party was great for it blasted their "expectation of fortune and prefement".

It was really a great blow to Sir John Clavering. The dejection of spirit and the tropical heat caused an inflamation of the liver, which "ending in a putrid fever, carried the General off the stage in less than three months time."

Had luck not favoured Hastings the History of British Rule in India would have taken a different course and India would have shared a different fate, left to diverse historical conjectures.

STUDYING THE EARTH FROM SPACE

By V. SHEBALIN, M.SC., (Phys.-Math.),
Member of the Bureau of the Soviet Geophysical Committee

STUDYING Earth from Space, this may seem paradoxical: why penetrate into space in order to study the Earth? Is it not sufficient to carry out detailed research on solid ground? And yet the purpose of space flight is actually the solution of "terrestrial" problems.

Studies carried out by rockets and sputniks have revealed that our conventional ideas of the Earth were often inaccurate and even erroneous, that only observations from aside offer a key to the solution of the question of the Earth's structure and evolution. Before, for instance, in discussing the problem of manned flight into space, the scientists regarded collisions with small meteorites as "space hazard No. 1". It was thought that beyond the comparatively low terrestrial atmosphere there began a homogenous medium of interplantetary space with only meteoric streams lying in wait for future travellers.

It was discovered, however, that the Earth's magnetic field, which was thought to be of no greater purpose than to direct the compass needles of seamen, is a treacherous enemy outside the atmosphere. The huge magnetic lines of force arching between South and North Magnetic Poles are a giant trap for electrically charged particles. Captured by the magnetic field, these particles race around the Earth forming two belts of lethal radiation hundreds and thousands of kilometres above the surface.

Future space-pilots will have to take special care to protect themselves against this radiation or fly up into space from areas outside of reach of those belts.

Observations carried out by sputniks and space-rockets have forced geophysicists to revise their concept of the Earth as of a solid sphere surrounded by a film of water and air. They found that the concept "Earth" should also include a vast cloud of highly rarefied ionized matter extending several thousands of kilometres upwards. The volume of this cloud is hundreds of times greater than the volume of hard Earth.

VALUABLE INFORMATION

Besides altering our ideas of the structure of the immediate neighbourhood of our planet, sputniks also provided us with valuable information about the structure of the Earth proper. Irregularities in the shape of the globe and the distribution of heavy and light masses below its crust influence the trajectories of sputniks. Accurate observation of these trajectories have made it possible to determine with greater accuracy the shape of the Earth and the distribution of matter in it much faster and easier than would have been possible by explorations from the surface.

Magnetic measurements carried out by artificial satellites have established that a major fault in the Earth's magnetic field in Eastern Siberia (the so-called East-Siberia Anomaly) can be detected at an altitude of several hundred kilometres. This means that the cause of the anomaly lies far below the surface and is connected with the Earth's magnetic field as a whole. This result could be obtained only from "outside" by observations from outer space.

Many other geophysical discoveries were made with artificial satellites and rockets. Further flights will doubtless reveal new information, much of which cannot be even forecast.

The ultimate results of wide-scale explorations are often extremely vague. Major discoveries sometimes find practical application many years later.

Some of the prospects of space flight are apparent today. One of the distinguishing features of geophysics is that its successful development requires simultaneous observations over vast areas and even over the Earth as a whole. The International Geophysical Year, when many geophysical phenomena were studied simultaneously according to a uniform programme, was a graphic illustration of the requirements of science. Incidentally, the first artificial Earth satellites were actually launched in connection with the IGY.

WEATHER FORECASTING

Photographic observations from sputniks will make it possible to study the clouds blanketing the Earth over oceans and uninhabited areas. A study on the cloud movements will make it possible to study the general circulation of the atmosphere. Combined with other meteorological

research this will make it possible to take a new and much more reliable approach to weather forecasting. A study of the interaction of all types of solar radiation with matter surrounding the Earth will enable us to determine the source of energy of all atmospheric processes. Another prospective subjects of exploration is the poorly studied reflecting capacity of calm and turbulent ocean surfaces, which will provide new data about the thermal balance of the Earth.

Further detailed observations of the flight of sputniks coupled with ground observations and deep drilling will offer a better idea of the laws governing the distribution of matter in the Earth's core and crust, making it possible to chart a new diagram of the structure of the upper layers of the globe underlying the continents and oceans. This, in turn, will provide an entirely new basis for prospecting for deep-lying minerals when all the reserves in the thin surface layer available to us are exhausted. Doubtlessly, the sphere of geophysical exploration with the help of artificial satellites will be considerably expanded.

Important information can also be obtained from the extra-terrestrial observation of cosmic radiation. Primary cosmic rays entering the at mosphere originate "showers" of secondary radiation, which makes it difficult to study cosmic rays in their "pure state". Satellite observations will make it possible to determine the nature of cosmic radiation, which will enable us to judge of complex physical processes and their origins and will doubtlessly bring us closer to the mastering and practical utilisation of thermonuclear energy.

New Vistas

Flights to other planets will throw open new vistas in this field. The discovery made by the Soviet lunik which established the absence of a magnetic field of the Moon shattered at a single blow many hypotheses concerning the origin of the Earth's magnetic field. It has been established before that, unlike the Earth, the Moon had no plastic, resilient, semi-liquid core. Now we may confidently link the Earth's magnetic field with electro-mechanical processes inside the core. Obsrvations of the magnetic fields of large and small planets will finally solve this question, all the more so that the present level of technology makes it much easier to reach Jupiter than the core of the Earth.

When man sets foot on the Moon and the planets, when geologists (or rather planetologists) will bring home unknown samples of rock, when seismographs will present us with the first recordings of "planetquakes," we shall be able by comparative research to screen the primary from secondary element in the geological evolution of the Earth. This will mark a new stage in the development of our ideas on the origin of the Earth and the laws governing the evolution of its various layers. The distribution of elements and compounds in the bowels of the Earth and the causes of orogenic shifts and Earthquakes will be understood.

New Fields

We can dream of entirely new fields of knowledge which we will embark on as a result of more distant flights into space. For example, it may be possible to confirm or refute the hypotheses that the causes of the glacial periods on Earth is due to the solar system entering tenuous clouds of cosmic dust which reduced the amount of life-giving solar energy received by the Earth.

I have spoken only of the application of space research to geophysics. Its application is no less important, however, in physics, astronomy, biology and other sciences. The achievements of space research have already given tremendous impetus to such spheres of technology as super-strong alloys, instrument design, and super-long-distance radio communications. Bold engineering solutions will inevitably find application not only in outer space but in many Earthbound industries.

It is not isolated break-throughs in this and that science, and not even the wonderful discoveries awaiting us in other planetary systems that count. More important is the general progress of science, which is stimulated by the development of space flight and which, in turn, presents new opportunities for cosmic exploration. More important is the application on Earth of the new scientific disciplines which will have emerged from space conquest and the new mighty forces of nature discovered in outer space, in the name of the active development of the bowels and skies of our native planet to the benefit of mankind. More important is the advance of human thought and human society, which, in the face of outer space will finally realise the need or unity and assert on Earth the brilliant era of peaceful endeavour.

THE PRACHYA VANI MANDIR AND ITS ACTIVITIES

The Prachya Vani Mandir was founded in October, 1943 by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri and his wife, Principal Dr. Mrs. Roma Chaudhuri for the propagation of Oriental Learning, particularly, Sanskrit and Pali Language and Literature. Many illustrious sons of Bengal headed by late Atul Gupta, MM. Dt. Jogendra Nath Tarkatirtha Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. Satkari Mookherji, Dr. B. B. Dutt and Dr. Nalini Ranjan Sen Gupta have been very intimately connected with it. During the last 19 years of its existence, there has been no slackening in its activities; to the contrary, it has very assiduously followed its great ideal and now been rightly well-established as a very important Centre of Oriental Learning in the whole of India.

The Prachya Vani Mandir has under its direct control three other Institutions, viz., Prachya Vani Sanskrit Mahila Maha Vidyalaya, Prachya Vani Bhashan Parishad, and Prachya Vani Sangit-Natya Parishad. It has also a very valuable Library of Printed Books as well as Manuscripts, numbering about 30,000 and 6,000 respectively. The Sanskrit Mss. Library in its possession is reputed to have many unique and rare Mss. The Collections are growing daily and in the spacious 3, Federation Street where the Prachya Vani Mandir is at present housed, there is no space for any further collection, even for a few hundred Books or Mss. The scarcity is particularly due to the storing of 163 Publications of the Prachya Vani itself, most of which are Research works and rare specimens of scholarship and industry combined. Many of these are again the only works in their respective fields, such as "the Contributions of Women to Sanskrit Literature" (7 Vols); "The Contributions of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature" (4 Vols); "History of Sanskrit Duta Kavya Literature" (10 volumes)—in different series by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Dr. Roma Chaudhuri's outstanding works such as "Sufism and Vedanta" "Srikantha-Bhasya"; MM. Dr. Jogendra Nath Tarkatirtha's "Bharatiya Darsaner Samanvaya" and "Prachin Bharater Dandaniti" and also Dr. Radhagobinda Nath's "Gaudiya Vaisnava Darshan" for which the author was awarded Rabindra Prize of Rs. 5,000/- last year by the Government of West Bengal. The Institute is now piloting some other Research works of outstanding importance including publication of scientific editions of rare and valuable Mss. procured at times with very great difficulty from different parts of the world. Even the original works of Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri headed by the Sanskrit dramas Ananda-Radham on Sri Radha, Niskincana-Yasodharam on Yasodhara, Holy Consort of Lord Buddha and Priti-Visnupriyam and Bhakti-Visnupriyam on Sri Visnupriya, Holy Consort of Lord Gauranga Mahaprabhu are nothing but Research works, written spefifically in typically lucid and sweet Sanskrit Language for making Sanskrit intelligible to all and sundry.

Last scene of Vimala-Yatindram staged at New Delhi, Sapru House

The Bhashan Parishad of the Prachya Vani is the only Institution of its type in the whole of India for training students in speaking Sanskrit fluently. The course extends over three years. But experience

shows that students admitted into the Parishad even without any knowledge of Sanskrit can speak Sanskrit well in course of a couple of years. The Professors of these Institutions are self-less workers dedicated solely to the cause of Sanskrit Learning and consequently, it is no wonder that they achieve outstanding results for their whole-hearted activities for the development of Sanskrit Learning in India and abroad.

Prachya-Vani Sanskrit-Pali Players at Vrindaban Oriental Research Institute

Of all other Departments and Institutions of the Prachya Vani, probably, the most important one is the Sanskrit Pali Sangita-Natya Parishad, with a very brilliant staff to teach and guide the students. The Professors of the Sangit-Natya academy are concerned not only with the Ancient Texts but also specialize in bringing in Mediaeval and Modern Tunes for popularising Sanskrit throughout the length and breadth of India and outside amongst the masses in particular. Experience has shown that the Prachya Vani can entertain with their Sanskrit and Pali dramas composed by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri with a large number of songs and stotras, in all sorts of Ragas, Raginis and Talas, ancient, mediaeval and modern, even more than fifteen thousand people at a time, of whom not a single individual moves or talks during the time of the play. On many occasions, the songs in particular have to be repeated on public demand even after the play.

The immense popularity of the Prachya Vani Sanskrit and Pali plays throughout India can easily be gauged from the whirlwind tours of the Prachya Vani troupe throughout India during the last six months. In recent years, they are staging every year about 20 plays composed by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri throughout India and outside. In December, 1961, this troupe had been to Madras for staging one of the latest Sanskrit dramas of Dr. Chaudhuri, viz., Vimala-Yatindram on Vedantacharya Ramanuja in the Satya-Griha, Madras, at the invitation of all India Vaishnava Conference, Madras. This play composed at their request by Dr. Chaudhuri was staged for the first time in Madras on the 25th December, 1961, with very great success and its performance was repeated at Pondichery Sri Aurobindo Ashram under orders of the Holy Mother of the Ashram, with even greater success. Within a fortnight, on the 6th January, 1962 they staged this drama again at Vrindaban, Institute of Oriental Philosophy at the invitation of UNESCO and India Government-sponsored All World Spiritual Symposium and captivated the International gathering of more than 6,000 scholars gathered here from different parts of the world. Since then, they have been staging some Sanskrit dramas or other—one drama in a fortnight —in Howrah, Calcutta, 24-Parganas and other districtts. Recently i.e., during the last Easter Holidays they had been to Delhi to stage two Sanskrit dramas viz., Vimala-Yatindram and Bhakti-Visnupriyam, at the invitation of the International Academy of Indian Culture and the Ramayana-Vidyapith, Delhi. Sri Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Rehana Bahen Tyabji were the guests of honour on the first day, and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, then Vice-President of India

graced the occasion on the second day. The Indian Academy of World Affairs Sapru House could accommodate only 700 and therefore, hundreds had to go disappointed. The sweet simple Sanskrit and beautiful style of Dr. Chaudhuri and the excellent pronunciation and acting of the Prachya Vani troupe together with very melodious songs sung by leading Artistes of West Bengal captivated the hearts of the learned audience. Dr. Radhakrishnan and Sri Kakasaheb Kalelkar spoke very highly of the activities of the Prachya Vani and praised the laudable steps taken by Prachya Vani for popularising Sanskrit through the medium of staging of Sanskrit dramas and recital of Sanskrit songs.

In Madras, Sri M. Patanjali Shastri, Retired Chief Justice of India, Sri Bhaktivilas Tirtha and others ; in Pondicherry, Sri Nalini Kanta Gupta, the General Secretary and in Vrindavan, Prof. Sten of Rome, Sri Bhuvaneswari Prasad Singh, Chief Justice of India, who presided over function, Srijut B. H. Bon Maharaj and in various parts of the country, many other leading persons have always blest the Prachya Vani Troupe for their very laudable undertaking.

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LAOS

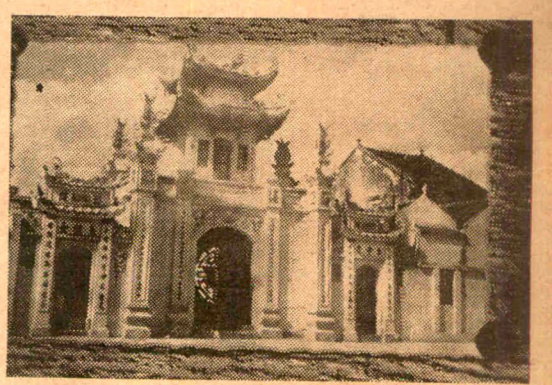
Its Legendary Origin—Past and Present

BY AJIT KUMAR TARAN

"THE history of Laos begins with a legend." Mrs. Thelma Roffe who has lived in Laos since 1930, used this intriguing statement as a preface to her able presentation of "The History of Laos," at the monthly luncheon of the American Women's club of Vientiene, held at the USOM MESS on September 2, 1957. In her introductory speech the club president, Mr. Rothwell Brown commented, Mr. and Mrs. Roffe had served in Laos as members of the christian and missionary Alliance since January 1930, and their continuing interest in studying the culture of the country culminated in their co-authorship of the recently published book, "Spoken Lao."

"The early history of Laos is largely dependent on outside sources,—Mrs. Roffe told club members, "because there was no written language among the people coming into Indo-China in the early period of the history." And she related, then, the legend the Lao are used to tell people concerning their origin.

A man, Khoun Borom, was sent by the God of heaven to settle in the plain of "Dien Bien Phu" with his two wives. After a while a vine grew in their garden, and also two great pumpkins. Khoun Borom took a hot-red-iron and pierced them and out of them came all the peoples of Laos, the cattle, the water, the buffaloes, horses and other animals and fowls and also gold, silver and seeds of fruits and vegetables and other things. But the pumkin vine grew so large and so luxurious in foliage that



A Laotian Temple

it cast a shadow over much of the country; so that there was not enough sun for the crops. For a long time no one dared do anything, because the vine furnished a path for going back and forth to heaven. But at last a brave man and

his wife decided to chop it down; though they knew, they would be crushed by its falling—as indeed happened. The brave pair were honoured, however, for their courage in restoring the sunlight and they are remembered when the Lao eat, by being invited to partake of the food. Khoun Borom's seven sons had been sent to seven regions of the country, where they were regarded as leaders and their regions as Kingdoms: Luang Prabang, Xiengkhoang, Chiengmai, South Yunnan, North Fauhim, Arythia (central Thailand), and Pegon (East Burma).

"These were the kingdoms of the seven sons," Mrs. Roffe said—"a history is a legend since there is no written history until about the 13th century when the Thai peoples first developed a written language."

The Mekong River

The Siamese "Thai," the Lao, many of the tribal peoples of Tonkin (like the black Thai, the white Thai, the Red Thai), the Shan of Burma tribes people of Yanam province in China, and of Assam in India, seem to be of one race, since their language evolved from a common base. And Mrs. Roffe added, "The Thais and Laos appear to be blood cousins, since about 75% of the words in every day usage are the same." She said that judging all these factors that the original inhabitants of Laos were probably of Polynesian origin,—and this would include especially the Kho and Khamuh, who were pushed into the mountains by the people migrating from China. "The word Kho means slaves," she added, "and they are never found in lowlands along the rivers because the people migrating out of China came along the rivers and drove the Khas into the mountains."

"Since the Thai poples came originally from China," Mrs. Roffe said, "our first knowledge of them was to be found in the annals of the Chinese emperors. The first such reference occurs about 2200 B.C. which was about the time when the civilizations of Egypt and Assyria and Babylon were at their height. They are spoken of again in 1971 B.C., which was in the time of Abraham and in 1558 B.C. They were called Lao—Lao meaning people, and located in two Chinese provinces, Hupeh and Shens."

"Some years ago," Mrs. Roffe added, "a missionary set out through Thailand, Burma and Tonkin to trace the influence of the language of the Thai peoples, and found that he could go as far as the Yangtse to find linguistic similarity to Thai sufficient for him to understand the various dialects used."

In 543 B.C., the court annals of China say, "The Thais came into Yunnan, because of political pressure from the north of China and they might, at that time, have come into Mauongsing and Dien Bien Phu."

13TH CENTURY

In the 13th Century, they began to read and write, using a script which was derived from India. By 1254, the Thais spread down into North Laos, Siam and Burma. These included tribal peoples from among the Lao, Siamese, Shans, Red-Black and white Thais, Lu and the Thos of north Tonkin.

In 1283, Rama Khameng, a chief of Chiengmai, had established a kingdom that extended from Luang Prabang, Malaya and from Vientiane to Burma. It was during his reign that writing was introduced into the country.

14TH CENTURY

In 1353, Phi Fa, the crown Prince of Luang Prabang (according to one version), was driven from his kingdom in punishment for seduction of one of the King's wives. Another version of his dismissal is that the crown Prince had a son who was born with 13 teeth, and the King's soothsayers advised him to get this dangerous child out of the kingdom. So he was put on a raft and set a-drift on the Mekong,

where a priest found him and took him to the King of Combodia in Angkor Wat. The child, Fa Nagaun, was raised in the court at Angkor and when he was seventeen, was given one of the Cambodian Princesses for his wife. When he was 21 years old, the king of Angkor gave him an army of 10,000 and sent him back to conquer his grandfather's Kingdom. He overcame Ziengkhouang, Luang Prabang and Vientiane—which got its name from the ramparts of bamboo which impeded the conqueror. The city was originally named "Phay Nam" then called Vieng Kham, "Walled city of gold," which was later deformed in pronounciation to become Vieng Chan, "Walled city of sandal wood."

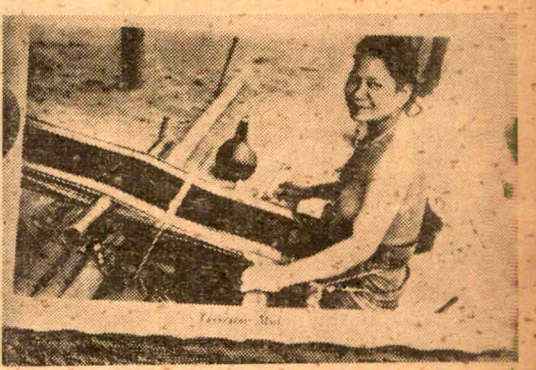
The Kingdom of Fa Ngoun was called Lan Xang Hon Khao—"Land of a million elephants and white parasols" and it extended from the north to Savannakhet. But Fa Ngoun remained a conqueror, ruling as a despot and tyrant, and so his father-in-law summoned him to Angkor and reprimanded him for his cruelty to the people. He persuaded Fa Ngoun to adopt Buddhism and gave him a cession of priests, scientists, artisans and script writers, 1,000 men in all, with their families. In addition, they brought back with them the Prabang, a gigantic statue of Buddha, which was placed in a temple built for it at Luang Prabang, and which was felt to be the source of good fortune for the Kingdom. The statue is said to have been made in Ceylon.

15th & 16th Centuries

In the 15th century there were no great Kings, and no major events recorded. And throughout the 16th century there continued wars with Burma. In 1563 the site of the capital city, Luang Prabang, was felt by the king to be unsafe because the surrounding mountains gave their enemies the advantage of making surprise attacks, and so the capital of Lan Xang was moved to Vientiane by King Sethathirat—a great monarch, who first began to unify the Kingdom. It was he who built Wat Pra Keo, which was to house the Emarald Buddha (a statue carved from a single stone, originating in Ceylon and passing from hand to hand until it came into the hands of King Sethathirat.) He also built the Luang, on the site of a That constructed in the 11th century over a hair of the Buddha. (Mrs. Roffe explained briefly here that a That was actually a monument which marks the site of a sacred relic, as distinguished from a Wat, which is the compound housing temples and living quarters for monks and novices and various mounments.) That Luang was destroyed in 1873 by the Yunnese and restored in part in 1897-98.

17th Century

In the 17th century there was again a great monarch, king Souligna Vongsa. In 1641 a



A Lao woman, busy in weaving

mission arrived from Indonesia which was at that time under the Dutch. One of the Dutch visitors wrote of the magnificence of the King's palace which was as large as a city built entirely of brick overlaid with gold and set with precious and semi-precious stones. He commented, however, that the ordinary people lived simply. An additional memento of that visit can be seen in one of the temples in Luang Prabang, which has on one door in base-relief a representation of the Dutch visitor.

In 1696, Lan Xang came under the suzerainty of Annam (central Vietnam).

18th Century

In 1797, Lan Xang was divided into two Kingdoms, Luang Prabang and Vientiane, and this really ended the grandeur of the ancient kingdom. From then on, it was marked by fratricidal wars. At that very time the Europeans had begun to come into Asia and threaten the surrounding

countries. The French and the English had established commercial relations with Siam (present Thailand) in the 17 century, and the Dutch had commercial companies in Phnom-Penh (the present capital of Combodia); but until now Laos had remained untouched.

In 1778, Vientiene was captured by the Siamese. One of the factors precipitating the seizure was that the king refused to give one of his daughters in marriage to a Siamese general who had helped him defeat the king of Luang Prabang in an attack on Vientiene. It was then that the Prabang (the Lao statue of good fortune) and the Emarald Buddha from Wat-Pra-Keo, were taken to Bangkok. The Prabang was returned four years later but the Emarald Buddha it still to be seen in Bangkok, and the Wat which housed it has now become a museum in Vientiene. Hundreds of families too, were driven across the Mekong river by the Siamese.

19TH CENTURY

The last of the kings of Vientiene was king Chao Anon, who built Sisokhet temple in 1824. In 1825 he asked for the return of the Lao families taken by the Siamese (in 1778). When refused, he declared war—partly in the belief that the English were about to march on Bangkok. (This was a time when the English had subdued Burma and were contending for power with the French who had begun to conquer Vietnam. But the king had been misinformed; the English did not attack, and although the Lao forces reached Korat, they were turned back and the Siamese retaliated brutally. In 1827, two years after the war began, Vientiene was completely destroyed and Wat-Pra-Keo was razed to the ground. The Sinamese took all the inhabitants of the city across the Mekong into Siam, and Vientiene became a province of Siam. For the second time, Laos lost the Prabang statue.

In 1832 the old kingdom of Xiengkhouong (one of the Kingdoms of the seven sons in the legend) was captured and made a province of Annam (central Vietnam) and the emperor of Annam had the king of Xiengkhouang executed because he had helped the Siamese capture king Anon. It was during this same period that Luang Prabang was invaded by the Burmese and King Anon was forced by them to enter into expeditions against Vientiene (before this, it had been destroyed by the Siamese).

The mid-century was marked by the inundation of Asia by Europe; England, France and the United states signed commercial treaties with Siam in 1856; the French took all the southern provinces of Vietnam, thenceforth known as Cochin-China and occupied Tourane (a port city on the Central Vietnam Coast). Somewhat earlier, the first big migration of the Meos came into Laos. There are records of a visit to Laos by a French entomologist in 1861, and of a French expedition to explore the Mekong river in 1866.

In 1864, during the invasions from Yunnan as far south as Vientiene and before being put down by the French, Siam too sent an army to fight the Yunnanese.

In 1867 the Prabang was returned to Luang Prabang by the Siamese and is today in Wat Mai. In 1883, the French took over Tankin (north Vietnam) so that Laos was now a pawn between France and Siam. In the same year, the French placed Mon. Pavie at Luang Prabang as Vice-Consul. In 1887, Luang Prabang was destroyed by Deo—Von—Tri of Lanchan which stood some 300 kilometers north of Luang Prabang, when he came searching for his two sons left in the care of the Lao court and kidnapped by the Siamese. A Cambodian servant of the French Vice-Consul Pavie, smuggled the king and queen and their entourage to the river and out of Luang Prabang taking them to Pakley, leaving the city which was burnt until only the stone temples remained as evidence of its former magnificence. In the battle, the Vice-King, grandfather of Phetsarath and Souvannaphauma, was slain. The fugitive king invited the French to help him, and turning to the Siamese, told them, "The French saved us."

In 1888—France took over Lai Chau with the permission of the king and moved steadily towards the south and south west until it occupied all of the East bank of the river Mekong by 1893, signing a treaty with Siam in which the Siamese recognised the French authority.

20TH CENTURY

In 1904—Sisavang Vong became king of Laos. Siam ceded by treaty the present province

of Sayaboury on the west bank of the Mekong.

Throughout the ensuing years, Laos had but little contact with the outside world, except for the French, who controlled Vietnam, Combodia and Laos, calling the entire area "French Indo-China."

1940-41, after the fall of French in Europe, the Thais invaded and seized the provinces of Sayaboury and Bassac on the west side of the Mekong. Here, Mrs. Roffe recalled, Vientiene as she had found it during those days, when the Thais put guns across the river, aimed at the city and the sound of cannon—fire was often heard.

Later, in 1947, Thailand agreed to give back the two Lao provinces to the French in return for French support in gaining membership of the United Nations. In the same year, the king of Luang Prabang was declared as the king of all North Laos.

When the Japanese took over in the World War II, the Free Lao movement, headed by Prince Phetsarath, became a political force. He withdrew from active leadership, however, when the king relieved him of his title as Viceroy in October, 1945, just before the Free Lao imprisoned the king and attempted to set up a constitutional monarchy. At the end of World War II French paratroopers were dropped in the south and began a successful retaking of the country. The three brothers—Phetsarath, Souvannaphouma and Soupannavang along with major part of the Free Lao members, took sanctuary in Bangkok.

In 1953, the Vietminh invaded, taking Xiengkhouang and starting a march on Luang Prabang. Soupannovong, the brother of Souvannaphouma and Phetsarath was made Governor of the Nothern Provinces and the entire country was threatened. But King Sisavang refused to leave Luang Prabang and to maintain the position of his country as a protectorate; the French were forced to defend Luang Prabang and turn back the Vietminh (a military necessity which weakened French defences in Vietnam). In October 1953, complete independence was granted to Laos (including northern provinces still held at that time by the Pathet Lao Vietminh under Soupannavong) by the French. Since 1954, when the Geneva Agreement was signed bringing war in Indo-China to an end and partitioning Vietnam there were instructions to group the guerrilla forces of Pathet Lao dissidents in two northern provinces of Samneua and Phonsaly until a settlement could be made with the Royal Lao Government. Uptil now no settlement has been reached and these forces continue to remain in Samneua and Phongsaly.

The current situation in Laos is known to all. There is no actual fighting now going on amongst the people of the land; the fight is rather between the two most powerful powers of the world. Laos is now full of chaos. Should the present and the future negotiations regarding restoration of peace fail, it is apprehended, more terrible scenes and troubles will be created in Laos. Peace loving peoples of the world are eargerly awaiting some bright news from Laos to relieve the pathetic monotony of its past history.

ROLE OF TRIBAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Significant Work Done By Tribal Research Institute at Chhindwara in Madhya Pradesh

ALL well-planned schemes require a certain amount of research and factual and statistical information at the planning stage. In the case of development programmes in tribal areas in India, if well-directed and done properly, it should be of great help to the local officials to understand tribal people better and get the desired response from them. It should also inspire the officials themselves with respect for tribal people and their culture.

A research party of The Tribal Research Institute busy in the field doing socio-economic survey in Abhujmad region

There is, besides, an urgent need at the present stage to know as to what is actually happening to the tribal people as a result of development: what are their psychological reactions, whether they are developing a separatist mentality and, if so, why: whether they are suffering from any moral decline; whether individualism is replacing the old cooperative spirit; whether their self-reliance is weakening; whether they are beginning to suffer inferiority complex in face of the technological advantages of outsiders; whether change is coming too rapidly for them to support the many alterations in their lives and environments. Then, there is yet another aspect: studies on the conditions of health and vitality of the tribal people; the effects of nutrition on their pattern of growth and resistance to disease.

Gathering all this information is of immediate significance in planning and execution of smooth and effective tribal welfare programmes. And in this Tribal Research Institutes now coming up in different States—Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan and West Bengal have already set them up—can play a vital role in collaboration with the administrative machinery.

Anthropological surveys and collection of serological data for tracing the history of the tribals; their origin and migrations and racial affinities, are, no doubt, important from an academic point of view but these have no immediate significance and are being already done by the Department of Anthropology of the Government of India and the anthropological departments of some of the universities. The Research Institutes can easily concentrate on the more immediate problems.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

The Tribal Research Institute at Chhindwara, in Madhya Pradesh, in this context, has already done significant work. Started as an integral part of the Tribal Welfare Department of the Madhya Pradesh Government in April 1954, the Institute functions directly under the control of the Director of Tribal Welfare. It has completed a number of projects such as socio-economic surveys of two tribal multi-purpose blocks at Tamia and Barwani, evaluation of multi-purpose co-operative societies run by the Tribal Welfare Department and a survey of herbal medicines in the forest areas in Madhya Pradesh.

The research projects in hand include the problem of shifting cultivation, importance of minor forest produce in the economy of tribals, survey of marketing conditions in scheduled areas, evaluation of Ashram schools, problems of housing and water scarcity in tribal areas and finding jobs for educated tribals.

Projects to be taken up in future include the problem of indebtedness and facilities for

rural credit in scheduled areas, study of the practice of *begar*, socio-economic survey of forest villages and labour co-operatives; survey of landless tribals, their problems and possible solutions; prestige feature of tribal life and ways and means to preserve them.

Another line of research on which the Institute has done some work is conversational guides and dictionaries in various tribal dialects of Madhya Pradesh such as Halbi, Kuduk, Bhili and Madia.

The Institute helps the Tribal Welfare Department on the complicated question of exclusion and inclusion of various castes and tribals in the existing schedules after a thorough scrutiny of representations.

The Institute has at its premises at Chhindwara a museum with a rich collection of tribal arts, crafts and artefacts. These, together with photographs, murals, models, diagrams, maps and charts placed in the museum, give a good insight into the life and culture of the tribal people of Madhya Pradesh.

The Institute has a library too with a collection of over 4,500 books on anthropology, sociology, psychology, economic, linguistics, tribal welfare and associated subjects.

There is an art section attached to the museum which prepares murals, maps, charts and models. And there is a statistical section to collect and tabulate relevant data from various projects taken in hand by the Research Institute. At present this unit in collaboration with the art section is preparing an atlas on the various tribals of Madhya Pradesh.

The Institute brings out a quarterly bulletin incorporating research work done by the staff of the Institute. It also includes research papers and articles sent to the Institute by individuals and ageneies engaged in sociological research.

Training of Workers Among Tribal Areas

There is a Tribal Workers' Training Institute on the campus of the Tribal Research Institute and the Director of the Tribal Research Institute is ex-officio Director of the Tribal Workers' Training Institute also. He provides technical guidance and generally supervises various training courses. Officers of the Tribal Research Institute deliver lectures to the important categories of trainee officers such as Block Development Officers and I.A.S. and I.P.S. cadre.

The Institute, all in all, has proved its utility. Some hurdles and problems, no doubt, remain such as closer liaison, in its consultative capacity, with the administrative machinery. If the sociological and developmental problems are referred to the Institute sufficiently in advance, the research findings of the Institute would be of greater benefit in planning the right programmes. Here, there has been a considerable improvement recently. Already, more and more problems are being referred by the State administration to the Institute for advice.

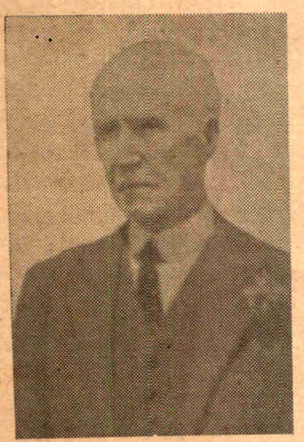
Another problem on which the Institute is on its way to finding satisfactory solution is retaining the experience, talent and loyalty of the staff. The staging has to be arranged in such a way that such an Institute can offer a good, worthwhile career to its young workers who join at lower rungs. This involves attractive salaries and graded promotion to higher posts. Here, some progress has already been made.

Then, there is the question of close liaison with other similar institutions in other parts of the country so that there can be regular exchange of ideas and results of research done; both to avoid duplication and to pool all available experience. Here again, some headway has been made. The Institute has recently established closer liaison with the Kidwai Socio-Agronomical Research Institute and the Tribal Research Institutes at Ranchi, Bhuvaneshwar and Calcutta.

SIR DANIEL, A PIONEER OF CO-OPERATIVES

By D. SEN

Of the few Englishmen who identified themselves with the interests of the common people of Bengal, the name of Sir Daniel Hamilton can be reckoned as one. His love and sympathy for the people, specially the cultivators, is without any parallel. He thought of the economic regeneration of the cultivators who formed seventy per cent of the population and spared no pains to elevate their sad lot. He studied carefully the causes of the poverty of the cultivators as well as of the middle-class people of Bengal and came to the conclusion that the Mahajan or Sowkar "is to blame for the stagnation of the masses and unemployment among the classes."



Sir Daniel

To arrive at the solution of the acute problem, he induced the Government to introduce co-operative credit societies amongst the cultivators and donated Rs. 20,000 for the organisation of a network of co-operative societies throughout the country in 1904. He remarked that finance was the chief immediate need of the rural population and co-operative credit being the only possible method of financing India's huge agricultural population, the Co-operative Departments of Provincial Governments should be enlarged to cover all India. He was of opinion that the economic condition of the masses as well as unemployment among the classes is due more to the absence of judicious operations of banking than to any other cause whatsoever. In his paper on the *Swaraj Road* h said, "Man is the living capital; gold and silv dead, and it is because the dead has usurped place of the living, and becomes man's mas that Communism has come into being."

By judicious operation of banking he m that paper money should be substituted "in room of a great part of this gold and silv enabling the country to convert a great part o the dead stock into active and productive stock which produces something to the country. In his opinion, money manufactured and lent b judicious operations of banking, will increase th food supplies of the country, improve primar education for all, make all men capitalists abolish proverty and unemployment, make Hind and Moslem, Brahmin and untouchable all shak hands; and having gathered in the crops o golden grain, will return with 5 per cent o clear profit to the Government which manu facture and lend it. Sir Daniel said this whe India was under the yoke of the British peopl This holds good even when India has attaine her freedom and even after she has complete her Second Plan.

Sir Daniel did not rest content with givin instructions only. He actually did what h preached and organised co-operative societies i his zamindary at Gosaba lying in the Sunderban During the period 1903 to 1907, he first organise a Credit Bank to save the farmer from the iro clutches of the Mahajans. Later on, a consum co-operative society was organised wherefro the cultivator-members purchased the necessar articles of daily use at reasonable rates. A Mode Agricultural Farm was established to impa agricultural training to agriculturists and middl class youths. In 1908, he founded the Beng Youngmen's Zamindary Co-operative Socie with a view to providing the educated youths In 1928, a Marketing Society for sale of padd

Tagore's attitude towards the Gandhian non-co-operation movement. We have further noticed a few lapses of the English idiom and mistakes in the spelling of proper names, which may be corrected in a future edition.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN BOTANY : Part I (A to J): *By V. Narayanaswami (1961). Published by the Librarian, National Library, Calcutta.*

Sri B. S. Kesavan in his foreword says that the author carried out the work "under the strain of severe illness" and that the book will "serve workers in the field of Indian Botany." It follows the Vol. I Bibliography on Indian Anthrology, (1960).

Indian Botany is one of the earliest sciences be studied by Western scholars whose notices d monographs have been faithfully recorded by Sri Narayanaswami. He studied Indian Botany for half a century and served the Botanical Survey of India for over 40 years. So his Bibliography embraces most of the books in Portuguese, Spanish, French, Dutch and English, following he publications of the various European colonies n India. The earliest works on Indian *Materia Medica* were published from Goa and Lisbon as lso from Madrid and Burgs in Spanish, (1578-1590). They were followed by works on Indian Medicinal Plants, published from France, Belgium, Holland and England. In 1789, Sir William Jones and Lady Jones prepared illustrated papers on ndian Botany and Colebrooke added Latin names plants in the *Amara-Koshe.* French Nationalist ictor Jacqueniont (died in India 1832), studied ecimens from Kashmir-Ladak to Poona and he s deeply impressed by the learning of Raja ammohan Roy who visited France (1832) from gland. The Asiatic Society of Bengal publicaons furnished valuable items to Bibliographer arayanaswami whom we congratulate on the mpletion of 'Indian Botany' which will benefit holars in India and abroad; we hope that his ealth will improve to finish printing quickly the agrerly expected volume (L-Z).

The Ayurvedic Board of Bengal and other States of India, should order this precious volume and pursue further researches based on Indian Medical Texts in Sanskrit, Tamil and other anent languages of India.

KALIDAS NAG

REACHING FOR THE MOON : *By Cordhristian Troebst, English Translation : By Alan . Readett ; Hodder & Stoughton, London. Price 1s.*

14th September, 1959, precisely 10.02.24 p.m., London time. The gigantic radio-telescope of Jodrell Bank was pointing straight at the moon. The characteristic piping sound of a space-vehicle that was being received had stopped—indicating that for the first-time man had torn a crater in the meteorite-scarred surface of the "Eye of the Night"—as the Greek Poet Aescheyhlus called her—some 239,000 miles away from our Earth. The credit of this stupefying genius entirely goes to the Russian space-scientists who had carried out such an astounding feat with their 103′ 3″ long, 150.66 tons heavy, CH–10 type rocket-Lunik-2. The Russian success rocked the western hemisphere so much as can be very easily understood from Professor Edward Teller's lacomic reply, when asked what he expected to find on the Moon, "The Russians—". Even no other than Professor Wernher von Braun holds this view : "The Russians are so far ahead of us that no expenditure of money, however great, can buy back the lost time. . . . . ." Like Professor Oberth, however, there are also a good number of experts who do not put so much weight on Russian lead in the field of space travel, because, U.S.A. is also catching up with giant strides, and it won't be long when it will be possible for them to outclass the Russians.

This book, under review, is a lucid and delightful narration of the early experiments and till then current developments and future plans aimed at reaching for the moon. The author has had access to a great deal of information, drawing upon new sources giving interesting details, disclosing the news of some Russian moon-probes secured by American Intelligence which have been unknown to the people in general. He has given an account of the various obstacles confronting the scientists in moon-flight and tentative investigations to overcome them. He has discussed problems of providing provisions and protection of the space travellers in an exhaustive, though a little technical but easily understandable way.

One reads with interest the brilliant description of hard gruelling exercise undergone by Mercury Astronauts of America, where only seven were finally selected out of 110 chosen candidates.

While reading this book one cannot help feeling with the author that the iron-curtain secrecy of Soviet Union is something more than embarrassing. They carry out experiments in secret and without any announcement, only to surprise the world with a success which may, as well, owe its pillars to a series of failures unknown; whereas, U.S.A., they claim, "reports successes and

failures with equal frankness wherever and whenever possible". Public interest is the first concern. But, then, each side has a logic of its own. This is, however, irrefutable that this 'Reaching for the Moon' should take place freely in the open without any overtones of power-politics.

This book, strewn with numerous interesting photographs, is written in such a nice way, packed with so many thrilling facts and episodes, that it is simply a pleasure to read it, and when one finishes it one finds oneself richer with the knowledge of moon and space race.

The English translation is delectable and seems to have retained every ounce of the cream of the original.

PRANAB BASU

MY NON-VIOLENCE : *By M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-4, pp. 373. Price Rs. 5/-.*

Truth and non-violence are the twin pillars on which rested the entire framework of the magnificent edifice of Mahatma Gandhi's glorious life and work. To the Mahatma truth and non-violence were the two sides of the same coin. In his own words—"I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills. All I have done is to try experiments in both on as vast a scale as I could."

Gandhiji's non-violence was the non-violence of the strong and not of the weak. It was not also the passive resistance as is generally understood, as an effective weapon used by the oppressed against the oppressor. Non-violence aims at the transformation and change of heart of the oppressor. It is a moral method rather than a physical effort. Gandhiji never looked upon life as divided compartments. To him the end did not justify means. He never compromised with wrongs to get results which to ordinary eyes looked good. The message of his life is the way he lived a life of experiments with truth—truth and non-violence being two sides of the same coin. There was no God but Truth as manifested in eternal love and non-violence.

The publishers brought out in two volumes of about 1000 pages, *Non-violence in Peace and War* containing a collection of Mahatmaji's writings and speeches from 1921 to his last, and the present book is an attempt to present a handy volume to readers. The contents in this volume have been divided into 157 chapters. It is a difficult work to abridge the writings and speeches of Mahatmaji who was not in the habit of using one single word that was not absolutely necessary. However, we are happy to note that the compilation and editing work is well done by Sri Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhaya, whom we offer our congratulations.

BUSINESS ENTERPRISE : Its growth and organisation : *By Ronald S. Edwards and Harry Townsand. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. Pp. 605. Price 30s net.*

The book is an outcome of a seminar on Problems of Industrial Administration held at the London School of Economics. But it does not cover the whole of industrial economics. It says little about labour relations; techniques used in industry for planning, budgeting and pricing receive only incidental treatment. Four groups of topics are discussed in this volume.

Part I describes how firms are brought into bring, built up and consequent variety of organisations which constitute industrial system. Part II is concerned with factors determining the size and specialisation of firms. Part III deals with issues concerning the relations between the government and industry. In Part IV, the authors consider the problems of finding the resources, providing the incentives, and organising the framework for progress in industry.

Part I contains five chapters and four appendices, Part II (Integration of industrial activities) contains twelve chapters and five appendices, Part III (the government and industry), have twenty-two chapters and Part IV (The future of British Industry) three concluding chapters of the book.

The authors present a mass of materials to the readers and a considerable portion of them in appendices in the form of reports submitted by first rank industrial and commercial magnates of Great Britain. A book of this nature is a great help not only to general readers interested in the economy of the day but to the students of economic theories—the science being intimately connected with and based on trends of economic activities. A scientific study and analysis of the facts are essential for a student of economics and the authors have done a good job by presenting the student with materials assembled and discussed for a decade.

The authors claim neither originality nor infallibility but we are confident that the materials they place before readers will be of help to draw conclusions even if the conclusions arrived at by them are not accepted by the reader.

We hope a similar study undertaken by our universities in cooperation with businessmen and industrialists will stimulate a better und

standing of the subject by our students of Applied Economics.

We are happy to commend this book not only to students of Economics, but to the public interested in planned national and nationalized economy to which subjects, the concluding chapters are devoted.

MY GOD: *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, pp. 6-7. Price 50 nP.*

This is compiled by Shri R. K. Prabhu. To Gandhiji, Truth is God. But what is truth? Gandhiji also answers this Question. For him love for truth and love for God are indivisible. *Ahimsa* is also God to him. A life dedicated to *Ahimsa*, Gandhiji lived in God all throughout his life. He lived and died for a search after truth—God. *Ahimsa* was to him the unseen power of God. God cannot be seen by reason, not to spark by naked eyes. He can be felt by faith—faith is nothing but a living, wide-awake consciousness of God within. Gandhiji could bear the voice of God within him. Gandhiji's views about Prayers to God, Voice of God, Laws of God, Good and Evil, Pathways to God, Visitations of God, Service of God, "Houses of God" (temples, churches and mosques), incarnations of God are to be found in this brochure. The publication closes with "What God has meant for me" (Gandhiji).

We have no doubt this shall have wide circulation like Gandhiji's other writings.

A. B. DUTTA

PATHWAY TO GOD IN KANNADA LITERATURE: *By R. D. Ranade, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960. Price Rs. 2/-.*

Dr. R. D. Ranade, so well-known as the Head of the Department of Philosophy in the Allahabad University and later its Vice-Chancellor, had contemplated a study of mysticism in Karnataka. It was not a mere scholar's study that he had planned; he was a *sadhak* as well. The spiritual bent of his mind, nursed since his student days, developed and matured his thoughts and investigations. It is good to remember that he never left early mornings, and he was in the direct line of spiritual teachers, in possession of the knowledge of mystic lit[illegible] preached and practised in Karnataka for the past thousand years.

Dr. Ranade had written already on mysticism in the *Upanishads*, and on the great mystics of Maharashtra. His 'Pathway to God in Hindi Literature' was a pioneer work. The present book follows in its train, but there is a marked predilection in favour of Karnataka mysticism, which he affirms as standing on a higher-level in many respects though essentially the same kind of spiritual life pervades all mysticism.

Dr. Ranade had carefully planned his lectures and he took the audience into confidence and unfolded his scheme. He had delivered fourteen out of the twenty lectures he had prepared when the call came. But the synopses and brief notes of the remaining six helped the Editorial Committee to bring the work to its completion.

Dr. Ranade speaks not from the scriptures so much as from experience. And the rich experience is doled out beautiully, gracefully, through the help of early religious songs and poetry. His clear exposition of this difficult theme makes the reading of the book a rich repast, nutritious and wholesome and "tasty". We are told that each lecture covered the subject-matter of seven or eight songs, so arranged that the development of thoughts was easy to follow, and the songs were sung in accompaniment with *Tambora* and *Tabala*! In this way he brought the art of the 'Kathak' the elucidation of philosophy.

This is a very useful contribution to the Bhavan's Book University and Shri Munshi and Shri Diwakar deserve thanks from the grateful reader for having included it in their publication in collaboration with the Karnataka University, Dharwar.

P. R. SEN

STORIES AS TOLD BY SWAMI RAMDAS: *By Swami Ramdas. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 195, Price Rs. 2/-.*

Though meant to prove instructive and enlightening to the spiritual aspirant, the stories, as told, have appeared to us to be also fruitful to the worldly. The simple language and style kept us bound for two hours and the literary flavour still persists.

Out of the 108 stories contained in the volume a few are from Shri Ramakrishna, Shri Ramana Maharshi and others. But the same simplicity pervades that uplifts the reader to the desired plane.

We offer our obeisance to swami Ramdas for the service he has done by telling us the stories. We congratulate the Bhavan for this publication.

M. Gupta

Indian Periodicals

Co-operation—A Middle Way

Writing in the March, 1962, issue of the *All-India Co-Operative Review*, Prof. Nafees Baig of the Aligarh University observes :

"One great factor both in promoting the growth of co-operatives in the agricultural countries and in causing the co-operative movements of both industrial and agricultural countries to draw more closely together has been the disorganized condition of world economic affairs ever since the crisis of 1931. The collapse of agricultural prices impelled the peasants and farmers in many countries to consider more seriously the prospects of co-operative farming and marketing. The common bond that held the members together or that induced them to combine was poverty or economic distress first among factory workers and, later, among farmers. Poverty is a spur and for the moderately poor there seems to be no other alternative method of bettering their condition than this one of co-operation. The fact that human beings meet together on equal terms to combine for the satisfaction of a common need affords opportunity for the development of an unselfish spirit which leads to higher things than material advantage. Specially in agriculture, it appears to be the only form that is of practical value to most cultivators who are men of limited means and are unable to combine their efforts in the factory system. It is not exaggerating to say that co-operation is now recognized necessary if any country is to get the best out of its land. It is regarded as the panacea for most rural ills and throughout the civilized world it is being strenuously advocated at the expense of State.

"One great merit of co-operation is that it has made a place for itself in capitalistic economy, which itself aims at complete transformation. It has also found a welcome place in socialistic economy and is gladly adopted in totalitarian regimes. Therefore, the one great hope of 'world unity' lies in no other method except *co-operation* : for co-operative ways are the ways which are acceptable to all irrespective of their diverse economic and social order. 'Co-operation brings to the common people a wider distribution of wealth, which is the object of socialism, without destroying the individual's incentive, private property or competition. Where co-operatives have built up a tradition of self-help and group action, the dictatorial methods of communism are not wanted.' Co-operation is now regarded as one of the most powerful instruments for reconstructing and remodelling the structure of the under-developed countries of the world. Co-operation is the backbone of economic activity and social progress.

"Where it succeeds, co-operation brings large gains to the community but the human [illegible] involved in it are complex and in some [illegible] it is much more difficult for the co-operative form of organization to succeed than it for completely socialized enterprise or that of an individual entrepreneur. It is, therefore, necessary to [illegible] effective measures to enable co-operation to succeed wherever possible, and especially in fi[illegible] are assigned to it in the schemes of [illegible] development. The key to the success o[illegible] operative method of doing farm busir[illegible] develop the co-operative spirit, that is [illegible] willingness and desire to sink individual [illegible] and interests to such an extent that a [illegible] men can work together for a commo[illegible] When this spirit is developed to a hi[illegible] it means a sense of loyalty and patri[illegible] that leads men even to sacrifice if necess[illegible] Co-operation, if it is to make good [illegible] claims it has advanced since the tide [illegible] ization has been flowing in its dir[illegible] will have to think not only in a bigger but [illegible] in a less stereo-typed way, devising new for[illegible] of co-operative enterprises to meet changing [illegible] political conditions and, at the same ti[illegible] to get back some of the idealism whic[illegible] trading side, it has so largely lost. N[illegible] knows co-operation well. [illegible] can help se[illegible] loose is the connection between the id[illegible] parting of co-operative education and [illegible]

ıdist and day to day business affairs of co-
tive trade and production. Closer integra-
between the trading and the non-trading
is imperatively needed if the case for a great
opment of co-operative enterprise as a re-
zed alternative to private capitalism and
ism is to be made acceptable."

The Administration and National Integration

The following excerpts from an article by M. A. Venkata Rao in the April 15, issue of *ndian Libertarian* are interesting :

"The tone and spirit of governmental ad-
ıtration play a decisive part in strengthening
eakening the over-all psychological influences
ng for national unity.

"The effect of British rule with one system
w and administration throughout the coun-
uring the last two hundred years has played
ominant part in awakening national cons-
ness in our country. It crystallized and
ght to intense focus all other educational
economic factors modernizing the climate of
ht. Its centralized civil service developed a
nal outlook among the elite. The increasing
cipation of Indians in the higher services,
administration, the judiciary, the police and
stracy and educational cadres in the univer-
bred a new confidence in the educated
es in their capacity to rule the country them-
s and take it over from the British. . . . .

"The high degree of national sentiment deve-
l during the Gandhian struggle . . . . for
thirty years was largely negative in direc-
and tone. . . . . But the leaders of the free-
struggle *had not devoted* much attention to
orm and substance of the kind of society
polity and economy that were to displace
gn rule when independence was attained. It
natural, therefore, for the sentiment to get
er during the post-independence period of
nal reconstruction that started in 1947. . . .

"The only clear-cut doctrine and policy
ging with power in the chaotic stream of
encies were those of socialism sponsored with
easing authoritativeness by the Prime Minis-
. . . . But the subconscious mind of the people
ell as the conscious thinking of many strata of the public are not convinced of the necessity or desirability or beneficence of these new fangled ideas and trends, espcially as they are bebinning to embark on the socialist liquidation of property and to invade the realm of free private life and occupation. In addition to the superficial integration that the socialist policies of Mr. Nehru present to the hasty eye, many fissiparous currents are also being let loose. . . . . .

"The prevalence of a strong centralized administration (with its writ running throughout the vast length and breadth of our sub-continent) is a great integrating force. We should, therefore, urge the development of All-India services for every branch of the administration. Civil service officers are now centrally recruited . . . . and then detailed for service to different States of the Union, the Central Secretariat and Union territories. It would be a good thing to rotate these officers every few years . . . . from State to State, every officer should also have some years of service at the Centre so that he will have an opportunity of seeing administrative problems from the point of view of the country as a whole. . . . . This . . . . will also facilitate the acquisition of more than one language of the country by the officers. . . . . .

"The system of employing High Court and Supreme Court Judges after retirement in civil positions . . . . . is *thoroughly wrong* . . . Indian leaders have deliberately contrived it for reasons of strengthening their own executive supremacy. . . . . .

"No policy will conduce more to national integration than *simple* justice. . . . . *The rule of law* should prevail and not the communal favouritism of the ruling groups. Similarly . . . . no (one) should be given special privileges on the ground of his birth in a certain community and, likewise, no (one) should suffer discrimination on account of his birth in a supposedly superior community. And so with jobs in the administrative hierarchy.

"All public appointments should be conferred on the ground of merit and fitness for the post in question. Everyone should be enabled to acquire the highest qualifications he can in school and college. . . . . .

"These simple measures if honestly put into practice with rigid impartiality, national integration will result as a matter of course, in due time."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

South Vietnam

Writing in *New Leader* in its issue dated January 22 last, on "Agonizing opportunity in Southeast Asia, Robert S. Elegant says :

South Vietnam is not merely a prickly—and potentially humiliating—foreign policy dilemma for the United States. The country is also a perfect demonstration of the problems which arise when a state and its leader become synonymous and indivisible.

It is almost inevitable that the political leader who rules a newly independent and basically *ademocratic* nation should become so completely identified with it that men find it impossible to imagine one without the other. Unfortunately, belief in the unity of interest between leader and nation tends to endure longer in the leader's mind than in the minds of his countrymen.

The career of Ngo Dinh Diem, who has ruled South Vietnam since 1954, has now come to that climacteric. Because he cannot possibly imagine his nation's best interests being advanced by anyone but himself, he believes any action justified if it perpetuates his rule. And since a great majority of the South Vietnamese feel that Diem no longer embodies their aspirations or serves their best interests, he is constantly forced to further extremes to preserve his power.

This conflict is complicated by the fact that Vietnam is a plexus of vital military and psychological significance for all of Southeast Asia. The country is attempting to resist an armed invasion from its opposition state, the Communist-ruled Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north. The attack is neither open nor dramatic: The invaders do not wear regular uniforms; they have not declared war; and they enter the south stealthily, by sea or through Laos. Paralyzed by the ever-widening gap between its citizens and itself, the Diem regime cannot check the invasion.

The dilemma presented to the United States has two prongs on each of its horns: If the clandestine access routes along the coast and through Laos were cut off by military force, the Diem regime might still prove too weak to survive popular discontent. If Diem were either superseded or forced to reform, a continuing invasion would make it extremely difficult—and perhaps impossible—for the South Vietnamese nation to survive.

The American response, so far as one c see, has failed to attack either of the root prc lems effectively. Washington has increased material and technical aid to South Vietnam to greater but still inadequate degree, and is vair urging Diem to mend his ways. Meanwhile, t access routes remain open and Ngo Dinh Die remains arbitrary and isolated. Moreover, o cannot help recalling the collapse of National China when the chief U.S. diplomats on t scene are unwilling to face the reality of Dien ineffectiveness, and become infuriated if the prc does so.

President Diem sees absolutely no reas for yielding to American pressure for refor Both he and his counsellors quite frankly adr that thorough reform would make it impossil for them to continue in control. They, of cour argue that this is because the Communists wou "take advantage" of any grant of real power the people. Actually, regardless of the Comm nists, their own power probably would vanish they simultaneously instituted more democrat procedures and relinquished the special econom and political privileges with which they ha buttressed themselves.

For Diem himself, no moral problem exis Since he *is* Vietnam, he considers it sheer i pertinence for foreigners to claim to know bett than him the nation's own soul, what is good f Vietnam. Besides, Diem is so completely isolat from events in his own country that he cann accept outsiders' reports that his authority vanishing. At this juncture he is attendant or to the voice of his younger brother, Ngo Di Nhu, a bitter and pretentious Right-wing intelle tual of the French school circa 1930, wi authoritarian Confucian overtones. So great Nhu's dominance that in discussing South Vi nam's problems Diem consistently adopts l brother's very sentences.

Although he has been the beneficiary American charity. Diem makes it clear that neither loves the United States nor respects opinions. While cataloguing American sins private conversation, he is wont to cast back far as 1954. To hear Diem tell it, his Gove ment has endured not because of American a but despite it.

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